

CUNEIFORM MONOGRAPHS

If a Man Builds a Joyful House

Assyriological Studies in Honor of Erle Verdun Leichty

Edited by

Ann K. Guinan,
Maria deJ. Ellis, A. J. Ferrara,
Sally M. Freedman,
Matthew T. Rutz, Leonhard
Sassmannshausen,
Steve Tinney, and
M. W. Waters

BRILL

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Editors

T. ABUSCH — M.J. GELLER — M.P. MAIDMAN

S.M. MAUL — F.A.M. WIGGERMAN

VOLUME 31



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If a man builds a joyful house ...

... that man will be joyful!

Erle Verdun Leichty's enthusiasm is boundless. Whether he is talking to colleagues, students, or lay people, he communicates an insatiable curiosity and excitement about the field of Assyriology and the fundamental humanity of its long-forgotten subjects.

... the bounty of that house will increase!

In applying his considerable energy and talents to his research projects, Erle is indefatigable. He spends long, often frustrating hours contending with the formidable challenges of reading, interpreting, and cataloguing cuneiform tablets.

... the gods will accept his gifts!

variant: the attainment of wishes!

Erle has touched many facets of the field with his generosity. Through his tacit inclusiveness, he has made each of his students immediately feel like part of the "in group." Because of his wide ranging interests, education, and on-going research, he has become a channel of that more recent "stream of tradition," the oral history (and mythology) of the field. His editorial work is a model of service to the scholarly community. His philanthropy and dedication have touched many projects in the Babylonian Section of the University of Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia, where he continues to augment the research library.

... that house will endure!

Erle's most enduring contribution is his body of published work, which continues to grow. Any research in cuneiform philology will eventually consult one of the results of his labors, be it his standard edition of Šumma izbu, the Akkadian and Sumerian dictionary projects to which he has contributed, his on-going efforts to help catalogue tablets in the British Museum, or his forthcoming edition of Neo-Assyrian historical texts from the reign of Esarhaddon.

... all who enter that house will be joyful!

The editors and contributors of this volume count themselves fortunate to have entered Erle's house and it is with joyful hearts that we honor him with this token of our esteem, affection, and gratitude.

... the builder of that house will be praised!



Erle Verdun Leichty

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FOREWORD

It is a distinct pleasure for those who know Erle Verdun Leichty as a teacher, colleague, and friend to present this volume in honor of his substantial and wide-ranging contributions to Assyriology. Erle's publications (pages xxiii–xxvii below) are a witness to his interest in a variety of topics and his facility for dealing with a broad spectrum of texts—always with an eye on the panoramic sweep of Mesopotamian history. The editors and contributors alike have benefited from Erle's willingness to share not only his extensive knowledge, but also the fruits of his hard work and long hours cataloguing tablets in the British Museum. Barry Eichler's contribution to the present volume (pages 87–109) details the scope of Erle's contributions and the many ways in which he has worked to support Assyriological research.

The title of this volume is an adaptation of an omen from *Šumma Ālu* that was selected by the editors as a fitting homage to the breadth of Erle's scholarship, his contributions to the infrastructure of the field, and his singular generosity of spirit.

The editors would like to thank Geerd Haayer for his advice and help. As with every other Styx publication, his craftsmanship can be found on every page of this volume.

We are also happy to thank the following individuals for generously offering their invaluable assistance in seeing this project to completion: Kevin Danti, Richard Ellis, Charles Kline, John Kessler, Nicholas Picardo, Christopher B. F. Walker, and Richard Zettler.

Matthew Rutz, one of the editors of this volume, was also the technical editor in charge of all the final details involved in preparing the manuscript for submission. He carried out these tasks with diligence, common sense, and good humor. We are all in his debt.

ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations employed in this volume follow *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (AHw I, 1965; II, 1972; III, 1981), *The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago* (CAD R, 1999), *The Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary* (PSD A/3, 1998), and *The Comprehensive Catalogue of Published Ur III Tablets* (ed. Marcel Sigrist and Tohru Gomi; Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1991). The two principal exceptions are published proceedings of the *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (here CRRAI) and *Festschriften* (here *Studies*). Others are listed below. Additional abbreviations adopted by the contributors are defined at the beginning of their contribution.

AAICAB	Grégoire, Jean-Pierre. <i>Archives Administratives et Inscriptions Cunéiformes de l'Ashmolean Museum et de la Bodleian Collection d'Oxford</i> . Vol. I: Les Sources. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1996—
ABCD	Rochberg, F. <i>Aspects of Babylonian Celestial Divination: The Lunar Eclipse Tablets of Enūma Anu Enlil</i> . Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 22. Horn: Verlag Ferdinand Berger & Söhne, 1988
ABD	<i>The Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by David Noel Freedman. 6 volumes. New York: Doubleday, 1992
AION	<i>Annali dell'Istituto universitario orientale Napoli</i> (Naples)
AMD	Ancient Magic and Divination (Groningen / Leiden)
ANB	<i>American National Biography</i> (Oxford) As Field numbers for objects from Tell Asmar (Iraq)
AuOr	<i>Aula Orientalis. Revista de estudios del Próximo Oriente Antiguo</i> (Barcelona)
AuOrS	<i>Aula Orientalis Supplementa</i> (Barcelona)
BA	Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft (Leipzig / Baltimore)
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i> (Cambridge, Mass.)
BaF	Baghdader Forschungen (Mainz)
BaM	<i>Baghdader Mitteilungen</i> (Berlin)
BR	= Kohler u. Peiser, <i>Rechtsleben</i>
CANE	<i>Civilizations of the Ancient Near East</i> . Edited by Jack Sasson. 4 volumes. New York: Scribner and Sons, 1995
CBCY	Catalogue of the Babylonian Collections at Yale (Bethesda, Md.)
CDA	<i>A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian</i> . 2 nd edition. Edited by Jeremy W. Black, Andrew R. George, and J. Nicholas Postgate. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000
CJ	<i>Classical Journal</i> (Pittsburgh)

Abbreviations

CM	Cuneiform Monographs (Groningen / Leiden)
CRRAI 2 (1951)	<i>Compte rendu de la seconde rencontre assyriologique internationale</i> . Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1951
CRRAI 4 (1954)	<i>Le problème des Habiru à la 4^e rencontre assyriologique internationale</i> . Cahiers de la Société Asiatique 13. Edited by Jean Bottéro. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1954
CRRAI 14 (1966)	<i>La divination en Mésopotamie ancienne et dans les régions voisines</i> . Travaux du Centre d'études supérieures spécialisé d'histoire des religions de Strasbourg. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966
CRRAI 15 (1967)	<i>La civilisation de Mari</i> . Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fasc. 182. Edited by Jean-Robert Kupper. Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1967
CRRAI 17 (1970)	<i>Actes de la XVII^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale</i> . Edited by André Finet. Ham-sur-Heure: Publications du Comité belge de recherches historiques, épigraphiques et archéologiques en Mésopotamie, 1970
CRRAI 26 (1980)	<i>Death in Mesopotamia. XXVI^e Rencontre assyriologique internationale</i> . Mesopotamia 8. Edited by Bendt Alster. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1980
CRRAI 28 (1982)	<i>Vorträge gehalten auf der 28. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in Wien 6.–10. Juli 1981</i> . Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 19. Edited by Hans Hirsch and Hermann Hunger. Horn: Verlag Ferdinand Berger, 1982
CRRAI 29 (1983)	<i>Papers of the XXIX Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, London, 5–9 July 1982: Iraq</i> 45/1 (1983) 1–164
CRRAI 33 (1987)	<i>La femme dans le Proche-Orient antique: compte rendu de la XXXIII^e Rencontre assyriologique internationale, Paris, 7–10 juillet 1986</i> . Edited by Jean-Marie Durand. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1987
CRRAI 35 (1992)	<i>Nippur at the Centennial. Papers Read at the 35^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Philadelphia, 1988</i> . Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 14. Edited by Maria deJong Ellis. Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1992
CRRAI 38 (1992)	<i>La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien. Actes de la XXXVIII^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris, 8–10 juillet 1991)</i> . Edited by Dominique Charpin and Francis Joannès. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1992
CRRAI 44/1 (1999)	<i>Landscapes. Territories, Frontiers and Horizons in the Ancient</i>
CRRAI 44/2–3 (2000)	<i>Near East. Papers presented to the XLIV Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Venezia, 7–11 July 1997</i> . 3 volumes. History of the Ancient Near East / Monographs

Abbreviations

	3/1–3. Edited by Lucio Milano, Stefano de Martino, Frederick Mario Fales, and Giovanni B. Lanfranchi. Padua: Sargon srl, 1999–2000
CRRAI 45/1 (2001)	<i>Proceedings of the XLV^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Part I, Harvard University: Historiography in the Cuneiform World</i> . Edited by Tzvi Abusch, Paul-Alain Beaulieu, John Huehnergard, Peter Machinist, Piotr Steinkeller
CRRAI 45/2 (2001)	<i>Part II, Yale University: Seals and Seal Impressions</i> . Edited by William W. Hallo and Irene J. Winter. Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 2001
CRRAI 47 (2002)	<i>Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 47th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Helsinki</i> . 2 volumes. Edited by Simo Parpola and R.M. Whiting. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2002
DAB	<i>Dictionary of American Biography</i> . New York: Scribner's Sons, 1928–
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> . 1885–
EAE	<i>Enūma Anu Enlil</i>
EAH	E.A. Hoffman Collection
Emar 6	= Arnaud, <i>Emar 6</i>
GAG	von Soden, Wolfram. <i>Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik</i> . 3. ergänzte Auflage, unter Mitarbeit von Werner R. Mayer. Analecta Orientalia 33. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1995
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik (Leiden)
Heeßel, <i>Diagnostik</i>	Heeßel, Nils P. <i>Babylonisch-assyrische Diagnostik</i> . Alter Orient und Altes Testament 43. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2000
HY	Field numbers for objects from Tell Yelkhi (Iraq)
ID	Inanna's Descent
LAPO	Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient (Paris)
LH	Laws of Hammurapi = CH
MAM	Mission archéologique de Mari (Paris)
MBI	= Barton, <i>MBI</i>
MC	Mesopotamian Civilizations (Winona Lake, Ind.)
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art
Msk	Field numbers for objects from Meskene / Emar (Syria)
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis (Fribourg / Göttingen)
OEANE	<i>The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East</i> . Edited by Eric M. Meyers. 5 volumes. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997
OPSNKF	Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund (Philadelphia)
OrNS	<i>Orientalia Nova Series</i> (Rome)
OrSP	<i>Orientalia Series Prior</i> (Rome)

Abbreviations

<i>PBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i> (London)
<i>PDM</i>	<i>Papyri demoticae magicae</i> in <i>The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells</i> . Edited by Hans Dieter Betz. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986
PFS	Seal impressions preserved on the Persopolis Fortification tablets published by R.T. Hallock, <i>The Persopolis Fortification Tablets</i> , Oriental Institute Publications 92. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969
<i>PGM</i>	<i>Papyri graecae magicae: die griechischen Zauberpapyri</i> . Edited and translated by Karl Preisendanz. 2 nd edition. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973–1974
PIHANS	Publications de l’Institut Historique-Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul / Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul (Leiden)
<i>PKN</i>	Hölscher, Monika. <i>Die Personennamen der kassiten-zeitlichen Texte aus Nippur</i> . IMGULA 1. Münster: Rhema, 1996
Princeton	= Sigrist, Princeton
Proto-Ur ₅ -ra	Old Babylonian Forerunner to ur ₅ (HAR)-ra = <i>hubullu</i> (Hh)
RGTC	Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes (Wiesbaden)
RIMA/B/E	Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian/Babylonian/Early Periods (Toronto)
RIME 2	Frayne, Douglas R. <i>Sargonic and Gutian Periods (2334–2113 BC)</i> . RIME 2 Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993
RIME 3/1	Edzard, Dietz Otto. <i>Gudea and His Dynasty</i> . RIME 3/1. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997
RIME 3/2	Frayne, Douglas R. <i>Ur III Period (2112–2004 BC)</i> . RIME 3/2. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997
RIME 4	Frayne, Douglas R. <i>Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 BC)</i> . RIME 4 Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990
ROMCT	Cuneiform Tablets in the Collection of the Royal Ontario Museum
<i>SAAB</i>	<i>State Archives of Assyria Bulletin</i> (Padua)
SANTAG	SANTAG. Arbeiten und Untersuchungen zur Keilschriftkunde (Wiesbaden)
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization (Chicago)
SAT	Sumerian Archival Texts (Bethesda, Md.)
SBLWAW	Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Ancient World (Atlanta)
SCHANE	Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East (Leiden)
<i>SCIAMVS</i>	<i>SCIAMVS: Sources and Commentaries in Exact Sciences</i> (Kyoto)
<i>SIC</i>	<i>Scripture in Context</i>

Abbreviations

<i>SMEA</i>	<i>Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici</i> (Rome)
<i>Studies Aaboe</i>	<i>From Ancient Omens to Statistical Mechanics: Essays on the Exact Sciences Presented to Asger Aaboe</i> . Acta historica scientiarum naturalium et medicinalium 39. Edited by J.L. Berggren and Bernard R. Goldstein. Copenhagen: University Library, 1987
<i>Studies Albright</i>	<i>Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright</i> . Edited by Hans Goedick. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1971
<i>Studies Astour</i>	<i>Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons. Studies in Honor of Michael C. Astour on His 80th Birthday</i> . Edited by Gordon D. Young, Mark W. Chavalas, and Richard E. Averbeck. Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1997
<i>Studies Bergerhof</i>	<i>Mesopotamica—Ugaritica—Biblica. Festschrift für Kurt Bergerhof zur Vollendung seines 70. Lebensjahres am 7. Mai 1992</i> . Alter Orient und Altes Testament 232. Edited by Manfred Dietrich and Oswald Loretz. Kevelaer / Neukirchen-Vluyn: Verlag Butzon & Bercker / Neukirchner Verlag, 1993
<i>Studies Boehmer</i>	<i>Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Vorderasiens. Festschrift für Rainer Michael Boehmer</i> . Edited by Uwe Finkbeiner, Reinhard Dittmann, and Harald Hauptmann. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1995
<i>Studies Böhl</i>	<i>Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae Francisco Mario Theodoro de Liagre Böhl Dedicatae</i> . Edited by M.A. Beek, A.A. Kampman, C. Nijland, and J. Ryckmans. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973
<i>Studies Borger</i>	<i>Festschrift für Rykle Borger zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Mai 1994: tikip santakki mala bašmu</i> . Edited by Stefan M. Maul. Cuneiform Monographs 10. Groningen: Styx, 1998
<i>Studies Cagni</i>	<i>Studi sul vicino oriente antico dedicate alla memoria di Luigi Cagni</i> . 4 volumes. Edited by Simonetta Graziani. Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Series Minor 61. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 2000
<i>Studies Civil</i>	<i>Velles paraules: Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Miguel Civil on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday. Aula Orientalis</i> 9/1–2 (1991). Edited by P. Michalowski, P. Steinkeller, E.C. Stone, and R.L. Zettler. Barcelona: Editorial AUSA
<i>Studies De Meyer</i>	<i>inquante-deux réflexions sur le Proche-Orient ancien offertes en hommage à Léon De Meyer</i> . Edited by Hermann Gasche. Leuven: Peeters, 1994
<i>Studes Diakonoff</i>	<i>Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East. Studies in Honour of I.M. Diakonoff</i> . Edited by M.A. Dandamayev,

Abbreviations

- Studies Dietrich* I. Gershevitch, H. Klengel, G. Komoróczy, M.T. Larsen, and J.N. Postgate. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, Ltd., 1982
Ex Mesopotamia et Syria Lux. Festschrift für Manfred Dietrich. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 281. Edited by Oswald Loretz, Kai A. Metzler, and Hanspeter Schaudig. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2002
- Studies Drijvers* *All those Nations ... Cultural Encounters within and with the Near East. Studies Presented to Han Drijvers at the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday by Colleagues and Students*. Edited by Herman L.J. Vanstiphout, Wout J. van Bekkum, G.J.H. van Gelder, and G.J. Reinink. Groningen: Styx, 1999
- Studies Dussaud* *Mélanges syriens offerts à monsieur René Dussaud, secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, par ses amis et ses élèves*. 2 volumes. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 30. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1939
- Studies Finkelstein* *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein*. Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts & Sciences 19. Edited by Maria deJong Ellis. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1977
- Studies Garelli* *Marchands, diplomates et empereurs. Études sur la civilisation mésopotamienne offertes à Paul Garelli*. Edited by Dominique Charpin and Francis Joannès. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1991
- Studies Gordon* *Orient and Occident. Essays presented to Cyrus H. Gordon on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 22. Edited by Harry A. Hoffner, Jr. Kevelaer / Neukirchen-Vluyn: Verlag Butzon & Bercker / Neukirchner Verlag, 1973
- Studies Grayson* *From the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea: Studies on the History of Assyria and Babylonia in Honour of A.K. Grayson*. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Instituut voor het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 101. Edited by Grant Frame with the assistance of Linda Wilding. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabje Oosten, 2004
- Studies Hallo* *The Tablet and the Scroll. Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*. Edited by Mark E. Cohen, Daniel C. Snell, and David B. Weisberg. Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1993
- Studies Huot* *Études mésopotamiennes. Recueil de textes offert à Jean-Louis Huot*. Edited by Catherine Breniquet and Christine Kepinski. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 2001

Abbreviations

<i>Studies Jacobsen</i>	<i>Riches Hidden in Secret Places. Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Memory of Thorkild Jacobsen.</i> Edited by Tzvi Abusch. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2002
<i>Studies Kraus</i>	<i>Zikir Šumim. Assyriological Studies Presented to F.R. Kraus on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday.</i> Edited by G. van Driel, Theo J.H. Krispijn, Marten Stol, and Klaas R. Veenhof. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten Studia Francisci Scholten Memoriae Dicata Volumen Quintum. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1982
<i>Studies Kutscher</i>	<i>kinattūtu ša dārāti. Raphael Kutscher Memorial Volume.</i> Tel Aviv Occasional Publications 1. Edited by Anson F. Rainey. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Institute of Archaeology, 1993
<i>Studies Lambert</i>	<i>Wisdom, Gods and Literature. Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W.G. Lambert.</i> Edited by Andrew R. George and Irving L. Finkel. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2000
<i>Studies Landsberger</i>	<i>Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday April 21, 1965.</i> Assyriological Studies 16. Edited by Hans G. Güterbock and Thorkild Jacobsen. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965
<i>Studies Limet</i>	<i>Tablettes et images aux pays de Sumer et d'Akkad: Mélanges offerts à Monsieur H. Limet.</i> Association pour la Promotion de l'Histoire et de l'Archéologie Orientales, mémoires 1. Edited by Ö. Tunca and D. Deheselle. Liège: Université de Liège, 1996
<i>Studies Oelsner</i>	<i>Assyriologica et Semitica. Festschrift für Joachim Oelsner.</i> Alter Orient und Altes Testament 252. Edited by Joachim Marzahn and Hans Neumann. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2000
<i>Studies Oppenheim</i>	<i>From the Workshop of the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary: Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim.</i> Edited by R.D. Biggs and J.A. Brinkman. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1964
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Abbreviations

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<i>TA</i>	<i>Tel Aviv</i> (Tel Aviv)
<i>TBER</i>	Durand, Jean-Marie. <i>Textes babyloniens d'époque récente</i> . Recherche sur les grandes civilisations, Cahier 6. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1981
<i>TEBR</i>	Joannès, Francis. <i>Textes économiques de la Babylonie récente (Étude des textes de TBER—Cahier no 6)</i> . Études Assyriologiques. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1982

Abbreviations

<i>Uruk</i>	= <i>SpTU</i> 4 no. 142 (see I.L. Finkel in the present volume)
UTAMI	Yıldız, Fatma, and Ozaki Tohru. <i>Die Umma Texte aus den Archäologischen Museen zu Istanbul</i> . Bethesda: CDL Press, 1993
WmF	Würzburger medizinhistorische Forschungen (Würzburg)
<i>WWA</i>	<i>Who Was Who in America</i> (Chicago)

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LISTS OF THERAPEUTIC PLANTS: AN OBSERVATION

Tzvi Abusch

Among the many Akkadian texts published by Professor Erle Leichty is a recipe prescribing the use of plants against witchcraft.¹ Thus, I hope that this modest study of the form and development of a type of prescription that also makes use of plants against witchcraft will serve as a token of tribute and thanks to Erle for the many important contributions that he has made to our knowledge of Standard Babylonian literature through his catalogs and editions.

Mesopotamian anti-witchcraft literature contains a variety of types of prescriptions and ritual instructions intended to cure or protect a person against various forms of witchcraft. Recipes against witchcraft often prescribe the use of plants for therapeutic or apotropaic purposes. An example of a tablet containing this kind of material is *BAM* 190. This tablet is a collection of prescriptions against witchcraft, all of which utilize potions and have plants as their primary medicinal element. As we shall see, from a textual point of view most of these prescriptions are based upon lists of plants. Let us look at the second prescription on *BAM* 190 and related texts,² namely:

- A. *BAM* 190 obv. 9–21 // *BAM* 59 obv. 1–12.
- B. K 4164+K 11691+Rm 352 (+) K 4176 (*BAM* 430) IV' 7'–24' // K 9684+K 9999+Sm 341+Rm 328 (*BAM* 431) IV' 2–19.
- C. K 6053 (*BAM* 438) obv. 1–27 // Rm 950 (*BAM* 437) obv. 1'–6'.³

Starting first with group A, we note that the prescription on *BAM* 190 obv. 9–21 // *BAM* 59 obv. 1–12 records a list of plants totaling 36 plants for ušburruda, “to release witchcraft,” that have been tested (ʾ36ʾ [Ú UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA⁴] ʾša anaʾ qātē šūšū), followed by ritual instructions to the effect that the plants are to be ingested with either beer, [wine], water, oil, or diluted

¹ “Guaranteed to Cure,” in *Studies Sacks* 261–4.

² These texts are part of a comprehensive edition of Mesopotamian witchcraft literature being prepared by Daniel Schwemer and the present author.

³ Rm 950 (*BAM* 437) obv. 1'–6' contains part of the list of plants (// *BAM* 190 obv. 12–17, etc.); the text is fragmentary, but in view of the fact that Rm 950 rev. duplicates material on the reverse of K 6053 (*BAM* 438): I have supposed that it should be assigned to group C along with K 6053 (*BAM* 438) obv.

⁴ The reading Ú UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA is attested on K 4164+ (*BAM* 430), K 9684+ (*BAM* 431), and K 6053 (*BAM* 438).

beer, or in dry form (*lū ina šikari rēštī lū [ina karāni] lū ina mē lū ina šamni lū ina hīqāti ʾištanatti¹ lū tābīla ana pīšu tanaddi*).

But the prescription is recorded in other forms as well. For in group B, K 4164+ (*BAM* 430) IV' 7'–24' and K 9684+ (*BAM* 431) IV' 2–19 duplicate only *BAM* 190 obv. 9–19a // *BAM* 59 obv. 1–9 from group A (with the notable exception that they record 37 rather than 36 Ú UŠ₁₁.BÚR.RU.DA) and do not contain the last two and one-half lines, that is, the statement that the plants had been tested and the ritual instructions. Thus, these two texts from group B provide only the list of plants and the numerical total of plants for ušburruda.

Finally, group C, the unit K 6053 (*BAM* 438) obv. 1–27 // Rm 950 (*BAM* 437), like group A [*BAM* 190 obv. 9–21 // *BAM* 59 obv. 1–12], records in obv. 16b–27 the list of plants, the summary total 37 plants for ušburruda that have been tested, and ritual instructions (omitting the instruction to administer the drugs in a dry form). However, K 6053 (*BAM* 438) obv. 1–27 adds materials at the beginning of the unit. Thus, prior to the list of plants and the ritual, K 6053 (*BAM* 438) obv. 1–27 contains a lengthy symptomology (obv. 1–13a), a diagnosis (obv. 13b–14), and a statement of the purpose of the ritual (obv. 13b–14); these components serve to introduce the ritual prescription itself.

The variant forms of the text are most informative regarding the formation of this type of prescription. I should explain the existence and relationship of the different sets of related texts as follows. The basic list of plants in group B [K 4164+ (*BAM* 430) // K 9684+ (*BAM* 431)] is to be regarded as the historical kernel. To this list, first, ritual instructions were appended in group A [*BAM* 190 // *BAM* 59] to record or explicate *how* the ritual was to be performed; subsequently introductory information was prefaced in group C [K 6053 (*BAM* 438)] to record *when* and *why* the ritual was to be performed.

This hypothesis makes sense of the data and teaches us not a little about the formation of Mesopotamian therapeutic texts. Further support for this explanation is provided by an observation that I made elsewhere regarding some prescriptions that utilize stones.⁵ I noted that in a number of cases where lists of stones are included as part of ritual instructions, the lists derive from a text-type that listed stones followed by their number and a statement of either the purpose for which or the situation in which these stones were to be used. Lists of this type were originally recorded for purposes of inventory, reference, or the like, and were not prescriptions. However, composers of prescriptive ritual instructions sometimes drew upon texts of this type when

⁵ “Witchcraft and the Anger of the Personal God,” in *Mesopotamian Magic: Textual, Historical, and Interpretive Perspectives* (ed. T. Abusch and K. van der Toorn; AMD 1; Groningen: Styx, 1999) 115–7; republished as: T. Abusch, *Mesopotamian Witchcraft: Towards a History and Understanding of Babylonian Witchcraft Beliefs and Literature* (AMD 5; Groningen/Leiden: Styx/Brill, 2002) 58–9.

Lists of Therapeutic Plants: An Observation

they wished to enumerate the items that were to be used in a ritual, sometimes just providing a bare list, at other times integrating the list into proper ritual instructions.

Not surprisingly, a similar situation obtained in the case of some texts that contained lists of plants. Making use of such lists, composers of prescriptive rituals might add ritual instructions and occasionally even information regarding the circumstances under which the ritual was to be used.

Finally, I should mention that the enumeration of 36/37 plants in the recipes studied here provides additional prescriptions of this sort originally derive from lists and even tells us something about the intended use of the list in the prescription form studied here. Normally, therapeutic prescriptions against witchcraft prescribe the use of only several plants. We may infer, then, both from the large number of plants enumerated and from the textual forms, that recipes of this type did not intend the ingestion of such a large number of plants as part of one therapy. Rather, the composer intended to provide a list from which one could select the plants for the specific ritual. This, then, supports our claim that in composing these and similar therapeutic prescriptions, the composer drew upon written inventories or similar lists.

THE ASTRONOMERS OF THE ESAGIL TEMPLE IN THE FOURTH CENTURY BC

Paul-Alain Beaulieu

The first time I sat down to engage in conversation with Erle he said to me out of the blue, and with genuine passion: “Museums are fun!” Taken out of context this may sound like an odd statement, but I knew immediately what he meant, and why he said it. Both of us were engaged at that time in cataloguing large collections of cuneiform tablets, he at the British Museum with the Sippar Collection, and I at Yale with all the “late” texts. Few scholars ever enjoy the privilege of having access to a large body of source material which no other eyes have scrutinized in detail before. Of course not every text you read generates excitement, but you know that inevitably the rare gem will turn up, perhaps tomorrow, perhaps next week, but it will happen! It is this excitement of discovery which Erle wanted to share, the elation of prying into the life of a long vanished civilization, of being the very first scholar to discover a really important piece of evidence. Every time we have met since, we have not failed to discuss our mutual discoveries, and it is always stimulating for me to feel his infectious enthusiasm, even for the smaller details yielded by cuneiform documents. Therefore it is with great pleasure that I present to him as a token of esteem one of these small gems which I had the good fortune to discover in the Yale Babylonian Collection. The text in question is YBC 11549 (Figs. 1 and 2). Based on the tablet’s contents its provenance is obviously Babylon, and as I will discuss below, it dates almost certainly to the 4th century BC. The lower end of the tablet, corresponding to about 1/3 of the original size, is lost, and the measurements of the remaining portion are 55x65x31 mm.¹

The importance of this text jumps to the eyes at the reading of the incipit. It consists of a list of amounts of barley allotted to a collegium of astronomers (*ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlil*) for an entire year. These “experts in celestial matters” appear sporadically in cuneiform sources dating from the 7th to the 2nd centuries BC. However, texts documenting their activities are not evenly distributed chronologically, as they tend to cluster at the two ends of this temporal spectrum, during the Neo-Assyrian and late Seleucid periods. The addition of the present text to our corpus is therefore most welcome, as it contains important information on the status of the *ṭupšar Enūma*

¹ I wish to thank Profs. William W. Hallo and Benjamin R. Foster for permission to publish this text and Ulla Kasten for facilitating its study.

Anu Enlil during the 4th century BC, a crucial period which witnessed the elaboration of the most important aspects of late Babylonian mathematical astronomy.

YBC 11549

obv.

- 1 'ŠE'.BAR ŠUK.ĤÁ l^uUMBISAG U₄-^da-nù-^den-líl-lá šá i^{ti}BAR
- 2 MU 6-KAM EN TIL i^{ti}ŠE MU 6 ina ŠU.MIN ¹ ŠEŠ.'MEŠ'-[o o]
- 3 1 (GUR) l^dBE-MU A ¹š^u-ma-a
- 4 1 (GUR) l^d BE-A-MU A l^dBE-MU
- 5 1 (GUR) lⁱlib-luṭ A l^dŠÚ-MU-GIŠ
- 6 1 (GUR) l¹TIN A l^dŠÚ-MU-'GIŠ'
- 7 '1 (GUR)' l¹UMUN-A-MU A l¹UMUN-TIN-su
- 8 '1 (GUR)' l¹UMUN-TIN-iṭ A l¹UMUN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU
- 9 [1 (GUR)] l¹UMUN-TIN-'su A' [']a-ra-bi
- 10 [1 (GUR)] l^dBE-TIN-su A [']^dBE-IGI
- 11 [1 (GUR)] ¹U.GUR-SÙĤ-SUR A l¹'id'-d[i-ia]
- 12 [1 (GUR)] 'x x x x x x x'

a few lines missing

rev.

- 1' 'x x x x x x x'
- 2' '14 (GUR)' ŠE.BAR ŠUK i^{ti}APIN MU 6-KA[M]
- 3' '14 (GUR)' ŠE.BAR ŠUK i^{ti}GAN MU 6-KAM
- 4' 14 (GUR) ŠE.BAR ŠUK i^{ti}AB MU 6-KAM
- 5' 14 (GUR) ŠE.BAR ŠUK i^{ti}ZÍZ MU 6-<KAM>
- 6' 14 (GUR) ŠE.BAR ŠUK i^{ti}ŠE MU 6-KAM

obv.

- 1 Barley for the allowance of the astronomers, from the month Nisannu
- 2 until the end of the month Addaru of the 6th year, in the care of Aḫḫē-[o o].
- 3 1 (*kurru*): Ea-iddin, son of Šumâ;
- 4 1 (*kurru*): Ea-aplu-iddin, son of Ea-iddin;
- 5 1 (*kurru*): Libluṭ, son of Marduk-šumu-līšir;
- 6 1 (*kurru*): Balātu, son of Marduk-šumu-līšir;
- 7 1 (*kurru*): Bēl-aplu-iddin, son of Bēl-bullissu;
- 8 1 (*kurru*): Bēl-uballit, son of Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin;
- 9 [1 (*kurru*): Bēl-bullissu, son of Arabi;
- 10 [1 (*kurru*): Ea-bullissu, son of Ea-lūmur(?);
- 11 [1 (*kurru*): Nergal-tēšī-ēṭir, son of Iddi[ia];
- 12 [1 (*kurru*): 'x x x x x x x'

The Astronomers of the Esagil Temple

rev.

- 1' 'x x x x x x x'
- 2' '14 (*kurrus*)' of barley, allowance of the month Araḥsamnu, year 6;
- 3' '14 (*kurrus*)' of barley, allowance of the month Kislīmu, year 6;
- 4' 14 (*kurrus*) of barley, allowance of the month Ṭebētu, year 6;
- 5' 14 (*kurrus*) of barley, allowance of the month Šabātu, year 6;
- 6' 14 (*kurrus*) of barley, allowance of the month Addaru, year 6.

Date, Provenance, and Content of the Text

Although the date formula found in the incipit gives only a year number without mentioning the name of the reigning king, there are a number of indications which converge to ensure a probable, if not virtually certain dating to the 4th century BC. First of all the latest possible dates for our text would be the 6th regnal years of Philip III Arrhidaeus, Antigonos Monophthalmos, or Alexander IV (the son of Alexander the Great), which are all attested in cuneiform administrative documents and fall, according to the most recent reconstruction of the chronology of that period, in the years 318/317, 312/311, and 311/310 BC, respectively.² A lower dating seems impossible as the following reign, that of Seleucus I, begins with the 8th year (304/303 BC), this being the earliest year of that king attested in a cuneiform archival document, after which dating became cumulative and eventually led to the institution of the Seleucid and Arsacid eras.³ A dating prior to the 4th century, on the other hand, seems difficult, given the presence of certain features in YBC 11549 which are typical of late administrative and scholarly texts, such as the sign BAR instead of BĀRA as logogram for the month Nisannu, and the use of the sign U with the reading UMUN for the element

² For these dates see T. Boiy, "Dating Methods During the Early Hellenistic Period," *JCS* 52 (2000) 115–21.

³ The only possible exception is BRM 2 51, a text from Larsa dated to the 6th year of an enigmatic king named Arsiuqqa. Against the interpretation of this as the throne name Arsaces claimed by every Parthian king one must note that the year number is impossible for the Arsacid era. On the other hand, Arsiuqqa can be identified with no other known royal name of the first millennium. Edition with collations by L. T. Doty, "Cuneiform Archives from Hellenistic Uruk" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1978) 113–4. Discussion of the date formula by K. Kessler, "Eine arsakidenzeitliche Urkunde aus Warka," *BaM* 15 (1984) 281, n. 17; J. Oelsner, "Ein Beitrag zu keilschriftlichen Königstitulaturen in hellenistischer Zeit," *ZA* 56 (1964) 270, n. 28. Most recent discussion by R.J. van der Spek, "Cuneiform Documents on Parthian History: The Raḥimesu Archive," in *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse* (ed. Josef Wiesehöfer; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1996) 208. My own collation of the text confirms that the place of the transaction is Larsa (*UD*¹.UNUG^{ki}) but does not lead to any improvement in our understanding of the royal name. See now F. Joannès, "Les débuts de l'époque hellénistique à Larsa," in *Studies Huot* 257.

Bēl in personal names.⁴ The only other possible 4th century rulers to whose reigns our text could be dated are the Achaemenid kings Artaxerxes II and III, whose 6th regnal years fell in 399/398 BC and 353/352 BC, respectively.

The near exclusive presence of names formed with the divine elements Ea, Bēl, and Marduk ensures that the place of origin of our text is Babylon. The physical aspect of the tablet, which is rather thick and coarse, and the paleography, with typically large signs provided with ample spacing between them, is typical of some administrative tablets from Babylon dated to the late Achaemenid and Macedonian periods. This also concurs with the dating to the 4th century proposed herewith, although it does not *per se* prove it. The very contents of YBC 11549 signal an institutional context, and since one cannot at present imagine any other institution in Babylon besides the Esagil temple as the possible sponsor of a collegium of astronomers in the 4th century BC, then the text must in all likelihood be assigned to the archive of that temple. This archive is represented by a growing number of administrative documents dated to the same period, in particular lists of food and clothing allotments which share many features with YBC 11549.

In spite of the incomplete character of our text, its internal organization is nevertheless clear. The incipit tells us that the purpose of the text is to record the amounts of barley allotted to the astronomers for a period of one year. The obverse contains a list of personal names with individual filiation, all preceded by the quantity of one (*kurru*), and then the reverse apparently listed all the months of the year, each preceded by the notation “fourteen (*kurrus*) of barley, allowance of the month so-and-so.” Therefore we should expect that the obverse originally contained the names of fourteen individual astronomers, each receiving a monthly food allowance of one *kurru* of barley, and that the reverse accordingly recorded an expenditure of fourteen *kurrus* for each month of the year.

Given the generally accepted capacity of ca. 0.84 liter for the *qû* in Babylonia and the division of the *kurru* into 180 *qûs* in that period, it appears that each astronomer received a daily allowance of about 5 liters of barley. This was a substantial amount, enough to feed a small family,⁵ and indeed the wives of temple employees appear as recipients of the commodities in some lists of allotments from the Esagil archive, while male employees often appear together with their brothers and sons listed as co-recipients. All in all the amounts distributed were probably not substantially different from rations given to workers in the earlier periods of Mesopotamian history. For

⁴ Although the writing UMUN for Bēl is attested in personal names from end of the Achaemenid period until the Arsacid period, the vast majority of attestations come specifically from 4th century texts, and are particularly common in lists of allotments from the Esagil archive.

⁵ Wages in that period and the daily caloric requirement in barley are discussed at length by van der Spek, “Raḥimesu Archive” 246–53.

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instance, the normal barley rations (še-ba) of a guruš during the Ur III period equaled 60 *qûs* per month, less than 2 liters per day, while women usually received 30 *qûs* and children 20 *qûs*.⁶ It is also probable that recipients of the barley allotments regularly traded their surplus on the staples market for silver, which in turn may have been used to buy other commodities. In the 4th century the Babylonian economy was still largely non-monetary despite the introduction of coinage by the Achaemenids.

Besides barley, lists from the Esagil archive also record allotments of wool and dates to the temple employees. These three staples also appear in contracts from Uruk dated to the Seleucid period as the basic allotments linked to prebendary offices. BRM 2, 31 is particularly interesting in this regard. It records a quitclaim on food and clothing allotments (*kurummatu*) amounting to 12 *kurrus* of barley, 12 *kurrus* of dates, and 30 minas of wool, paid by the treasury (*makkûru*) of the god Anu and the temples of Uruk. Although the text makes no specification in this regard, it is highly probable that these were annual allowances. Indeed, the amount of barley mentioned in it, 12 *kurrus*, is identical with the annual amount of barley allotted to each astronomer in YBC 11549. MLC 2651 (= YOS 20 92) records a transaction on an identical allotment (12 *kurrus* of barley, 12 *kurrus* of dates, and 1/2 talent of wool), but stipulates that the sale affects only 1/3 of the full amount. BRM 2 33 contains similar information. It records a sale of the right to half of the quantities listed in BRM 2 31 and MLC 2651, but since the transaction stipulates that this is only part of a jointly held share, one can conclude that it probably equaled half of a normal yearly amount. Finally a transaction on an allotment of 6 *kurrus* of barley, 6 *kurrus* of dates, and 15 minas of wool is recorded in OECT 9 48, which probably also represents half of the full yearly amount for a prebendal office.

Lists of Allotments from the Esagil Archive

The Esagil archive to which YBC 11549 belongs was first identified and studied by Joannès in *TEBR* 331–51 under the title “Listes du IV^e siècle.”⁷ He was able to collect twenty-five such texts, including six texts previously published in CT 49 (nos. 12, 13, 15, 24, 25, and 27), one text from Berlin (VS 6 293), two texts from the Bodleian Library published since by him in autograph copies (OECT 12 texts B2 and B7), and sixteen new texts from the Louvre (*TEBR* nos. 91–106). He further divided these lists into two groups according to their format and content: “Listes de distributions à des hommes” (pp. 334–

⁶ I.J. Gelb, “The Ancient Mesopotamian Ration System,” *JNES* 24 (1965) 230–43.

⁷ *TEBR* = F. Joannès, *Textes économiques de la Babylonie récente* (Paris: Éditions Recherches sur les Civilisations, A.D.P.F., 1982).

44) and “Listes de distributions à des femmes” (pp. 344–9); he also added a third group named “Listes parallèles” consisting of three additional texts (*TEBR* nos. 107–9), which display a slightly different format (pp. 349–51). Since these lists form a homogeneous group and some of them are dated to the reigns of Philip III and Alexander IV, he assigned the texts dated to the reigns of Artaxerxes and Darius to Artaxerxes III and Darius III, respectively. Thus reconstructed the group extends from the 3rd and 4th years of Artaxerxes III (356/354 BC)⁸ to the 11th year of Alexander IV (306/305 BC).

Since Joannès’ study many more texts from this archive have been published or identified in museums. Twenty-one texts and fragments were published by McEwan in OECT 10. More recently Jursa published one text in *Iraq* 59 (1997) no. 50, and added references to three texts from CT 44 not included by Joannès in his study (CT 44 84, 85, and 86), as well as to six unpublished texts, five from the British Museum (BM 16894, 17164, 78948, 78949, and 78957), and one from the Vorderasiatisches Museum (VAT 6453).⁹ I can now add the following unpublished texts to the list: HSM 893.5.6,¹⁰ 893.5.8, 893.5.24, and 893.5.25; EAH 241, 255, 258, and 260; NBC 11484; and YBC 11405. Finally, possibly as many as eighty additional lists in the collections of the British Museum have been catalogued and identified in the past few years and are still awaiting publication, and many more similar texts are certainly lying in the drawers of museums.¹¹

In his initial study of the lists Joannès refrained from ascribing them to a specific archival context, stressing however that from their content they definitely belonged to the Babylon and Borsippa area. The only text with a specific indication of location is *TEBR* no. 96, which mentions the musicians of the Ezida temple. However, all other internal indications, mainly the personal names, point to Babylon and most probably to its main temple as the place of origin of the lists. Their attribution to the archive of the Esagil temple, which I proposed in CBCY 1, has generally been accepted.¹² As for

⁸ This text is VS 6 293. Joannès, *TEBR* 333, n. 2, notes that according to Ungnad’s copy the reading of the broken royal name could also be *’p[i-li-ip-su LUGAL]*, and therefore an attribution to the reign of Philip III might be possible. The reading *’a[r-tak]-’šat-su’* [LUGAL] is equally likely.

⁹ M. Jursa, “Neu- und spätbabylonische Texte aus den Sammlungen der Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery,” *Iraq* 59 (1997) 129–33, text no. 50 (copy on pp. 170–1).

¹⁰ This is a list of allotments to the *āšipus* from the reign of Philip III. CT 49 126, a letter order, also concerns delivery of allotments of barley to the *āšipus*. HSM 893.5.6 is briefly discussed by T. Boiy, “Dating in Early Hellenistic Babylonia: Evidence on the Basis of CT 49 13, 1982.A.1853 and HSM 1893.5.6,” *NABU* 1998/134.

¹¹ See M. Sigrist, H. H. Figulla, and C. B. F. Walker, *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, volume II (London: British Museum Publications, 1996), and especially the important review by R. Zadok, *AfO* 44/45 (1997–1998) 293–306. Many texts from Yale, the Hoffman Collection (EAH), and the British Museum will be included by T. Boiy in the published version of his doctoral dissertation.

¹² CBCY 1 = P.-A. Beaulieu, *Late Babylonian Texts in the Nies Babylonian Collection*

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the mention of the Ezida in *TEBR* no. 96, the best solution is probably to understand it as a reference to Ezida, the cella of Nabû in the Esagil temple in Babylon, rather than to the Ezida temple of Borsippa. At any rate, the very fact that the name of the temple is specified in this one particular case highlights the exceptional character of the delivery and certainly means that the Ezida was not the regular locus of such transactions.¹³

The format of these lists is simple. The heading states the commodity allotted (e.g., *uṭṭetu, lubāru*), the purpose of the allotment (e.g., *kurummatu, lubuštu*), the recipients (e.g., *ummānu, kalû*), the period covered (months so-and-so of year so-and-so of king so-and-so), and the official in charge of the distribution (*ina qāti* PN). The rest of the tablet lists the quantities with the names of the recipients, and in many cases the text has a subscription recapitulating the information. A well-preserved example of a heading very similar to that of YBC 11549 is the following:

OECT 10 202

- 1 ŠE.BAR ŠUK.ĤÁ ^{lû}*um-ma-nu u MÍ.MEŠ-šû-nu*
- 2 šá ^{iti}AB ^u ^{iti}ZÍZ MU 22-KAM ^{lár-tak-šat-si} LUGAL
- 3 šá *ina* ŠU.MIN ^{ld}EN-*tab-tan-TIN-iṭ* A ^lMU-ÛRI
- 4 ^{lû}EN *mi-in-du*

Barley for the allowance of the craftsmen and their wives for the months
Ṭebētu and Šabātu of the 22nd year of king Artaxerxes, in the care of
Bēl-tabtani-bullit, son of Šum-ušur, the provisioning official.

The title *bēl mindi*, “provisioning official,” occurs quite often in texts from the Esagil archive, especially in letter orders, and there is little doubt that these officials were in charge of the distribution of allotments, wages, salaries, and prebendal incomes for the temple administration. A provisioning official of the astronomers is mentioned in CT 49 181:2. ^{lû}EN *mi-in-du* šá ^{lû}UMBISAG U₄-ʾAN¹-[^dEN.LÍL]. However, the provisioning official named in YBC 11549, Aḫḫē-[o o], bears no title and does not occur in any other lists of allotments from the Esagil archive.

The various occupations which entitled individuals to allotments of barley, dates, wool, and garments according to the extant lists are the following:¹⁴

(CBCY 1; Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1994) 6. The attribution to the Esagil archive is also proposed by Zadok, *AfO* 44/45 (1997/1998) 293–306, and accepted by Jursa, *Iraq* 59 (1997) 129.

¹³ All this is pointed out by Jursa, *Iraq* 59 (1997) 132. On the Ezida cella within the Esagil temple see A. George, *House Most High: The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia* (MC 5; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1995) no. 1237.

¹⁴ Zadok, *AfO* 44/45 (1997/98) 303, lists a few more occupations possibly appearing in unpublished lists from the British Museum, such as “builder” (*itinnu*) and “weaver” (*išparu*), but the readings of the words are uncertain.

astronomer (*tupšar Enūma Anu Enlil*)
baker (*nuḫatimmu*)
butcher (*tābiḫū*)
carpenter (*nagāru*)
carpenter of processional boat of Marduk (*nagār* ^{gis}MÁ.TUŠ.A)
cook (*mubannū*)
craftsman (*ummānu*)
cultic singer (*kalū*)
exorcist (*āšipu*)
goldsmith (*kutimmu*)
leather worker (*aškāpu*)
measurer (*mandidu*)
miller (*ararru*)
musician (*nāru*)
nobleman (*mār banī*)¹⁵
the *rab banī* from the city (*rab banī ša muḫḫi āli*)
reed worker (*atkuppu*)
scribe (*tupšarru*)
smith (*nappāḫū*)
temple slave (*širku*)
watchman (*maššāru*)
[o o o] of the juniper garden ([o o o] *kirī burāši*)¹⁶

All the occupations mentioned in the lists are typical of the personnel of a late Babylonian temple. Whether all of them should be defined as prebendal offices is a moot point. Many of them certainly were, but firmer evidence is still lacking in some cases.¹⁷ The sole fact that they are all attested as recipients of *kurummatu* is insufficient to determine their status, as the word refers in the Neo- and Late Babylonian period to allowances of food and other commodities given by the temple to a wide variety of individuals from all venues, from the temple slaves (*širku*) to the king. In cases where the word *kurummatu* refers to the sustenance given to workers performing compulsory labor one is justified in retaining the translation “rations,” but in most cases such translations as “allotment” or “allowance” are preferable.

The astronomers are not the only intellectual occupation mentioned in these lists, and certainly not the most prominent in terms of numbers. Three texts list allowances for the *kalūs* “cultic singers” or their wives (BM 78948; CT 44 84; *Iraq* 59 [1997] no. 50), and one text lists those of the *āšipus*

¹⁵ This term denoting social status appears in CT 44 86 rev. 28', but it is unclear whether it describes the recipients of commodities listed in the preceding section.

¹⁶ This incomplete title appears in a broken context in the subscription of the list CT 49 13, and it is therefore not certain that it is the name of an occupation.

¹⁷ G. J. P. McEwan, *Priest and Temple in Hellenistic Babylonia* (FAOS 4; Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1981) 67–120 for an extensive discussion of prebendal offices in that period.

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“exorcists” (HSM 893.5.6). One text even mentions the *tupšarrus* “scribes” (TEBR no.103), unless the logogram ŠID in this case must be understood as *šangû* and refers to a cultic function. CT 44 84 contains the names of no fewer than fifty individual cultic singers entitled to distributions of clothing, and HSM 893.5.6 mentions an even larger number of exorcists, with at least sixty-six individual entries preserved on a tablet only about half extant.

Here follows a table (Table 1) with the lists of allotments from the Esagil archive.¹⁸ The chronology of the texts poses some problems for transactions dated to the reigns of Alexander and Artaxerxes, since in both cases we have the choice between two homonymous rulers who reigned in the 4th century (Alexander III and his son Alexander IV, and Artaxerxes II and III). In order to keep the texts in a reasonably continuous chronological group I assume that transactions dated after year 21 of Artaxerxes belong to Artaxerxes II, while those dated between years 1 and 21 belong to Artaxerxes III, even though this classification will seem arbitrary in some cases. Texts certainly dated to Alexander IV are those which clearly state “Alexander son of Alexander,” or else those with year numbers which exclude Alexander III.¹⁹

Table 1: Lists of Allotments from the Esagil Archive

Text	Allotment	Recipients	Date
BM 16894	—	—	Alexander IV year 4, month 6
BM 17164	barley	—	Artaxerxes [o o o]
BM 78948	—	wives of the cultic singers	Alexander IV(?) year 1
BM 78949	barley	<i>rab bani</i> [<i>ša muḥḫi āli</i>]	Alexander IV(?) [o o o]
BM 78957	barley	millers	Alexander IV(?) year 10, month 11
CT 44 84	garments (<i>lubāru</i>) for clothing (<i>lubuštu</i>)	cultic singers	Antigonos year 6, month 3

continued on next page

¹⁸ Information on unpublished texts in the British Museum and on VAT 6453 is taken from Jursa, *Iraq* 59 (1997) 132. Information which is unavailable is represented by dotted lines. The many unpublished texts in the British Museum mentioned by Zadok in *AfO* 44/45 (1997–1998) 293–306 are not included here.

¹⁹ Boiy, “Dating Methods” 118: attested are Alexander III years 0 and 8–13, and Alexander IV year 1, 2, 4, and 6–11.

Text	Allotment	Recipients	Date
CT 44 85	barley for <i>kurummatu</i>	carpenters of processional boat	[o o o] from year 10, month 9, to year 11, month 3
CT 44 86	[o o o o o o]	<i>mār banīs</i> and <i>mandidus</i>	[o o o o o o]
CT 49 12	barley for <i>kurummatu</i>	male PNs	Philip III [o o o]
CT 49 13	[o o o o o o]	[o o o] of the juniper garden (^{gis} KIRI ₆ ^{sim} LI); male PNs	Alexander IV(?) year 2, month 3
CT 49 15	barley for <i>kurummatu</i>	male PNs	Alexander IV year 6 [o o o]
CT 49 24	barley for <i>kurummatu</i>	<i>rab banī ša muḥḥi āli</i>	Alexander IV(?) year 9 [o o o]
CT 49 25	[o o o o o o]	butchers	Alexander IV year 11, all months
CT 49 27	wool for clothing (<i>lubuštu</i>)	bakers	Alexander IV year [o]+1 [o o o]
EAH 241	barley for <i>kurummatu</i>	reed workers	Artaxerxes III year 12, month 10
EAH 255	[o o o] for <i>kurummatu</i>	male PNs	[o o o] year 12, month 7
EAH 258	barley for <i>kurummatu</i>	cooks	Artaxerxes III year 18, months [o o] and 3
EAH 260	barley for <i>kurummatu</i>	female PNs	[o o o] year 11+, until end of month 2
HSM 893.5.6	[o o o o o o]	exorcists	Philip III year 3(?), month 2
HSM 893.5.8	wool	butchers	[o o o o o o]
HSM 893.5.24	[o o o o o o]	female PNs	[o o o o o o]
HSM 893.5.25	[o o o o o o]	male PNs	[o o o o o o]
Jursa, <i>Iraq</i> 59 (1997) no. 50	barley for <i>kurummatu</i>	cultic singers, watchmen	Alexander IV(?) year 9, month 12
NBC 11484	[o o o o o o]	temples slaves (^{lu} PA.K[AB.DU.MEŠ]); several PNs are further designated as <i>šušānus</i>	Artaxerxes III year 2, months 1 and 2.

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Text	Allotment	Recipients	Date
OECT 10 196	barley for <i>kurummatu</i>	goldsmiths, carpenters	Artaxerxes III(?) year 10+, months 3 and 4
OECT 10 202	barley for <i>kurummatu</i>	craftsmen and their wives	Artaxerxes II year 22, months 10 and 11
OECT 10 206	barley for <i>kurummatu</i>	craftsmen	Artaxerxes II years 31 and 32, months 12 and 1
OECT 10 207	barley for <i>kurummatu</i>	craftsmen, namely goldsmiths and carpenters	Artaxerxes II year 33, months 1 and 2
OECT 10 208	barley for <i>kurummatu</i>	wives of the craftsmen	Artaxerxes II year 33, months 6 and 7
OECT 10 210	barley for <i>kurummatu</i>	wives of the craftsmen	Artaxerxes II year 34, months 4 and 5
OECT 10 213	barley for <i>kurummatu</i>	leather workers and their wives	[o o o o o]
OECT 10 214	barley for <i>kurummatu</i>	wives of the goldsmiths	[o o o o o]
OECT 10 215	barley for <i>kurummatu</i>	wives of the [o o o o o]	Artaxerxes [o o o]
OECT 10 216	[o o o o o]	male PNs	[o o o o o]
OECT 10 217	barley for <i>kurummatu</i>	male PNs	Artaxerxes [o o o]
OECT 10 218	barley for <i>kurummatu</i>	male PNs	[o o o o o]
OECT 10 219	[o o o o o]	male PNs	[o o o o o]
OECT 10 220	[o o o o o]	male PNs	Artaxerxes [o o o]
OECT 10 221	[o o o o o]	female and male PNs	[o o o o o]
OECT 10 222	[o o o o o]	male PNs	Artaxerxes [o o o]
OECT 10 223	barley	wives of the craftsmen, namely goldsmiths and leather workers	[o o o o o]
OECT 10 224	[o o o o o]	female PNs	[o o o o o]
OECT 10 225	[o o o o o]	male PNs	Artaxerxes II year 33, month 3
OECT 10 226	barley for <i>kurummatu</i>	goldsmiths and smiths	[o o o o o]
OECT 10 227	[o o o o o]	male PNs	[o o o o o]

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Text	Allotment	Recipients	Date
OECT 12 B2	barley for <i>kurummatu</i>	wives of the cooks	Year 5, months 3 to 5
OECT 12 B7	[o o o] for <i>kurummatu</i>	wives of the <i>rab banī ša muḥḥi āli</i>	Artaxerxes III, from year 12, month 9, to year 13, month [o]
TEBR 91	[o o o] for <i>kurummatu</i>	bakers	Artaxerxes III year 15, month 12
TEBR 92	barley for <i>kurummatu</i>	cooks	Darius III [o o o], all months
TEBR 93	barley for <i>kurummatu</i>	musicians, a watchman is mentioned	[o o o o o o]
TEBR 94	barley for <i>kurummatu</i>	male PNs, a watchman is mentioned	[o o o o o o]
TEBR 95	barley and dates for <i>kurummatu</i>	carpenters	[o o o o o o]
TEBR 96	[o o o] for <i>kurummatu</i>	musicians	[o o o o o o], months 9 to 11
TEBR 97	dates for <i>kurummatu</i>	male PNs	[o o o o o o]
TEBR 98	[o o o o o o]	male PNs	[o o o o o o]
TEBR 99	[o o o o o o]	male PNs	[o o o o o o]
TEBR 100	[o o o o o o]	male PNs	[o o o o o o]
TEBR 101	[o o o o o o]	male PNs	[o o o o o o]
TEBR 102	[o o o o o o]	male PNs	[o o o o o o]
TEBR 103	[o o o o o o]	wives of the scribes	Artaxerxes III year 18
TEBR 104	[o o o o o o]	female PNs	[o o o o o o]
TEBR 105	wool for <i>lubuštu</i>	female PNs	[o o o o o o]
TEBR 106	wool for <i>lubuštu</i>	female PNs	[o o o o o o]
VAT 6453	barley	—	Alexander III year [o], months 2 and 3
VS 6 293	barley for <i>kurummatu</i>	wives of the <i>rab banī ša muḥḥi āli</i>	Artaxerxes III from year 3, month 9, to year 4 [o o o]
YBC 11405	[o o o o o o]	male PNs	[o o o o o o]
YBC 11549	barley for <i>kurummatu</i>	astronomers	Year 6, all months

The *ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlil*

The members of this profession have been the subject of a few studies in the past two decades and therefore only certain points need to be made here.²⁰ First it must be stressed that, despite the enormous importance of the astral sciences in late Mesopotamian culture, and the enduring reputation earned by Babylonian astronomy and astrology in the Classical world, we still have comparatively few references in cuneiform sources to astronomers designated by the specific title *ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlil*. Moreover, as already mentioned above, these references come almost entirely from the Neo-Assyrian and late Seleucid periods, leaving a gap of a few hundred years in between, which is now partly filled by YBC 11549. Neo-Assyrian references are scarce and uninformative, with the exception of SAA 7 no. 1, which lists a number of experts presumably residing at the Assyrian court. The first group (Col. I, 1–8) is made up of seven astronomers designated collectively as [PAP 7 A.BA] UD-AN-BE “[total: seven *ṭupšar*] *Enūma Anu Enlil*.” Two individuals named in the list, Issar-šumu-ēreš and Balasī, are otherwise known from their correspondence with the king. It is noteworthy that already in the 7th century the *ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlil* formed a distinct corps of officially employed specialists, and that their number was in a range comparable to the fourteen astronomers of the Esagil mentioned in YBC 11549.

Evidence from the late Seleucid and early Parthian periods is much more detailed. The two most important texts are *BOR* 4 132 and *CT* 49 144, which record appointments to the post of astronomer by the administration of the Esagil temple. In both cases it is obvious that the position was hereditary, yet subject to some examination to evaluate the candidate’s competence, and also that it came with a prebendal income in land and silver. The duties of the astronomers included primarily keeping the watch (*našāru*) and preparing the *tersītu* and *mešhu*, activities which some have proposed to identify as the compiling of astronomical diaries, ephemerides, and almanacs.²¹ This emphasizes the changes which occurred in the profession over the centuries, from interpreter of the series *Enūma Anu Enlil* in the Neo-Assyrian period to observer, compiler, and quantifier of celestial phenomena in the Seleucid

²⁰ The main studies are McEwan, *Priest and Temple* 15–21; R. J. van der Spek, “The Babylonian Temple During the Macedonian and Parthian Domination,” *BiOr* 42 (1985) 548–55; and F. Rochberg, “Scribes and Scholars: The *ṭupšar Enma Anu Enlil*,” in *Studies Oelsner* 359–75. See also U. Koch-Westenholz, *Mesopotamian Astrology* (CNI 19; Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1995) 56–73 and 162–79.

²¹ A. J. Sachs and H. Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia* (vol. 1; Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1988) 11–2; F. Rochberg, “The Cultural Locus of Astronomy in Late Babylonia,” in *Die Rolle der Astronomie in den Kulturen Mesopotamiens* (ed. Hannes D. Galter; Grazer Morgenländische Studien 3; Graz: GrazKult, 1993) 41–2; and H. Hunger and D. Pingree, *Astral Sciences in Mesopotamia* (HdO 1/44; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 270.

period. Arguably this signals a shift of scientific paradigm in the intervening centuries, one that Brown has recently characterized as the abandonment of a paradigm centered on the interpretation of the traditional corpus of celestial divination (the “Enuma-Anu-Enlil” paradigm) in favor of a more mathematically rigorous one seeking to predict celestial phenomena from exact calculations of their cycles of recurrence (the “Prediction of Celestial Phenomena” paradigm).²²

Astronomers are attested not only at Babylon, but also at Uruk. In his 1981 study of the Hellenistic temple in Babylonia McEwan proposed that the astronomers of Uruk, contrary to their counterparts from Babylon, did not form an independent professional class because they usually held the title of *ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlil* concurrently with other functions such as *āšipu*, *kalû*, and *šešgallu* (or *aḫu rabû*).²³ As far as late 2nd century documents are concerned this theory cannot be upheld. CT 49 144, clearly from Babylon, mentions one Nabû-aplu-ušur with the two titles of *kalû* and *ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlil*, while BOR 4 132, from the same archive, gives the two titles of *rab banî ša muḫḫi āli* and *ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlil* to an individual named Itti-Marduk-balāṭu. These three titles appear in the 4th century lists from the Esagil archive as separate occupations and all three were certainly prebendal offices. However, one could own shares in more than one prebend, and it is therefore not surprising to see individual scholars in both Uruk and Babylon claim various titles concurrently in the same document. This is true for the late Seleucid period. In the 4th century lists from the Esagil archive astronomers, cultic singers, and exorcists are listed separately. However, this is no reason to assume that titles could not be claimed concurrently in that period too. The occupation of *ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlil* was a highly specialized one, but also one that required mastery of the scribal art and of the various branches of Mesopotamian scholarship.²⁴ The prominence of the corps of astronomers in Babylon and the fact that they defined themselves almost exclusively by that title, as opposed to the ones from Uruk who claimed as primary occupations the disciplines of *āšipu* and *kalû*, may reflect only a different organization of scientific research. In short, astronomical research may have been more sharply defined, centralized, and controlled in Babylon, and more importantly the occupation of astronomer was linked there to a prebend. At Uruk there is so far no evidence that the activity of astronomer entitled its practitioners to a separate prebendal income. Such income came from their other activities as *kalû*, *āšipu*, or *šešgallu*.

²² D. Brown, *Mesopotamian Planetary Astronomy-Astrology* (CM 18; Groningen: Styx, 2000), with my review in *ZA* 92 (2002) 153–5.

²³ McEwan, *Priest and Temple* 16.

²⁴ As pointed out by Rochberg, “Scribes and Scholars” 371, late 2nd century astronomers still copied literary texts such as *Gilgameš* and *Enūma Eliš*.

The Astronomers of the Esagil Temple

The astronomers of Uruk during the Seleucid period claimed affiliation with two clans, the Sîn-lēqi-unninni and the Ekur-zākir. In documents from Babylon, on the other hand, patronymics are rarely indicated except in the colophons of scholarly texts, and therefore we know very little about the family ancestry and relations of the astronomers. However, the ancestral name Mušēzib occurs in a few texts from Babylon dated between the 4th and 2nd centuries as the ancestor of individuals claiming the title *ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlil* or otherwise involved in astral sciences. YBC 11549 indeed provides hints that astronomy was a close family affair in 4th century Babylon, with the possibility of three generations of astronomers on lines 3 and 4 (Ea-aplu-iddin, Ea-iddin, Šumâ), and two brothers with their father on lines 5 and 6 (Libluṭ and Balātu, sons of Marduk-šumu-līšir). Whether they were all descendants of Mušēzib is unknown. It is unfortunately impossible to find in astronomical texts from the 4th century any indisputable mention of the *ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlil* appearing in YBC 11549. Britton has reconstructed four generations of astronomers from father to son, descendants of Mušēzib, who were active in Babylon between ca. 340 and 280: Mušallim-Bēl, Bēl-aplu-iddin, Marduk-šāpik-zēri, and Iddin-Bēl, with the addition of a possible relative named Itti-Marduk-balātu.²⁵ However, no correlation seems possible with YBC 11549, although one astronomer named Bēl-aplu-iddin appears in this text, but as son of Bēl-bullissu (line 7). This latter individual might be mentioned in the colophon of the astronomical diary for the year -361 (= Artaxerxes II year 43), written by Uballissu-Bēl, son of Bēl-aplu-[o o o].²⁶ The latter name could be restored as Bēl-aplu-[iddin] and identified with our Bēl-aplu-iddin, son of Bēl-bullissu, appearing in YBC 11549, line 7. If this eventually proves to be the case, then YBC 11549 should probably be dated to the 6th year of Artaxerxes III. One text from the 2nd century has a colophon by the *ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlil* 'x'[x]'x'-iddin, son of Bēl-bullissu, but YBC 11549 is too firmly anchored in the 4th century to make any identification with the Bēl-aplu-iddin/Bēl-bullissu of YBC 11549 possible. It shows at least that patterns of name-giving in that milieu were quite persistent throughout the Hellenistic period.²⁷

The absence of firm correlations with contemporary astronomical texts is certainly disappointing, but it by no means reduces the value of the information yielded by YBC 11549. The text fills an important gap in our

²⁵ J. P. Britton and C. B. F. Walker, "A 4th Century Babylonian Model for Venus: B.M. 33552," *Centaurus* 34 (1991) 97–118.

²⁶ Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries* 138 rev. 3'. [o o o] ŠU.MIN 'TIN-su-^dEN DUMU šá 'dEN-A-[o o o]. The colophons of diaries are discussed by A. Slotsky, *The Bourse of Babylon. Market Quotations in the Astronomical Diaries of Babylonia* (Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1997) 99–103.

²⁷ See H. Hunger, *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone* (AOAT 2; Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn: Verlag Butzon & Bercker, 1968) no. 181 (= *ACT* p. 21, Z1d).

documentation on the activities of astronomers in first millennium Babylonia. First it shows that the scientific establishment maintained by the Esagil temple and documented by late 2nd century texts was already in place in the 4th century. The number of astronomers working for the temple at that time, fourteen, provides evidence for substantial official sponsorship of science in 4th century Babylonia, which is precisely the time when the most advanced mathematical astronomy was being invented.²⁸ YBC 11549 also suggests that the office of astronomer was a prebendal one, as was the case later in the 2nd century. The distribution of allowances (*kurummatu*) in these later texts is computed in silver probably because of the increased use of coinage under the Seleucids, while in YBC 11549 the old system of distributions *in naturalia* still prevails.²⁹ The publication of more texts from 4th century Babylon in the future will hopefully allow us to determine the context and date of YBC 11549 with even greater precision. The very fact that most, if not indeed all the astronomers mentioned in this text are otherwise unknown opens up exciting vistas on the complexity of scientific research in ancient Babylonia on the eve of Alexander's conquest of the Persian empire.

²⁸ The chronology of astronomical discoveries is laid out by J. P. Britton, "Scientific Astronomy in Pre-Seleucid Babylon," in *Die Rolle der Astronomie in den Kulturen Mesopotamiens* (ed. Hannes D. Galter; Grazer Morgenländische Studien 3; Graz: GrazKult, 1993) 61–76; and by J. Britton and C. Walker, "Astronomy and Astrology in Mesopotamia," in *Astronomy Before the Telescope* (ed. C. Walker; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996) 42–67, who point out that the most active period was between ca. 450 and 330, that is, between the invention of the zodiac and the latest possible date for the completion of "System A."

²⁹ See, however, the several notes of caution on the use for that period of such terms as money and coinage by P. Vargyas, "Silver and Money in Achaemenid and Hellenistic Babylonia," in *Studies Oelsner* 513–21.

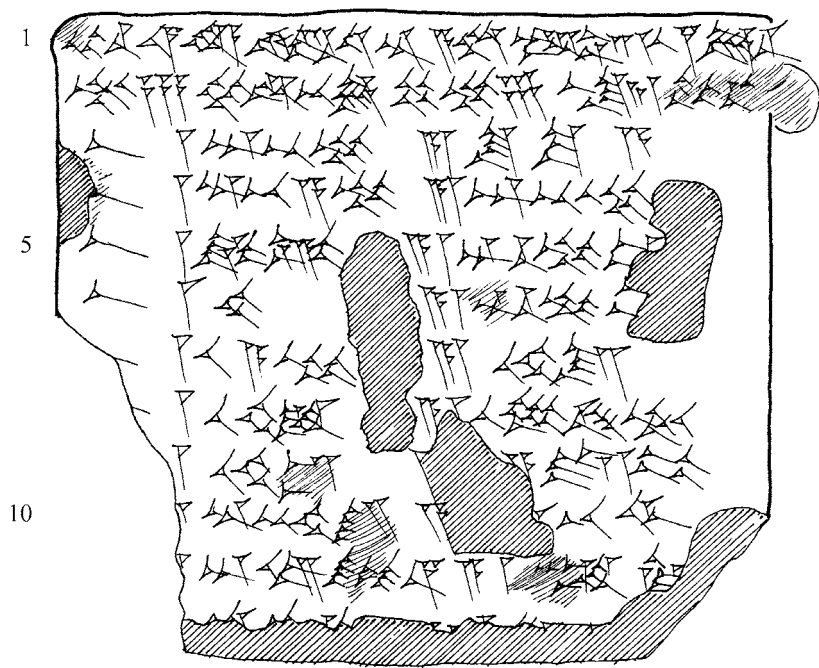


Fig. 1. YBC 11549 obv.

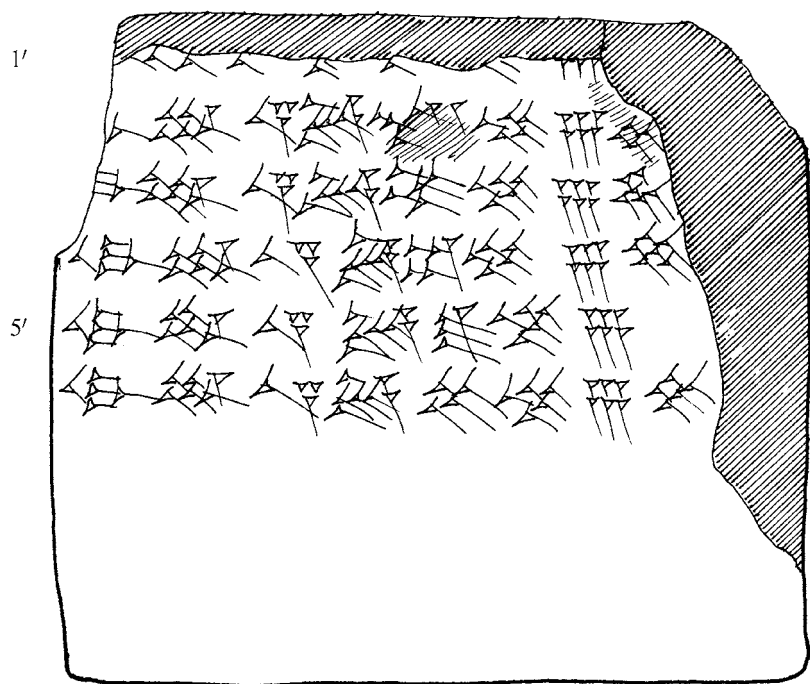


Fig. 2. YBC 11549 rev.

THE USE OF OCCUPATION NAMES AS PATRONYMS IN THE KASSITE PERIOD: A FORERUNNER OF NEO-BABYLONIAN ANCESTRAL NAMES?¹

J.A. Brinkman

The use of occupation names or titles, e.g., Paḫāru (“Potter”) or Šangû Sippar (“chief temple administrator of Sippar”)² to designate ancestral or “family” names in first-millennium Babylonia is a well-attested, if still inadequately understood phenomenon.³ In this article, I would like to

¹ Abbreviations not adapted from CAD R pp. ix–xxx or cited in the abbreviation list for this volume include:

Bongenaar, <i>Sippar</i>	A. C. V.M. Bongenaar, <i>The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar: Its Administration and Its Prosopography</i> (PI-HANS 80; Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1997)
CPN	Albert T. Clay, <i>Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Kassite Period</i> (YOR 1; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1912)
Kessler, <i>Studies Boehmer</i>	K. Kessler, “Drei Keilschrifttexte aus Tell Baradān,” in <i>Studies Boehmer</i> 281–8
MBTU	O.R. Gurney, <i>The Middle Babylonian Legal and Economic Texts from Ur</i> ([London]: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1983).
MRWH	Herbert P.H. Petschow, <i>Mittelbabylonische Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden der Hilprecht-Sammlung Jena</i> (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1974)
MUN	<i>Mittelbabylonische Urkunden aus Nippur</i> = BaF 21 pp. 183–456 (texts cited by no.)
PKN	M. Hölscher, <i>Die Personennamen der kassitenzeitlichen Texte aus Nippur</i> (IMGULA 1; Münster: Rhema, 1996)
PNAE	K. Radner and H.D. Baker, eds. <i>The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire</i> (Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, University of Helsinki, 1998–). (5 fascicles published to date)
Strassmaier, <i>Huitième Congrès</i>	J.N. Strassmaier, “Einige kleinere babylonische Keilschrifttexte aus dem British Museum,” <i>Actes du Huitième Congrès International des Orientalistes</i> , 2 ^{ième} partie, Section I.B (Leiden: Brill, 1893)

I would like to thank Steven Cole and Daniel Nevez, who took time to read an advanced draft of this paper and offer helpful comments.

² The *šangû* is an upper-level administrator, usually connected with a temple (or temples). See also note 51 below.

³ In this article the term “family” will be used to designate an extensive (putative) kin group who trace their descent back to a common ancestor (usually at least several generations removed). When the nuclear family is meant, it will be explicitly qualified as such. In most cases, I will dispense with the quotation marks around “family” except when citing the opinions of others; this should not be taken as an unquestioning acceptance of the

discuss a possible precursor of this practice in the Middle Babylonian period.⁴

This Middle Babylonian usage is not a new discovery. Various authors have noted isolated examples of occupation names serving as “family” names in the Kassite period, e.g., Bernhardt,⁵ Petschow,⁶ Hölscher,⁷ and a few articles in the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary⁸ and the Akkadisches Handwörterbuch.⁹ Stamm and Lambert have also commented that this type of patronym or ancestral name was in use in the Kassite period.¹⁰ I would like to point out that the occurrence of occupation names as Middle Babylonian patronyms, or potential ancestral names, seems to be much more widely attested than has been explicitly recognized—or at least substantiated—in the literature.

In the following pages I will first cite examples of occupation names used as patronyms (Section A) and then examples of occupation names used as personal names for principals, i.e., individuals who are prime referents directly involved in the action or status described in the text (Section B). There may occasionally be an overlap between these categories because some principals are referred to only by patronym, i.e., in the form *mār* PN (“Son of PN”) or *mārat* PN (“Daughter of PN”), in a style comparable to Arabic usage such as Ibn Khaldun, Ibn Sina (Avicenna), Ibn Saud, or Bint al-Kamal. I am separating the two categories here simply on the basis of formal structure: personal names following DUMU or DUMU.SAL (the logographic writings in context for *mār* and *mārat*, respectively) will be classified as

more literal meaning of the term to imply blood relationship (or adoption). By “ancestral” and “ancestor,” I am referring simply to the designated head of such a family grouping, whether the head’s identity is expressed as a personal name or as an occupation name or title.

⁴ By “Middle Babylonian” in the present context I mean the period between the close of the Hammurabi dynasty (1595 according to the Middle Chronology) and the end of the Kassite dynasty (1155 BC). In practice, the arbitrary dividing line between Old and Middle Babylonian is of little consequence here, since there is at present no relevant material antedating the fifteenth century. It should be noted that AHW sets the end of its Middle Babylonian phase somewhat later, c. 1000 BC; but there are relatively few private documents and kudurrus written in Akkadian (fewer than fifty) presently known from these 155 additional years.

⁵ TuM NF 5 p. 22 (s.v. *paḥāru*), p. 24 (s.v. LÚ.TÚG.MAŠ).

⁶ Petschow, *MRWH* p. 46 (*ṣāḫitu*).

⁷ Hölscher, *PKN* 195 (*ṣāḫitu*), where she also states that “Familiennamen im Sinne unseres Nachnamens, wie sie im 1. Jtsd. üblich werden, sind in den mB Texten aus Nippur jedoch nicht nachweisbar.” This is true in the sense that these texts either do not cite genealogies at all or cite genealogies going back only one generation (most names appear as PN alone, DUMU PN alone, or PN₁ DUMU PN₂).

⁸ E.g., CAD P 22b (s.v. *paḥāru*), Š/3 212a (s.v. *šuginakku*).

⁹ E.g., AHW 810a (s.v. *paḥāru*).

¹⁰ Stamm, *Namengebung* 270 (with citation of a few examples); W.G. Lambert, “Ancestors, Authors, and Canonicity,” *JCS* 11 (1957) 3.

patronyms;¹¹ personal names that do not follow DUMU or DUMU.SAL will be classified as principals. After listing examples—a far-from-exhaustive sample¹²—I will briefly discuss their significance and their possible relationship to the first-millennium use of occupation names as ancestral names (Section C).

I would like to stress the provisional character of this essay. In fields where textual material is abundant but even basic reference tools are either lacking or inadequate,¹³ it can be helpful at times to present a preliminary survey of material, formulate working hypotheses, point out lacunae in the research or data, and pose questions that cannot readily be answered. My remarks here must be regarded as essentially propaedeutic, perusing an area of interest and making a few sketchy observations based on patchy data. This treatment may at least alert readers to a subject worth closer and more systematic scrutiny.

A. Occupation Names Used as Patronyms

Occupation names used as patronyms can be written logographically or syllabically,¹⁴ with considerable variation in determinatives: (a) with both the masculine personal determinative and the LÚ determinative, (b) with the masculine personal determinative alone, (c) with LÚ alone, or (d) with neither determinative.¹⁵ In the case of the sole female name in the list (*qadištu*, *qadiltu*), the name is preceded by either the feminine or the masculine personal determinative.¹⁶ Where it is clear from context that the patronym-style name (*mār* PN or *mārat* PN) stands alone by itself for the individual, i.e.,

¹¹ Regardless of whether another personal name precedes DUMU or DUMU.SAL.

¹² Even from the currently known texts. This list will inevitably be expanded with further research and the addition of new texts.

¹³ The lack of comprehensive prosopographical treatments in both Middle Babylonian and Neo-Babylonian is unfortunate, given the scope of the present inquiry. Hölscher's *PKN* is extraordinarily useful for the MB Nippur archives in so far as they were published at the time of her work (1996); but in the meantime approximately 35% more material has appeared in *MUN*. Clay's *CPN* helps for the non-Nippur material, but does not cover texts from Dūr-Kurigalzu, Ur, the Diyala, or other places that have been published since his work appeared (1912). On the Neo-Babylonian side, Tallqvist's *NBN* (1905) is even older than Clay and sorely in need of a replacement.

¹⁴ With logographic spellings currently predominating among the examples listed here as patronyms.

¹⁵ Sassmannshausen in his review of *PKN* objects to occupation names written without preceding personal determinatives in phrases such as DUMU.SAL LÚ.ENGAR and DUMU.SAL *pa-ḫa-ri* being interpreted as personal names (*BiOr* 55 [1998] 828). As will be seen from the following examples, this type of writing is not uncommon for occupation-name patronyms.

¹⁶ For another example of a masculine/feminine alternation, at Ur, see note 60 below. Another possible example of a female name (*ḫarimdu*), though attested to date only with the masculine personal determinative, is discussed at the end of this section. Note also *mārū amat ekalli* in note 111 below.

where the DUMU or DUMU.SAL is not immediately preceded by a personal name,¹⁷ I have marked the reference as beginning with Ø. For emphasis, I have also marked with Ø those instances in which the patronymic occupation name is preceded by neither the masculine personal determinative nor LÚ. Where texts are known to have originated from or to have been excavated at sites other than Nippur, I have noted the place of origin in parentheses following the reference. Not all the examples below are of equal value and some are not beyond question, either in reading or interpretation;¹⁸ I have indicated areas of doubt where these seem to me to be significant. I have excluded *mār šarri* (DUMU LUGAL) and *mārat šarri* (DUMU.SAL LUGAL) from the following discussion, since these pose other problems, e.g., whether they necessarily refer to a child of the reigning monarch;¹⁹ there seems at present to be no indication that these designations ever evolved into what could be considered a family name in the same sense as the other names treated here. Line references in this section are to the line in which the patronym occurs.

- A.1** *aluṣinnu*. “Clown.” (a) *Ḳa-ki-rum* DUMU *Ḳa-lu-zi-ni* CBS 8089:3. (b) Ø DUMU *Ḳa-lu-zi-in-ṛni* Ni. 6908:2.²⁰ [also used as the name of a principal; see B.1 below]
- A.2** *āpil bābi*. “Doorkeeper.” (a) [...] DUMU *Ḳa-pil-ṛKÁ* BE 14 119:13.²¹
- A.3** *aškāpu*. “Leatherworker.” (a) *Ḳi-din-Ḳul-maš* DUMU LÚ.AŠGAB UM 29-16-135:3.
- A.4** *atkuppu*. “Craftsman working with reeds.” (a) *Ḳa-ri-bu* DUMU LÚ.AD.KID BE 14 138:13.²²

¹⁷ For a recent discussion on the meaning of such name-forms, see Hölscher, *PKN* 7. This topic needs further investigation.

¹⁸ It seems better at this preliminary stage to include a wider range of examples that technically seem to fit into the stylistically defined category. Later re-examination—and the addition of more data—may either support or question the appropriateness of the classification in individual instances.

¹⁹ These have never been investigated in detail for the Kassite period; but note the remarks of Sassmannshausen, BaF 21 13–4. In the Late Bronze Age, especially outside the jurisdiction of Babylonia and Assyria proper, there seems to be a broader meaning to these terms and quite possibly an extension beyond the biological kin of the king or royal family (for Ugarit, see, e.g., M. Heltzer, *The Internal Organization of the Kingdom of Ugarit* [Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1982] 168–9; for Nuzi, W. Mayer, *Nuzi-Studien I* [AOAT 205/1; Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Verlag Butzon & Bercker/Neukirchener Verlag, 1978] 116–20; for Hana, see the remarks of A. H. Podany, *The Land of Hana* [Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 2002] 121). Note that *mār šarri* in at least some later contexts (Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian) has the restricted sense of “crown prince, heir to the throne.” The problems involved are also discussed briefly in CAD Š/2 111b–112a.

²⁰ The name entry in the next line reads: KIMIN.

²¹ Hölscher, *PKN* 33 reads this name as *āpil abulli* (i.e., KÁ.GA[L?]); but that seems unlikely. The title *āpil bābi* is amply attested in Middle Babylonian (AHw 58a, CAD A/2 170a); I am unaware of any occurrences of *āpil abulli*.

²² The next two personal-name entries in this text are followed by ŠEŠ-šú, probably indicating that they share the same patronymic.

The Use of Occupation Names as Patronyms in the Kassite Period

- A.5** *atû*. “Doorkeeper.” (a) Ø DUMU ¹Ī.DU₈ UM 29-15-795:11.
- A.6** *bā'iru, bā'eru*. “Fisherman, hunter.” (a) Ø DUMU ¹ba-e-ri BM 81092:2. [also used as the name of a principal; see B.2 below]
- A.7** *bānû*. “Builder.” (a) ¹ib-ni-^dIM DUMU ¹ba-ni-i CBS 7230 ii 16 (= *MUN* 112).²³ [also used as the name of a principal; see B.3 below]²⁴
- A.8** *bāqilu*. “Maltster.” (a) ¹ra-ba-te-e-a DUMU ¹LÚ.MUNU₄ A. 30166:14 (= 3NT 143).²⁵
- A.9** *bārû*. “Diviner.” (a) ¹dIM-MU-ŠEŠ DUMU LÚ.ĤAL Kessler, *Studies Boehmer* 285–6 no. 3:9' (Baradān). (b) ¹dIM-MU-SI.SÁ DUMU LÚ.ĤAL BaF 7 pl. 160 no. 715 rev. 21' (Zubeidi). (c) ¹bu-nu-ú-a DUMU LÚ.ĤAL N 1035 rev. 9' (= *MUN* 13). (d) ¹e¹-ti-ru-tum DUMU LÚ.ĤAL BaF 7 pl. 159 no. 715:17 (Zubeidi). (e) ¹mar-tu-ku DUMU LÚ.ĤAL BaF 7 pl. 162 no. 721:5 (Zubeidi). (f) ¹mu-še-zi-bu DUMU ¹LÚ.ĤAL *Sumer* 9 (1953) after p. 34 no. 1:16 (Dūr-Kurigalzu). (g) Ø DUMU ¹ba-ri-i N 1042:4.²⁶
- A.10** *dayyānu*. “Judge.” (a) Ø DUMU ¹de-e-a-a-ni CBS 10908:6'.²⁷
- A.11** *gallābu*. “Barber.” (a) ¹ZÁLAG-^ddil-bat ŠEŠ.A.NI DUMU ¹ŠU.I WZJ 8 (1958–59) pl. XV HS 115:20.²⁸ (b) Ø DUMU ¹ŠU.I CBS 10971 rev. 12.²⁹
- A.12** *gāzizu*. “Shearer.” (a) ¹dIM-taš-mar DUMU ¹ga¹-zi-zi BaM 13 (1982) 76–9 no. 9 rev. 3.
- A.13** *huppû*. “(a type of weaver).” (a) ¹eri-ba-^dAMAR.UTU DUMU ¹hu-up-pi-i BE 17 58:6'. (b) ¹u-ba-a-a DUMU ¹hu-up-pi-i PBS 2/2 106:20. (c) ¹a-ši-gi ¹DUMU ¹hu-up-pi-i CBS 4565 rev. 7.³⁰
- A.14** *ikkaru*. “Plowman.” (a) ¹KA-^dIM³¹ DUMU ¹ik-ka-ri BE 15 43:2. (b) Ø DUMU LÚ.ENGAR TuM NF 5 17:4. (c) ¹ARĤUŠ-ši-^dgu-la DUMU.SAL ¹ik-ka-ri BE 15 200 ii 11. (d) Ø DUMU.SAL *ik-ka-[r]i* BE 15 188 rev. i'

²³ In cases where I have read or collated Philadelphia tablets not published in the standard BE and PBS series, the museum number will be cited as primary, with a *MUN* number added if the text has been published in BaF 21. Where my information comes from *MUN* alone, the museum number will not be given.

²⁴ It is also possible to interpret this name as *banû*, “well-proportioned, beautiful.”

²⁵ Bāqilu is not a common personal name, but occurs earlier in Hana texts as (¹)ba-qi-lum (see Podany, *The Land of Hana* nos. 1:19, 2:19, 9:28). For the correct reading of the PN in these texts, note already CPN 63 as well as AHw 105a, CAD B 100a.

²⁶ Additional, damaged references may be found in BaF 7 pl. 160 no. 715 rev. 5' and pl. 161 no. 719:5, 7, 11, 13 (all Zubeidi).

²⁷ For the Middle Babylonian shift from medial -ay(y)a- to -iy(y)a-, see Gelb, *BiOr* 12 (1955) 102. The name Da"ānu is attested also in Middle Assyrian (Claudio Saporetti, *Onomastica medio-assira* [Studia Pohl 6; 2 vols.; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970] 1 191). It is possible that Dayyānu/Diyyānu is an abbreviation of a longer name such as Dayyān-DN, Dayyāni-DN, or Dayyān-ili.

²⁸ The brother mentioned may be Kandu, whose “house” (É) is mentioned in the preceding line.

²⁹ The name *gallābu* also occurs as a patronym in Middle Assyrian (KAJ 205:14; *AfO* 10 [1935–36] no. 61:7).

³⁰ The line-numbering on the reverse of this text is problematic, since many small notes were later added between the lines; I have generally labelled these note insertions as lines 3a, 4a, etc. to distinguish them from the main entries.

³¹ Rigim-Adad.

- 11'.³² (e) Ø DUMU.SAL LÚ.ENGAR CBS 8558:7'. [also used as the name of a principal; see B.6 below]³³
- A.15** *išparu*. “Weaver.” (a) 'EN-ú-šá-x DUMU LÚ.UŠ'.BAR *BaM* 13 (1982) 57–9 no. 1:5 (Imlihiye). (b) 'en-ta-an-ta'-ni DUMU LÚ.UŠ'.BAR *BaM* 13 (1982) 88–90 no. 18:2 (Imlihiye). [also used as the name of a principal; see B.7 below]
- A.16** *iššakku*. “(a type of farmer).” (a) Ø DUMU 'LÚ'.ÉNSI CBS 7714:23. [also used as the name of a principal; see B.8 below]
- A.17** *itinnu*. “Builder.” (a) IGI '30-'le'-i 'DUMU 'i'-'t[i]-nu UET 7 31 rev. 10 (Ur); reading not beyond question.
- A.18** *kalû*. “Lamentation priest.” (a) IGI 'ri-mu'-tum DUMU 'LÚ.GALA Ni. 25:19.
- A.19** *kaššidakku*. “Miller.” (a) 'DÜ-a-šá-^dU.GUR DUMU 'LÚ.KA.'ZÍD'.DA PBS 2/2 116:4.
- A.20** *kurgarrû*. “Cultic performer.” (a) 'be-la'?'-nu DUMU 'KUR.GAR.RA BE 14 118:21. (b) Ø DUMU 'LÚ.KUR.GAR.RA LÚ.BÁĦAR BE 14 118:22. [also used as the name of a principal; see B.10 below]
- A.21** *kutimmu*. “Metalsmith (working in precious metals).” (a) ['š'i-'i'-kab-ta-at DUMU 'LÚ.KÙ.DÍM 'R.É.GAL *Iraq* 11 (1949) 147 no. 8 rev. 22 (Dür-Kurigalzu). (b) Ø DUMU 'LÚ.KÙ.DÍM BE 15 90:28. (c) Ø DUMU 'KÙ.DÍ[M] PBS 2/2 73:13. [also used as the name of a principal; see B.11 below]
- A.22** *mākisu*. “Tax collector.” (a) 'mu-tak-ki-lum DUMU LÚ ma-ki-si ša URU *Za-ad-di BaM* 13 (1982) 60–2 no. 2 rev. 4–5 (Imlihiye).³⁴
- A.23** *malāhu*. “Boatman.” (a) ['i-qi-šú DUMU LÚ.MÁ.'LAĦ₄' Ni. 11605 rev. 9. (b) Ø DUMU 'ma-la-ḥi CBS 8682:2 (= *MUN* 215). (c) 'KIMIN DUMU.SAL 'MÁ.LAĦ₄ Ni. 943:10. (d) Ø DUMU.SAL 'MÁ.LAĦ₄ BE 15 163:13. (e) Ø 'DUMU.SAL' 'MÁ.'LAĦ₄' CBS 8873:16. (f) Ø

³² The DUMU.SAL (without MEŠ) is preceded by “6,” which Hölscher (*PKN* 91) has interpreted to mean six daughters not mentioned by name. In fact, the “6,” which is preceded by the PAP sign, totals the personnel entries (male and female) mentioned by name in the six preceding lines; and *mārat ikkari* refers to the person concerned with or supervising the personnel.

³³ In the first millennium, it seems clear that *mār ikkari* and *mārū ikkari/ikkarāti* designate a class of agricultural worker rather than a family group: see CAD I/J 54 sub *ikkaru* in *mār ikkari* and M. Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire* (PIHANS 54; Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1985) 77 no. 46 (LÚ šušanū DUMU.MEŠ LÚ.ENGAR.MEŠ). Note also the remarks by M. Jursa, *Die Landwirtschaft in Sippar in neubabylonischer Zeit* (AfO Beih. 25; Vienna: Institut für Orientalistik der Universität Wien, 1995) 7–8 (with further literature). For Bīt Ikkari as an economic and administrative unit in early eighth-century Babylonia, see *Studies Sjöberg* 42–7. The name occurs as *ikkāru* in Middle Assyrian (Saporetti, *Onomastica* 1 241; Freydank and Saporetti, *Nuove attestazioni dell'onomastica medio-assira* [Incunabla Graeca 74; Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo & Bizzarri, 1979] 61).

³⁴ If the *ša* GN is part of the title, i.e., “tax collector of the town Zaddu,” then this patronym seems more specific than most other examples cited here and could point to an individual rather than to an inchoate ancestral name. But one may also compare the specified *šangū* names/titles below (A.42–44); some of these, despite their specificity, occur as ancestral names in the Neo-Babylonian period (e.g., Šangū Akkad: Bongenaar, *Sippar* 541 and CAD Š/1 381b; Šangū Sippar: Bongenaar, *Sippar* 447–63).

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- DUMU.SAL *ma-la-ḫi* Ni. 2222:2. (g) Ø DUMU.SAL *ma-la-ḫi* Ni. 6074:2. (h) Ø DUMU.SAL *ma-la-ḫi* UM 29-15-967:2 (= *MUN* 216).
- A.24** *mandidu, mādidu*. “Measurer.” (a) Ø DUMU.SAL *ma-an-di-di* BE 15 155:7. (b) Ø DUMU.SAL LÚ.Ġ.ÁG *Iraq* 11 (1949) 145 no. 5:4 (Dūr-Kurigalzu).
- A.25** *nagāru*. “Carpenter.” (a) *È-a-na-ZÁLAG-šú* DUMU LÚ.NAGAR BaF 7 pl. 159 no. 715:9 (Zubeidi). (b) *na-zi-iz-ru-uq*³⁵ DUMU LÚ.NAGAR Ni. 185:3. (c) [*i-/ta-*]-*qí-šu* DUMU LÚ.NAGAR Ni. 1065:13' (d) Ø DUMU.SAL LÚ.NAGAR BaF 7 pl. 159 no. 715:3 (Zubeidi).³⁶ (e) Ø DUMU.SAL LÚ.NAGAR CBS 8873:4.³⁷ [also used as the name of a principal; see B.13 below]
- A.26** *nappāhu*. “Smith.” (a) []-*x-x-tum* DUMU.SAL LÚ.SIMUG *ša* LUGAL Ni. 7013:13'.³⁸ [also used as the name of a principal; see B.15 below]
- A.27** *nuḫatimmu*. “Cook, baker.” (a) Ø DUMU.SAL LÚ.MU BE 15 155:31. (b) Ø DUMU LÚ.MU UM 29-15-795:9.
- A.28** *nukarribu*. “Gardener.” (a) *mu-x-x-su* DUMU *NU.GIŠ.SAR* BaF 7 pl. 162 no. 722:10' (Zubeidi). [also used as the name of a principal; see B.17 below]
- A.29** *paḫāru*. “Potter.” (a) *SU-^dAMAR.UTU* DUMU LÚ.BÁHAR Peiser, *Urkunden* no. 111:2 (Peiser archive). (b) *SU-^dAMAR.UTU* DUMU LÚ.BÁHAR¹ Peiser, *Urkunden* no. 116:4 (Peiser archive). (c) *lin-nu-un-nu* DUMU *pa-ḫa-ri* UM 29-15-273 obv.? i' 10'. (d) *PN¹* DUMU.SAL *pa-ḫa-ri* CBS 3667:6. (e) *ḫu-zu-tum* DUMU.SAL *pa-ḫa-ri* TuM NF 5 34:36'. [also used as the name of a principal; see B.18 below]
- A.30** *paqqayu*. “Maker of reed mats.” (a) *I-qí-^rša^{1-d}IM* DUMU *pa-qá-a-a-i* BE 15 175:47. (b) Ø DUMU.SAL *pa-qá-a-a-i* BE 15 155:34'.³⁹ (c) Ø DUMU *pa-qá-a-a-i* BE 15 174:8.
- A.31** *qadištu/qadiltu*.⁴⁰ “(a type of priestess).” (a) *IMU-lib-ši* DUMU *qá-di-^ri¹-ti* PBS 2/2 122:22.⁴¹ (b) [*x*]-*x-tum* DUMU *qa-diš-t[i]* UM 29-15-765:5⁴² (= *MUN* 373). (c) Ø DUMU *qa-diš-t[i¹]* *MUN* 348:5.⁴³
- A.32** *rēdû*. “(a type of administrator).” (a) *ŠEŠ-SIG₅* DUMU *re-di-i* NBC 7961:24. (b) *bu-ni-x-ni* DUMU *re-di-i* NBC 7991:2. (c)

³⁵ The reading of the second element of the name is uncertain.

³⁶ Followed by the woman's designation as DAM LÚ.x(x).^rKI^r.

³⁷ Note that a Larsa kudurru dealing with agricultural real estate describes a neighboring parcel of land (and its owner) as *ša* DUMU LÚ.NAGAR *RA* 66 (1972) 170:14.

³⁸ The additional specification of *ša šarri* raises the probability that the text may be dealing with an individual designated by title rather than with a more generic patronym.

³⁹ Compare [...] *pa-qá-a-a-i* in broken context in Ni. 2880 rev.? 4'. It has not been determined whether this is the name of a principal or a patronym.

⁴⁰ CAD Q 50a also calls attention to a comparable use in Ugarit: PN DUMU *qa-diš-ti* as the syllabically written equivalent of the Ugaritic name *bn.qdšt*.

⁴¹ The principal here is a *nāqidu* (NA.GAD), to judge from the text heading.

⁴² Lines 4–5 here are a single entry, as can be seen from the quantities listed and the total.

⁴³ This reference, despite the masculine personal determinative, may perhaps also refer to a matronym; compare the varying determinatives for a patronym/matronym at Ur (references in note 60 below). Qadiltu also occurs in Middle Assyrian as a feminine proper name (Saporetti, *Onomastica* 1 373).

- ^{1d}AMAR.UTU-SUM-ŠEŠ.MEŠ DUMU ¹re-di-i PBS 1/2 22:19. (d)
^{1d}PA.KU-re-šú-ú-a DUMU ¹re-di-i BE 14 86:5 and case, line 6.⁴⁴ [for possible usage as the name of a principal, see B.19 below]
- A.33 *rē'i alpi*. “Oxherd.” (a) ¹EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú DUMU ⁰SIPA.GU₄.H₁.A TBER pl. 13 AO 8133:13'.⁴⁵
- A.34 *rē'i sisē*. “Horse herder.” (a) ⁰DUMU.SAL ¹SIPA.ANŠE.KUR.RA UM 29-13-197:3.
- A.35 *re'û*. “Shepherd.” (a) [⁰DUMU].SAL ¹LÚ.SIPA UM 29-13-197:4.⁴⁶
- A.36 *sāmidu*. “Miller.” (a) IGI ¹ap-lu-ti DUMU ¹sa-mi-di IM 49974:18a; the text is published in *Iraq* 11 (1949) 143, but this line has been omitted in the copy (it should be inserted between the lines numbered there as 18 and 19). [also used as the name of a principal; see B.20 below]⁴⁷
- A.37 *sasinnu*. “Bowmaker.” (a) ¹KIMIN DUMU ¹sa-si-in-ni CBS 4578:13'.⁴⁸ (b) ⁰DUMU.SAL ¹LÚ.ZADIM Ni. 1658:11.
- A.38 *sirāšû*. “Brewer.” (a) ¹ki-di-ni-tum DUMU.SAL ⁰ŠIM CBS 3667:1. (b) ¹ta-rib-tum DUMU ¹LÚ.ŠIMxGAR PBS 2/2 73:39.
- A.39 *sukkallu*. “(a court official).” (a) ⁰DUMU LÚ.SUKKAL Ni. 834:11.
- A.40 *šāhîtu*. “Oil-presser.” (a) ^{1d}IM-re-ša-šu DUMU LÚ.Ī.ŠUR BE 14 8:3. (b) ^{1d}IM-re-ša-šu DUMU ¹Ī.ŠUR TuM NF 5 68:20'. (c) ⁰DUMU ¹LÚ.Ī.ŠUR ÉNSI MUN 298:3. (d) ⁰DUMU ¹ša-ḫi-ti CBS 10484 rev. 9'.
- A.41 *šangû*. “Chief temple administrator.” (a) ¹ŠEŠ-du-tum DUMU ⁰É.BAR NBC 7961:26. (b) ¹il-lu-ul-lum DUMU ⁰É.BAR CBS 3511:9. (c) ^{1d}NIN.IB-ŠEŠ DUMU ¹É.BAR MUN 40:5. (d) ⁰DUMU ⁰É.BAR Kessler, *Studies Boehmer* 284–5 no. 2:7 (Baradān). (e) ... DUMU LÚ.É.BAR Peiser, *Urkunden* no. 114:7, immediately preceding context undetermined, perhaps a PN ending in []-x-tum (Peiser archive).⁴⁹
- A.42 *šangû DN*. “Chief temple administrator for DN.” (a) ¹mu-ra-nu 'DUMU' LÚ.É.BAR D[N]⁵⁰ Ni. 6551:7.
- A.43 *šangû Sippar*. “Chief temple administrator of Sippar.” (a) ⁰DUMU ⁰ša¹-an-ge-e UD.KIB.NUN.'KI' BE 15 168:17.
- A.44 *šangû ša akkadî*. “Chief temple administrator of Akkad.” (a) ⁰[DU]MU ¹LÚ.É.BAR ša ak-ka-di [()] MUN 338:6–7.

⁴⁴ Evidence for the function of the *rēdû* in the Kassite period is sparse. The primary pertinent text and difficulties with its interpretation are discussed in Section B.19 below.

⁴⁵ Cf. [...] DUMU ¹SUD-TU-šu DUMU ¹SIPA-x [...] UET 7 1:2.

⁴⁶ The restorations are reasonably certain because of the spacing in this account, including the alignment of the two preceding entries: ⁰DUMU ¹i-li-eri-ba and ⁰DUMU.SAL ¹SIPA.ANŠE.KUR.RA.

⁴⁷ The name *Sāmidu* also occurs in Middle Assyrian (Saporetti, *Onomastica* 1 388–9; Freydank and Saporetti, *Nuove attestazioni dell'onomastica medio-assira* 105; see also WVDog 92 9:7, 14:17).

⁴⁸ The entry on the preceding line is ^{1d}PA.KU-ta-qiš-TI-ī. ¹KIMIN and DUMU ¹sa-si-in-ni in line 13' could be separate entries.

⁴⁹ The number of Middle Babylonian patronyms composed of *šangû* plus either a divine name or a geographical name is worthy of note. For the first millennium, I have counted no fewer than twenty-seven different examples in patronymic (second tier of two-tier genealogy) or ancestral (third tier of three-tier genealogy) use.

⁵⁰ Perhaps ^dK[A.DI] = ¹Š[taran].

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- A.45** *šāqû*. “Cupbearer.” (a) ^{ld}NIN.IB-*mu-šal-lim* DUMU ^lŠILA.ŠU.DU₈ BE 15 103:12.
- A.46** *šatammu*. “Chief steward (of a temple).”⁵¹ (a) Ø DUMU! *øšà-tam-mu* Kessler, *Studies Boehmer* 284–5 no. 2:3 (Baradān).⁵²
- A.47** *šuiḡinakku*. “Barber.” (a) [] DUMU ^lLÚ *šu-i-gi-na-ki* PBS 2/2 116:8.⁵³
- A.48** *tamkāru*. “Merchant.” (a) ^leri-ba-^dUTU DUMU ^lDAM.GĀR⁷ CBS 8501:1 = *BaM* 28 (1997) 204 no. 7, collated. (b) ^liz-kur⁷-^dUTU DUMU ^lDAM.GĀR Ni. 1065:19'. (c) ^lki-din-^dAMAR.U[TU] DUMU ^lDAM.GĀR CBS 8501:15. (d) ^{ld}NIN.IB-a-pīl-Ā-ia DUMU LÚ.DAM.GĀR UM 29-15-728:3'.
- A.49** *ṭābiḡu (ṭabbiḡu?)*. “Butcher.” (a) Ø ^lDUMU¹ ^ltab-bi-ḡi UM 29-13-298:6.⁵⁴
- A.50** *ṭupšarru*. “Scribe.” (a) ^le-ri-bu DUMU ^lDUB.SAR Ni. 128:5. (b) ^lri-šat-i-na-še-re-ti DUMU.SAL ^lDUB.SAR BE 15 200 ii 36. (c) ^lri-šat-i-na-še-re-ti ^lDUMU.SAL ^lDUB.SAR⁷ CBS 8848 iii' 4. (d) Ø DUMU ^lDUB.SAR Ni. 381:2, 11.⁵⁵
- A.51** LÚ.TÚG.BAR.⁵⁶ “(meaning unknown).” (a) IGI ^lḡu-nu-bi-ia DUMU LÚ.TÚG⁷(copy: ŠU).BAR TuM NF 5 74:21. Reading and interpretation uncertain.⁵⁷

Other less likely candidates for inclusion are as follows. *Abdu*, “slave,” usually viewed as a word of West Semitic origin, occurs several times as a patronym in Middle Babylonian texts;⁵⁸ but, unlike most of the words

⁵¹ *šatammu* and *šangû* are defined by CAD, at least for the first millennium, as “chief administrator of a temple” (Š/1 377a) and “chief temple administrator” (Š/2 185b) respectively, supposedly with complementary distribution for the temples served. For the late second millennium, the functions of these two officials have been summarized by Sassmannshausen, *BaF* 21 64–6, 67. In BM 38124, a royal *rikiltu* document, the king Meli-Šipak issues instructions for Nabû-zākir-šumi (written ^{ld}AG-MU-MU), the *šangû* (É.BAR), and Nabû-mukīn-apli, the *šatammu* of Ezida, for the management of the temple. The *šangû* is mentioned before the *šatammu* and presumably outranks him (part of the text is cited in CAD Š/2 190–91). The distinction between the two officials is worthy of further investigation, especially whether the *šatammu* might have been more often concerned with finances and personnel and not directly with the performance of cult ritual.

⁵² Or perhaps ŠĀ.TAM-*mu*. The value *šà* is also on occasion used in Middle Babylonian to write the first syllable in the royal name Šagarakti-Šuriaš (*MSKH* 1 309).

⁵³ Or ^lLÚ.ŠU.I.GI.NA-*ki*.

⁵⁴ The existence of a supposed Middle Babylonian variant *ṭabbiḡu* for the *ṭābiḡu* in other dialects (sic *AHw* 1376a; Sassmannshausen, *BaF* 21 83) has not been sufficiently demonstrated. The writing of the first syllable with a CVC sign in administrative texts is not a good indication that the second consonant must be doubled. *Ṭābiḡu* may also appear as a personal name in Middle Assyrian (Saporetti, *Onomastica* 1 484).

⁵⁵ The name also occurs in line 14 of this text, but the immediately preceding context is damaged and not yet read.

⁵⁶ Or LÚ.TÚG.MAŠ. The signs do not seem to support a reading as either *ašlāku* or *pūšayu*.

⁵⁷ Sassmannshausen raises the possibility of interpreting this as *šubarrû*, but notes that that would be an unparalleled writing (*BiOr* 55 [1998] 830).

⁵⁸ PBS 2/2 13:6, 35; PBS 2/2 59:11; UM 29-13-384:10 (= *MUN* 355); Ni. 6733:18; UM 29-16-493:2. Collation shows that the supposed occurrence in *MUN* 112 ii 1 is inaccurate; the last two signs visible in the line are clearly *-an-di* (despite the copy).

considered in this section, when in non-patronymic use *abdu* does not seem to have served as an occupational title; rather it functioned primarily as a common noun indicating subordinate status, usually in literary texts or in personal names.⁵⁹ There is also the anomalous *ḥarimdu* (*ḥarimtu*, *ḥarindu*), “prostitute,” which occurs in patronymic context preceded by a masculine personal determinative: ^ldIM-EN-*ka-la* DUMU ^lḥa-ri-im-di PBS 8/2 158:6.⁶⁰

B. Occupation Names Used as the Personal Names of Principals

Outside the contexts DUMU PN and DUMU.SAL PN treated above in Section A, occupation names or titles are also used to form personal names for principals in Kassite period texts. Since the sign formed by a single vertical wedge can stand for both the masculine personal determinative and the numeral “one,” it is often impossible to distinguish from the writing alone whether “Mr. Carpenter” or “one carpenter” is meant; context will be the guide in determining meaning. In texts consisting for the most part of personal names, the presumption will be that “Mr. Carpenter” is to be preferred; in texts where persons are categorized primarily by occupation or title, it is likely that “one carpenter” is intended. There will inevitably be uncertainty in mixed contexts in which neither of the above types of reference predominates, and that will be noted here. In the examples I have seen to date, there seems to be at least a slight preference for syllabic rather than logographic writing of occupation names used as personal names for principals;⁶¹ but this could be coincidence distorted by the present paucity of data.⁶² Logographic writings, with the exception of ^lKUR.GAR.RA, are preceded by LÚ as well as the masculine personal determinative.

B.1 *aluzinnu*. “Clown.” (a) ^la-^llu^l-zi-in-nu BE 15 123:8. [also used as a patronym; see A.1 above]

⁵⁹ It could also be an abbreviation of a longer name such as Abdu-DN.

⁶⁰ One should not simply dismiss this occurrence out of hand, since there are other instances in this period where matronyms appear to be written with masculine personal determinatives; see Section A.31 above and note the alternation between the masculine and feminine personal determinatives before the parental name Dayyānātu/Diyyānātu in the Ur Brewers Archive (references in UET 7 p. 12 and Gurney, *MBTU* p. 197, with the discrepancies in gender of the personal determinatives noted *MBTU* p. 56, note to obv. 4'). Note also the Old Babylonian usage at Ur: Nanna-mansum DUMU *ḥa-ri-im-ti* UET 5 475:7.

⁶¹ With the exceptions of *kurgarrū* (B.10), *kutimmu* (B.11), *nukarribu* (B.16), and *usandū/ušandū* (B.21), for which I have yet to find a syllabic spelling.

⁶² One should also note in passing that Sassmannshausen in his review of Hölscher, *PKN* on Kassite-period personal names from Nippur listed approximately thirty occupation titles (Berufsbezeichnungen) used as personal names in that corpus, though he was not of course concerned with distinguishing between principal versus ancestral usage (*BiOr* 55 [1998] 840).

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- B.2** *bā'iru, bā'eru*. “Fisher, hunter.” (a) *ba-i-ru* BE 14 80:6. (b) *ba-i-ru* BE 15 194:21. (c) *ba-i-rum* BE 14 151:21. (d) *ba-e-rum* BE 14 83:4. (e) *ba-e-rum* BE 14 87:5. [also used as a patronym; see A.6 above]
- B.3** *bānū*. “Builder.” (a) *ba-nu-ú* PBS 8/2 159:17.⁶³ [also used as a patronym; see A.7 above]
- B.4** *ēšidu*. “Harvester.” (a) *ʿeʷ-ši-du* BE 15 190 rev. iii' 11.
- B.5** *ḥazannu*. “Mayor.” (a) *a-na ḥa-za-an-ni* Ni. 2207 rev. 2', 4'.
- B.6** *ikkaru*. “Plowman.” (a) *ik-ka-rum* BE 14 57:14.⁶⁴ (b) *ik-ka-rum* BE 14 151:36. [also used as a patronym; see A.14 above]
- B.7** *išparu*. “Weaver.” (a) *iš-pa-ru* Ni. 643:14 (list of *munabittu*). [also used as a patronym; see A.15 above]
- B.8** *iššakku*. “(a type of farmer)” (a) *iš-ša-ku* BE 15 167:14.⁶⁵ [also used as a patronym; see A.16 above]
- B.9** *kāširu*. “Tailor(?)” (a) *ka-ši-rum* PBS 2/2 130 i 3'.⁶⁶
- B.10** *kurgarrū*. “Cultic performer.” (a) *KUR.GAR.RA* BE 14 61:4. (b) *KUR.GAR.RA* BE 14 151:34. (c) *KUR.GAR.RA TBER* pl. 25 AO 8187–3 ii 5'. [also used as a patronym; see A.20 above]
- B.11** *kutimmu*. “Metalsmith (working in precious metals).” (a) *LÚ.KÙ.DÍM N* 867 rev. 5'. [also used as a patronym; see A.21 above]
- B.12** *mariannu*. “Chariot driver.” (a) *ma-ri-ia-an-nu* CBS 8899 rev. ii 2'. (b) *[ma-ri-ia-nu N 1803 rev.? 4']*.⁶⁷
- B.13** *naḡāru*. “Carpenter.” (a) *na-ga-ru* Ni. 3161:21.⁶⁸ [also used as a patronym; see A.25 above]
- B.14** *nāḡiru*. “Herald.” (a) *na-gi-rum* CBS 7235:12.⁶⁹
- B.15** *nappāḫu*. “Smith.” (a) *na-ap-pa-ḫu* Ni. 643:6 (list of *munabittu*). [also used as a patronym; see A.26 above]

⁶³ There are also more than twenty attestations of a name written *LÚ-ba-nu-ú*, *LÚ-ba-ni-i* (gen.), and *LÚ.DÙ* (once), examples of which are listed by Hölscher, *PKN* 46–7. She also mentions a writing <L>*LÚ.DÙ* at the beginning of her discussion, but cites no example of its use. Sassmannshausen, *BiOr* 55 (1998) 832, suggests a reading *Amīlu-banū* and compares the Middle Babylonian feminine personal name written explicitly as *a-wi-il-tum-ba-ni-tum* BE 15 163:6. This is a possibility even though the same man's name is written *LÚ-ʿbaʷ-nu-ʿúʷ* in BE 14 167:23 and as *LÚ.DÙ* in PBS 2/2 34:21 (perhaps to be explained by folk etymology, writing *-banū* as though it were *-bānūʷ*). I have here included only the writing without a preceding *LÚ*, which must be read without *amīlu*; but, of course, it is possible to interpret this too as *banū* rather than *bānū*.

⁶⁴ Interestingly, this individual has the occupation *iššakku* (written ÉNSI), as can be seen from the text heading, line 3.

⁶⁵ Cf. a possible *iš-ša-ki* occurring in broken context in BE 17 54:7.

⁶⁶ Though this usage seems to be rare in Middle Babylonian, *kāširu* is attested as a personal name in Babylonia from the Old Babylonian down as late as the Achaemenid period (literature in CAD K 264b).

⁶⁷ Mariannu is also found as a personal name in Middle Assyrian (Saporetti, *Onomastica* 1 317; Freydank and Saporetti, *Nuove attestazioni dell'onomastica medio-assira* 83). It occurs as a title primarily in peripheral Late Bronze Akkadian.

⁶⁸ One may also note BE 15 154:31 (*LÚ.NAGAR?* vs. 1 *LÚ.NAGAR?*, the former reading perhaps more likely).

⁶⁹ A more likely reading than 1 *na-gi-rum* in context because the text is an account listing in its right column personal names and officials by title (the latter not preceded by numbers).

- B.16** *nāqīdu*. “Herder.” (a) ¹na-qi¹-du BE 15 200 iv 29.⁷⁰
- B.17** *nukarribu*. “Gardener.” (a) ¹LÚ.NU.GIŠ.SAR Ni. 340:7.⁷¹ [also used as a patronym; see A.28 above]
- B.18** *paḥāru*. “Potter.” (a) ¹pa-ḥa-rum BE 15 37:48. (b) ¹pa-ḥa-rum BE 15 39:10. [also used as a patronym; see A.29 above]
- B.19** *rēdû*. “(a type of administrator).” (a) ¹re-du-û TuM NF 5 69:26. This reference, though formally included here, is of doubtful value. This text is the only presently known example from Kassite Babylonia that gives *rēdû* as the title of an active official. Nūr-Bēlet-Akkadi explicitly bears the title here (line 9); and later references in the text to ¹re-du-û (line 26) and *re-di-i* (genitive, line 32) in clauses describing possible future actions are likely to be to him.⁷² [used as a patronym; see A.32 above]
- B.20** *sāmīdu*. “Miller.” (a) ¹sa-mi-du BE 14 33:5 (collated; Clay’s copy omits a vertical wedge here following ¹KIMIN). (b) ¹sa-mi-di (gen.) TuM NF 5 18:20. (c) ¹sa-mi-du UET 7 5 rev. 4 (Ur). (d) ¹ḥu-rad ¹sa-mi-di CBS 10958 rev. 8’. (e) ¹ḥu-rad ¹sa-mi-d[i] Ni. 1090 rev.? i’? 5. (f) ¹ḥu-rad ¹sa-mi-di Ni. 6471 rev. 14’.⁷³ (g) ¹ḥu-rad ¹sa-mi-¹di¹ Ni. 11074:20’.⁷⁴ [also used as a patronym; see A.36 above]
- B.21** *sēbû, sâbû*. “Beer-seller.” (a) ¹se-bu-û MSKH 1 pl. 4 no. 8:15.⁷⁵
- B.22** *usandû, ušandû*. “Bird-keeper, bird-catcher.” (a) ¹LÚ.¹MUŠEN.DÛ¹ BE 15 38c:14. (b) [¹]LÚ.MUŠEN.DÛ BE 15 39:9. (c) ¹LÚ.MUŠEN.DÛ BE 15 194:22.

Other less probable examples include the following. *Ardu*, “slave, servant, subordinate,”⁷⁶ even though it does occur as an occupational title in servile laborer (*guruš*) rosters, could just as well be an abbreviation of a name

⁷⁰ Thus CAD N/1 334a, *PKN* 147; this correction was made already in BE 15 p. 38 and in *CPN* 111. Collation of the original (December 2002) shows that the second-last sign in the name is not the clear DI copied by Clay and that ¹qi¹ might be considered the more likely reading. *Nāqīdu* also occurs as a personal name in Middle Assyrian (Saporetti, *Onomastica* 1 347).

⁷¹ The occurrence is in an account text in which all other entries are masculine personal names.

⁷² See *MRWH* 42, and CAD R 250–1.

⁷³ This reference was pointed out to me by Daniel Nevez.

⁷⁴ *Ḥurād Sāmīdi* refers to a location or to a contingent of soldiers, but uses a personal name as referent. Whether the *Sāmīdu* of the name was alive at the time the text was written has not been determined (presumably the name could continue after the death of the person). *MUN* 452 rev. 1’ writes [¹h]u-rad ¹sa¹-mi-di without the masculine personal determinative. For *ḥurādu* possibly designating a locale or small settlement, see *MSKH* 1 392 n. 1 and note the collection of geographical names composed of *Ḥurād*- in K. Nashef, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der mittelbabylonischen und mittelassyrischen Zeit* (RGTC 5; Wiesbaden : L. Reichert, 1982) 131. After the Kassite period, *ḥurādu* seems to survive in Babylonia mostly in rare use in toponyms: (a) NBC 11468, an administrative text from year 19 of Adad-apla-iddina [= 1051], was written in URU *ḥu-ra-du*; (b) BM 54586, a legal text from year 20 of Kandalānu [= 628] was written in URU *ḥu-rad*; and (c) TuM 2–3 167, a legal text written in Borsippa in year 10 of Darius [= 512], mentions a field *sā* UGU *ḥar-ri sā ḥu-rad su-ḥa-a-a* in lines 2–3.

⁷⁵ Note, however, that the occupation title as such is thus far attested only once in Kassite period Babylonia and is on that occasion written *sa-bi-i* (gen.) TuM NF 5 74:23.

⁷⁶ E.g., BE 14 66:5, BE 15 109:9, UM 29-13-592 ii’ 5’.

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such as Arad-DN. *Dayyāntu/Diyyāntu*, “female judge,”⁷⁷ and *Rēʾitu*, “shepherdess,”⁷⁸ occur as personal names in accounts from Nippur; however, neither of these words is to my knowledge attested as an occupation or title for human beings, but only for goddesses; hence it seems more likely that these two should be viewed as abbreviations of longer names which had a theophoric element.⁷⁹

C. Discussion

The preceding examples should suffice to show that, in the Kassite period, nouns designating occupations or titles were used to form personal names, both patronyms and the names of principals. The question now arises what relationship, if any, this practice may have had to the well-attested later use of occupation names as family or ancestral names in first-millennium Babylonia.

Before the seventh century BC, with a few notable exceptions,⁸⁰ most non-foreign persons in Babylonia were identified in texts with either a one-tier reference (PN) or a two-tier reference including a minimal genealogy (PN son/daughter of PN₂)⁸¹—the latter type hereafter to be referred to as a “two-tier genealogy.” In the case of the two-tier genealogy, the governing presumption has been that in most cases PN₂ represented the name of the actual father, biological or adoptive. Just before the middle of the seventh century,⁸² three-tier genealogies also came into use, at first only sporadically

⁷⁷ *da-a-a-an-tum* BE 14 91a:36; *di-ia-an-tum* BE 15 190 iii 18', SAL *da-a-a-an-tum* CBS 3650 rev. i' 9', 19' (in a *guruš*-list).

⁷⁸ BE 15 155:24 (*re-i-tum*) and possibly BE 15 200 iii 29 (*re-i-tum*?). *Rēʾitu* (written *SIPA-i-tum*) is later attested in the sixth century as an ancestral name (F. Joannès, *Archives de Borsippa: La famille Ea-ilūta-bāni* [Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1989] 357 YBC 9577:13).

⁷⁹ For examples of longer names containing elements derived from *dayyāntu/diyyāntu* and *rēʾitu*, see CAD D 33a, R 257a; and *PKN* 58–9, 110.

⁸⁰ E.g., BM 122696 (published in J. A. Brinkman, “A Kassite Seal Mentioning a Babylonian Governor of Dilmun,” *NABU* 1993/106), *BBS* 5 i 27-ii 3.

⁸¹ I.e., the name of the principal plus a patronym. This was often written, especially in the Kassite period and later, as PN DUMU/DUMU.SAL PN₂ (with A occasionally replacing the simple DUMU in the case of male principals). Somewhat less frequent are the writings PN DUMU-*šú šá* PN₂ and PN DUMU.SAL-*su šá* PN₂ (again with A sometimes replacing DUMU for masculine personal names).

⁸² There is a single three-tier genealogy in what is preserved of the real-estate purchase O. 638:17–18 (collated; published in Speleers, *Recueil* no. 278, dated at Borsippa in the reign of Esarhaddon, year number broken away) among twelve other witnesses (all the rest with two-tier genealogies), probably because the individual accorded extra identification in the witness list is the son of the seller. According to presently available evidence, texts listing all or most individuals in them with three-tier genealogies seem to begin in the reign of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn, e.g., (a) YBC 9120, with duplicate YBC 11391, year 2 (buyer and seller have three-tier genealogies, as do nine out of thirteen witnesses); (b) BM 36479, year 13 (all eleven witnesses have three-tier genealogies, but no one else in the text does); (c) BM 118980, year 14 (buyer

and even later not entirely ousting the older two-tier style.⁸³ Three-tier genealogies most often took the form: PN son/daughter of PN₂ “son” of PN₃.⁸⁴ In the three-tier genealogy, the persons named were principal (PN), actual father (PN₂), and eponymous ancestor (PN₃)—the last being either a simple personal name (e.g., Dābibī or Egibi) or a personal name based on an occupation name/title (e.g., Nappāhu, “Smith,” or Šangû, “chief temple administrator”).⁸⁵ With the advent of the three-tier genealogy, the principal could be more elaborately identified not only by immediate association with the next-generation ascendant (father) but also by participation in a larger “family” group, since many individuals with more remote ties of putative “kinship” than the nuclear or extended family could and did claim descent from a common eponymous ancestor or occupation name.⁸⁶

The possibility that such larger groups were more than merely nominal aggregations is raised by a seventh-century text⁸⁷ found in the Assyrian royal archives describing in unusually explicit terms the descent and family ties of five prominent Babylonians: each man is identified by his own personal name (PN) followed by the name of his father (PN₂),⁸⁸ the name of his grandfather (PN₃),⁸⁹ the name of his family (*qinni šá É*

and seller three-tier, as apparently are all the witnesses); (d) BM 118983, year 15 (two main litigants three-tier, as are five of the six witnesses); (e) YBC 11317, year 20 (three-tier: seven of nine neighbors, the seller and the male buyers, all eleven witnesses). A few other texts use three-tier and two-tier genealogies in lower proportions: (f) YBC 11413, year 12 (three-tier genealogies for the borrower and lender, all others two-tier); (g) BM 47535, year 13 (two main male litigants are three-tier, all other personnel two-tier or without genealogy); (h) BM 67424, year 14 (only one three-tier genealogy, all others with two-tier or no genealogy); (i) YBC 11404, year 19 (the two neighbors have three-tier genealogies, all others have two-tier genealogies or are identified by a brief statement of relationship to other persons in the text). It should be noted that texts which contain three-tier genealogies (even an additional handful with only one or two examples per text) presently constitute less than 8 % of the texts known from the reign of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn—a very slow start for the new-style genealogy. It should also be observed that all the texts mentioned above from the reign of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn were written at Babylon, with the possible exception of BM 47535 (where the place name is not preserved); and so we may be dealing with what was, initially, primarily a local development.

⁸³ It should be noted that single-tier references to persons remained in use in shorter administrative documents, letters, etc., where further identification was not necessary in context. Where greater specificity was advisable, especially in more formal legal contexts, more use was made of two-tier and three-tier genealogies.

⁸⁴ For males: commonly PN A/DUMU-šú šá PN₂ A/DUMU PN₃. For females: commonly PN DUMU.SAL-su šá PN₂ A/DUMU PN₃ or a variant, where fuller descent is indicated at all (females are also often identified by reference to the family into which they had married).

⁸⁵ For ease of reference, the distinction between these two categories of ancestor/ancestry will be simplified here to: personal-name ancestor vs. occupation-name ancestor.

⁸⁶ It was, of course, always possible that the third tier in a three-tier genealogy represented the actual grandfather rather than an eponymous ancestor; but, given general usage, this exception would have to be demonstrated rather than assumed.

⁸⁷ *ABL* 877 = *ADD* 889 = *SAA* 11 153.

⁸⁸ In four of the cases, PN₂ follows a simple DUMU rather than DUMU-šú šá; in the fifth case, it follows a simple A.

⁸⁹ In each case, following a simple DUMU.

PN₄),⁹⁰ and the location of his ancestral or family House in or near Babylon. These tantalizing allusions to real estate described as the “House” of a large family group indicate that at least the more prominent families not only claimed common descent but shared a physical headquarters.⁹¹ The text’s description of each House of a family with a personal-name ancestor as É AD-šú (“House of his father/ancestor”) as contrasted with the House of the family with an occupation-name ancestor, which appears simply as É-šú-nu (“their House”), raises the question whether families claiming descent from personal-name ancestors may have been structurally different or at least perceived as different in some way from families associated with occupation-name ancestors.

Thus, in the seventh century, Babylonians began to make use of a clearer way of designating ancestral or “family” affiliation of individuals, usually by way of the third tier of a three-tier genealogy.⁹² It is possible through such genealogies to trace the names of more than 250 “families” or ancestral groups active in Babylonia in the seventh and later centuries. Members of the more illustrious of these families often occupied prominent political, economic, religious, and cultural positions within Babylonia. The rise and progress of such families or even small branches of them have been the subject of several recent studies, based mostly on family archives.⁹³

These large kin groups did not come into existence only when the written three-tier genealogy began to make their presence explicit and more visible just before the middle of the seventh century. If one looks at two-tier genealogies from the preceding decades, one can see a significant number of distinctive later family names appearing as the second tier in two-tier genealogies.⁹⁴ The presumption in such cases has been that these second-tier names

⁹⁰ In four of the cases, PN₄ is a masculine personal name, each known as the ancestor of a prominent family (Gaḫal, Šumu-libši [given in the text as Šumu-lubši], Bēl-eṭēri [actually written *EN-e-te-ra*], and Egibi). In the fifth case, that of the House of the Boatman, PN₄ is an ancestral occupation-name, LÚ.MÁ.LAḫ₄, “Boatman.” For the use of Bēl-eṭēri as an ancestral name in Babylonia, see J. A. Brinkman and J. P. Nielsen, *PNAE* 298 s.v. Bēl-eṭēra.

⁹¹ And perhaps an explicit organizational structure?

⁹² This was further broadened later, in the fourth century, by the introduction of four-tier genealogies in an environment where the pool of personal-name choices seems to have shrunk considerably.

⁹³ E.g., Bongenaar, *Sippar*; Joannès, *Archives de Borsippa*; M. Jursa, *Das Archiv des Bēl-rēmanni* (PIHANS 86; Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1999); I. Spar and E. von Dassow, *Private Archive Texts from the First Millennium BC* (CT-MMA 3; New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000); and C. Wunsch, *Das Egibi-Archiv*, I: *Die Felder und Gärten* (CM 20A; Groningen: Styx, 2000) and *Die Urkunden des babylonischen Geschäftsmannes Iddin-Marduk* (CM 3A-B; 2 vols.; Groningen: Styx, 1993). The older work by H. M. Kümmel, *Familie, Beruf und Amt im spätbabylonischen Uruk* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1979) remains indispensable; and even Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch* (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1905), despite its great age, can still be used with profit.

⁹⁴ This is true for such names as Dābibī and Gaḫal as well as for the occupation-name patronyms. These may be regarded as distinctively ancestral names because they were not borne

are also ancestral or “family” names, cited in the form of patronyms where reference to the larger “family” group seemed more significant than mention of the actual father. One can identify more than fifty examples of these ancestral names in two-tier genealogies of this earlier time. Such continuity suggests that coherent larger family units—or groups expressing their identity in kinship terms—may already have been in place by at least the middle of the eighth century,⁹⁵ decades before the advent of three-tier genealogies.⁹⁶

Thus the Neo-Babylonian larger family structure, or at least the kinship terminology, seem to have been well established in the period ca. 760–648 BC, i.e., from the reign of Nabû-šuma-iškun to Šamaš-šumu-ukīn, inclusive. What about the situation before that date? And what link might there have been between these Neo-Babylonian occupation-name ancestors (and their putative kin groups) and the Kassite occupation-name patronyms some four to six centuries earlier?

The most obvious connection is stylistic. In the late eighth and early seventh centuries, two-tier genealogies commonly list as their second tier an

by principals at this time and so have little likelihood of designating an actual father. Note that such names as these occur even in a provincial letter corpus where very few even second-tier genealogies are found: Cole, OIP 114 nos. 38:25 (Dābībī), 38:29 (Gaḫal), 41:9 (Šangū Ea). Further documentation on Dābībī and Gaḫal may be found in *PNAE* 358, 418–9, to which the OIP 114 references should be added. Dābībī also occurs as a patronym in the time of the Kassite and Second Isin dynasties: Ø DUMU ¹da-bi-bi MUN 124:6; Ø DUMU ¹da-bi-bi Ni. 128:7; Ø DUMU ¹da-bi-bi UM 29-13-659:11; Ø DUMU.SAL ¹Da-bi-bi TuM NF 5 44:51 (Isin II).

⁹⁵ The number of available texts picks up significantly with the reign of Nabû-šuma-iškun, whose first regnal year was in the year 760 at the latest.

⁹⁶ M. Van De Mieroop, *The Ancient Mesopotamian City* (revised, paperback ed.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) 107–10 argues that these first-millennium groups were based on fictional, not real kinship and that they were essentially organizations of professionals sharing the same craft who had combined to form artificial kinship structures. A major part of his argument is based on the relatively small number of family names attested at Uruk (seventy-seven) during the period from 626 to 520 BC (as outlined in Kümmel, *Familie, Beruf und Amt*). This presumes that Kümmel’s sample of persons is normative. In fact, Kümmel covers a restricted time and place; and his group may not even be representative of all of Uruk (being drawn largely from temple-oriented archives) much less of the rest of Babylonia.

W.W. Hallo earlier had propounded a theory concerning a guild system of economic organization beginning in Middle Babylonian times with the principal crafts grouped into often fictitious clans united by a common ancestral name (W.W. Hallo and W.K. Simpson, *The Ancient Near East* [New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich] 1st ed. [1971] 177; 2nd ed. [1998] 175–6). There is no evidence for such “economic” guilds in the Kassite period; the very restricted presence of occupation-name patronyms among the general population has yet to yield any pattern of unity of economic function or purpose.

While genealogical statements can be political or economic reflections of contemporary conditions rather than faithful records of blood descent, it seems premature to brand either the Neo-Babylonian or Middle Babylonian “family” or “kinship” structures (or putative structures) as fictional without further weighing of the evidence. In addition, one should be searching for an origin or an explanation that would accommodate a wide range of occupations from the *sukkallu* and *Šangū Sippar* on the high end to shepherds and field hands on the low end—strikingly different levels of prestige and economic status. The problem is too complex to prejudge out of hand, and various alternatives should be kept under consideration.

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occupation-name patronym, e.g.: ¹šu-ma-a DUMU LÚ.NAGAR.⁹⁷ In the thirteenth century, two-tier genealogies exist in exactly the same form, with an occupation-name patronym: ¹È-a-na-ZÁLAG-šú DUMU LÚ.NAGAR.⁹⁸ In the intervening centuries, even with the very sparse documentation between 1150 and 760,⁹⁹ one can still find examples in the same style.¹⁰⁰ A few common ancestral names such as Nagāru and Paḥāru can be traced through each of the major sub-periods from Kassite to later Neo-Babylonian.¹⁰¹ Even though only a small number of ancestral occupation-names can be documented during the centuries between 1150 and 760, just over half¹⁰² the patronyms listed above in Section A from Kassite times can be found in ancestral use after 650 B.C.,¹⁰³ when the available textual evidence is more plentiful.¹⁰⁴

There are also contrasts that can be noted between the two relatively well-documented periods, i.e., before 1150 and after 760. A major difference

⁹⁷ Strassmaier, *Huitième Congrès* no. 2:1.

⁹⁸ BaF 7 pl. 159 no. 715:9.

⁹⁹ There are fewer than sixty non-royal texts spread over these four centuries.

¹⁰⁰ E.g., ¹EN.LÍL-GI-IBILA DUMU ¹LÚ sak-ru-maš BBS^t 8 ii 5–6 (an occupation-name patronym known to date only here) and ¹ŠEŠ.MEŠ-eri-ba DUMU LÚ.SIMUG, *Studies Sjöberg* 39 rev. 12'. Most examples from this time come from the kudurrus or BM 40548 (*Studies Sjöberg* 37–47). See also the following note.

¹⁰¹ Nagāru: (a) Section A.25 above [Kassite]; (b) ¹dAG-ga-mil DUMU LÚ.NAGAR VAS 1 35:9 [1150–760, example dated in year 28 of Nabū-apla-iddina, c. 860]; (c) as cited in the text above [760–648, example dated 707]; (d) as documented in Joannès, *Archives de Borsippa: La famille Ea-ilūta-bāni* 410–1 [after 648] and elsewhere. Paḥāru: (a) Section A.29 above [Kassite]; (b) ¹mun-na-bit-tu DUMU ¹pa-ḥa-ri LÚ.SAG ZA 65 (1975) 50 i 20 [1150–760, example dated c. 1081]; (c) [PN] DUMU LÚ.BÁḤ[AR] BM 40560 r. 7' [760–648, example dated in a (broken away) regnal year of Sargon II, i.e., 710/705 in Babylonia]; (d) as documented in Wunsch, *Das Egibi-Archiv* V/2 331–2 and elsewhere [after 648].

¹⁰² Because the data collection is unsystematic, this percentage itself may not be significant; but the fact that there are more than 25 examples of such two-period use in such a random collection suggests that the connection is more than coincidental.

¹⁰³ The ancestral occupation-names *aluzinnu*, *aškāpu*, *atkuppu*, *atū*, *bā'iru*, *bāqilu*, *gallābu*, *išparu*, *iššakku*, *itinnu*, *kaššidakku*, *kutimmu*, *malāhu*, *mandidu*, *nagāru*, *nappāhu*, *nuḥatimmu*, *paḥāru*, *rē'i alpi*, *rē'i sisē*, *rē'ū*, *sasinnu*, *šāhitu*, *šangū ša Akkad* (as *šangū Akkad*), *šangū Sippar*, *tābiḥu* are found in use after 650. Attestations for these ancestral occupation names in the later period may be found in the prosopographical indexes of the books cited in note 93 above; but citations for *aluzinnu* (Strassmaier, *Huitième Congrès* no. 6:6) and *bāqilu* (TCL 13 173:113) are given here, since these are more difficult to locate. Note that *bārū* is attested as a family name as late as 677 (Strassmaier, *Huitième Congrès* no. 3:10) and *kurgarrū* as late as 667 (BRM 1 33:14); so these too did not die out with the Kassite period. R. Zadok "Contributions to Babylonian Geography, Prosopography, and Documentation" in *Studies Dietrich* 876 transliterates BM 26533:20 (dated Kandalānu, year 12 or 13) as reading ¹d¹AG-ka-šir A LÚ.*DAM.GĀ[R]; but the copy, p. 893, does not support that reading for the patronym. These statistics for continuing attestations of the Middle Babylonian occupation-name patronyms as ancestral names in the Neo-Babylonian period are probably understated; more of them will undoubtedly be recognized by scholars better acquainted with a wide range of the Neo-Babylonian material.

¹⁰⁴ It should also be noted that the roster of occupation names in Section A is very likely to be expanded by further research, as is the already extensive list of Neo-Babylonian ancestral names.

seems to be that, in the earlier period, occupation names were also being used to serve as the names of principals; hence in any single instance it is possible that an occupation-name patronym appearing in a two-tier genealogy refers to the actual father rather than to a more remote ancestor.¹⁰⁵ Conversely, in most cases, the patronym could equally well refer to a more remote ancestor and not the actual father. For most laconic textual references with little social context, it will be difficult if not impossible to prove or disprove either alternative. For the later period, after 760, I have not as yet discovered examples of occupation names which serve both as the names of principals and as ancestral names. In fact, to date I have found only one occupation name or title, *ḥazannu*, “mayor,” which is used for the name of principals at this time;¹⁰⁶ but this title seems to have had very limited—and, in any case, earlier—use as an ancestral name.¹⁰⁷

The simultaneous use of occupation names to form the names of principals and of patronyms in the Kassite period provides conditions under which the origin of the custom of occupation-name ancestral designations could readily be explained. A patronym originally designating a prominent actual father either by title alone (rather than a personal name) or by a personal name derived from an occupation or title (such as the individuals listed in Section B above) could then subsequently have been passed down to descendants beyond the first generation. This would of course presume a single eponymous ancestor for an occupation-derived patronym in much the same sense that an eponymous personal-name ancestor can on occasion be shown to have been a single, living person dated to a particular time. The prime example of the latter type is the ubiquitously attested (MB/NB/LB) eponymous ancestral name *Arad-Ea*,¹⁰⁸ which can now be tracked back to a narrow time range in which it was used as a patronym representing an actual father (the second tier in a five-tier genealogy), probably in the late fifteenth or early fourteenth century.¹⁰⁹ But whether we should seek the origin of occupation-name patronyms in a single real ancestor should not be taken for granted. The tradition may have had a different origin. Since we lack the documentation at present to settle the question, it is preferable to keep an open mind about various possibilities.

¹⁰⁵ It should be noted that this use of occupation names for the name of principals may also be found under the Second Dynasty of Isin: *ṣa-mi-du* (*BBS* 8 ii 21) and possibly *ṣa-tu-ṣi* Hinkel-Kudurru v 14 (though the latter would be an exceptional syllabic—and uncontracted—orthography for *atū* outside lexicographic texts).

¹⁰⁶ *ḥa-za-nu* TuM 2–3 8:35 (reign of Marduk-apla-iddina II, year broken), *ḥa-za-an-ni* (gen.) OA 22 (1983) 40, FLP 1386:35 (Esarhaddon, accession year, i.e., 680).

¹⁰⁷ If this is indeed how we are to read *ṣu-ṣib-ṣā* A LÚ *ḥa-za-an-na'* in VAS 1 35:41 (this section of the text dated in year 11 of Marduk-zākir-ṣumi I, i.e., 840).

¹⁰⁸ See especially the discussion by Lambert, *JCS* 11 (1957) 9–10 and 112. For the Neo-Babylonian period, see, e.g., Bongenaar, *Sippar* 540; Wunsch, *Das Egibi-Archiv* 1/2 275.

¹⁰⁹ *NABU* 1993/106.

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But stylistic continuity or at least parallelism does not guarantee that the institutional or social fabric existed in essentially the same form in the two widely separated eras. We do not really understand much about the structure of the Babylonian larger family unit or kin group in either the Kassite or the later Neo-Babylonian period; and it is possible that the stylistic similarity of designation is merely a superficial resemblance. By the sixth century, the later Neo-Babylonian kin groups seem to have become a pervasive factor in society, at least in those strata most often represented in the surviving textual evidence. Recognition of ancestry and ancestral groupings was an important part of self-identification of individuals in more formal contemporary texts. In the Kassite period, those patronyms which might potentially refer to more remote ancestors are distinctly in the minority; even if most of those occupation-name patronyms were to turn out to be broadly ancestral rather than narrowly paternal in reference, it would seem that only a small segment of society was involved.

What conclusions can be drawn from this? First, there seems little doubt that occupation names were used to form both patronyms and the names of principals in the Kassite period. Though the examples adduced in Section A may not all stand the test of time, there are a sufficient range of textual attestations that it is unlikely that the existence of this type of patronym will be discounted. Second, the stylistic similarity between the occupation-name two-tier patronyms in the Kassite period and the occupation-name two-tier patronyms in Babylonia after 760 at least raises the possibility that the earlier of these two groups should be regarded as capable of expressing ancestry reaching beyond the literal actual-father patronym. But, with our meager knowledge of social structures in both periods, it is impossible at present to demonstrate beyond a reasonable doubt that this earlier usage is anything more than a potential antecedent of the later practice.

Suggestions for directions of future research could include the following. Within the Kassite period, are there any common characteristics, other than naming practice, for individuals who bear occupation-name patronyms? At first glance, they do not seem to occupy distinctive social or economic strata. They perform diverse functions and do not necessarily seem to be involved in occupations that reflect their patronyms.¹¹⁰ They are spread

¹¹⁰ Examples in Section A above: 20b (*Ø mār kurgarrī*, who is a potter), 21a (PN, *mār kutimmi*, who is an *arad ekalli*), 23c (PN *mārat malāḫi*, who is an *amat ekalli* engaged in garment production), 31a (PN *mār qadilti*, who is a *nāqidu*), 40c (*Ø mār šāḫiti*, who is a type of farm worker); it may perhaps be better to defer judgment about the individuals designated as *amat/arad ekalli* until we are sure that this is an occupational rather than a status label in this period. Compare also Section B.6 and note 64 above. I have yet to find an example of a person with an occupation-name patronym who was exercising the occupation alluded to in the patronym.

out geographically and chronologically—at least within the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, when the vast majority of the texts originate.¹¹¹ It would be helpful to undertake a more systematic investigation to present a nuanced picture of the socio-economic contexts in which they occur.¹¹² Within the Neo-Babylonian period, one could consider investigating potential differences between families with personal-name ancestors and families with occupation-name ancestors—structure of the groups, status of offices or occupations which the two types held,¹¹³ their various roles in the economy and cultural life.

And finally, what about comparable use of occupational personal names (or patronyms) in other periods and places? The practice does not seem to be well attested outside Babylonia proper in the Kassite and Neo-Babylonian periods; yet one can find scattered examples over a range of times and places. For example, the personal name Paḫāru was used also at least in Old Akkadian,¹¹⁴ Old Babylonian,¹¹⁵ and even in Late Bronze Emar.¹¹⁶ In Old Assyrian, there is a reference to the eponymy of *A-ḫu-qar* DUMU DAM.GÀR in Kültepe n/k 10:38.¹¹⁷ In Nuzi, there is a ^dMAR.TU-LUGAL.MEŠ-DINGIR.MEŠ DUB.SAR DUMU *qa-ši-ri* DUB.SAR, reminiscent of the Middle Babylonian *kāširu* (Section B.9 above).¹¹⁸ In Middle Assyrian, where this type of

¹¹¹ On a very few occasions, account texts from Nippur refer to “sons” of some occupation-name titles in the plural and probably in a collective sense. Ni. 866 refers to 13 DUMU.MEŠ GÊME É.GAL mentioned in connection with the hiring of a boat (Á GIŠ.MÁ.U₃). Ni. 2677 lists rations ([Š]E.BA) with a series of at least eight entries of recipients described as DUMU.MEŠ PN; the final entry lists DUMU.MEŠ LÚ.NAR.MEŠ. Ni. 1110 summarizes a series of DUMU PN (one) and DUMU.ME PN (five) entries in the total line as DUMU.ME LÚ.GALA.MEŠ LIBIR.RA.MEŠ (“‘sons’ of old/former lamentation priests”); NBC 7959, a partially parallel text dated in year 6 of Kadašman-Enlil II (=1258), summarizes five DUMU.MEŠ PN entries and two DUMU PN entries simply as GALA.MEŠ LIBIR.RA.MEŠ (all six of the PNN in the Ni. 1110 section also occur in this part of NBC 7959) and has a preceding section summarized as GALA.MEŠ ‘GIBIL’.MEŠ. These groupings, the apparent equivalence of GALA.MEŠ and DUMU.ME LÚ.GALA.MEŠ, the contrast between “old” and “new” lamentation priests raise interesting questions, as does their relevance to the occupation-name patronym practice elaborated in this article.

¹¹² One might also take into consideration at some point Middle Babylonian geographical names formed with occupation names, such as Āl-nappāḫi, Āl-nārē, Ālu-ša-iššakkī, Ālu-ša-sāliḫa (sic), Bīt malāḫi, etc. The list can be considerably expanded.

¹¹³ E.g., were governors chosen primarily (or exclusively?) from the ranks of families with personal-name ancestors?

¹¹⁴ E.g., *pā-ḫar* (BIN 8 273:16), *pā-ḫa-ru-um* (ITT 4 7863 [p. 78]).

¹¹⁵ E.g., Ø DUMU.SAL *pa-ḫa-ri* VAS 9 174:40.

¹¹⁶ Note, for instance, its use in the three-tier genealogies of a brother and sister: *lqī-ri* -^dKUR DUMU *ḫab-i* DUMU *pa-ḫa-ri* (D. Arnaud, *Textes syriens de l’âge du bronze récent* [AuOrS 1; Barcelona: Editorial AUSA, 1991] no. 24: 9) and *lpi-is-sà* DUMU.SAL *ḫab-i* DUMU *pa-ḫa-ri* (*Studies Kutscher* 167 no. 1:1).

¹¹⁷ Cited from CAD T proofs s.v. *tamkāru*.

¹¹⁸ JEN 414:26; the MEŠ after LUGAL is presumably to be deleted. There would be the same reservations with interpreting this PN as an occupation name as there are for the Middle Babylonian *kāširu* itself.

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name seems to be better attested,¹¹⁹ there are a few patronyms worthy of note: Ø DUMU *gal-la-be*,¹²⁰ ¹*su-ti*? (copy: *-hu*)-e DUMU *sa-sin*,¹²¹ and ¹DUMU *ša-qe-e*;¹²² and there are at least several other occupation names that occur as names of principals: Daʾānu, Ikkāru, Mariannu, Nāqidu, Qadiltu, Sāmidu, and Tābiḥu.¹²³ In Neo-Assyrian, there seem to be considerably fewer examples; I have thus far noted *ḥazānu/ḥaziānu*, *ikkaru*, and *kāširu*.¹²⁴ It would be helpful to see how widespread the usage might be beyond these few incidental examples.

Postscript. This article was submitted for publication in December 2002. Since that time, further pertinent material has become available, which I will treat elsewhere. Similar family names based on the names of occupations are also attested in the thirteenth and twelfth-century archives from Babylon.

¹¹⁹ Or at least better documented, thanks to Saporetti, *Onomastica* and its Freydank-Saporetti supplement.

¹²⁰ *AfO* 10 (1935–36) 35 no. 61:7. See also note 29 above.

¹²¹ KAV 119:16, possibly representing *sasinnu*?

¹²² *AfO* 23 (1970) 79–80:9, 18, 26; *AoF* 1 (1974) 361:18.

¹²³ For references, see notes 27, 33, 67, 70, 43, and 54 above.

¹²⁴ Documentation may be found in *PNAE* 469, 470, 509, 607 and in Tallqvist, *APN* 88, 95, 113. It is better to regard *kāširu* as an abbreviated name (as discussed above in Section B) rather than to take it as an occupation name. *bārī* is another possibility, but unlikely for the reasons noted in *PNAE* 273.

EARLY DYNASTIC PLAQUE FRAGMENTS

Jeanny V. Canby

The University Museum has fragments of two flat stone plaques from the 1893–96 seasons of the Nippur excavations. Square and perforated in the middle, this type of object is typical of the Early Dynastic period in Mesopotamia (ca. 3000–2334 BC) and is included in many studies. Plaques have been found in temples along with statuettes that often have the names of the people they represented carved on them. Although the figures on the plaques have no indications of divinity, there is still a discussion as to whether they might be gods.¹ Like the statuettes, the character of each plaque is unique and easily recognized, and some scenes are so often repeated that missing parts of similar scenes can readily be reconstructed. Fortunately, the Museum's plaques are of this common type that usually has three registers concerned with some sort of celebration in which a male and female take part. This type of plaque often shows the figures playing music, preparing food, and traveling to the event.

I. UM 85-48-998 to 85-48-1004

Eight fragments of one of the plaques had been set into plaster.² The pieces were widely spaced and some were crooked, but they were in an order that shows the scenes were recognized (Fig. 1). At a later time, the best-preserved fragment, showing a boat, was cut out of the plaster, probably for an exhibition (Fig. 2). In looking over known plaques and fragments, some pieces in the Hilprecht Collection in Jena, Germany caught my attention (Figs. 3, 4).³ These were first published in 1929 and have been frequently cited since. There was much to suggest that the Jena fragments and the Philadelphia pieces might go together. The surface of the fragments in both places is deeply cracked with parts flaked off or dissolved. Finally, I learned that in the archives of the University Museum there is a squeeze of the two Jena pieces along with the boat fragment in the University Museum (Fig. 2) that had been discovered by Westenholz and published by him and Oelsner

¹ G. Selz, *Die Bankettszene* (2 vols.; FAOS 11; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983) 441–62.

² From Nippur, Third Expedition, 1893–96; UM 85-48-998 to 85-48-1004 (in drawer A 36); height ca. 0.36 m. Catalogued in 1908 by Hilprecht.

³ The plaques have been conveniently assembled by J. Boese, *Altmesopotamische Weihplatten, eine sumerische Denkmalsgattung des 3. Jahrtausends v. Chr.* (Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie 6; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1971).

in 1983.⁴ The squeeze proves the pieces were once together. Westenholz also discovered that the Jena pieces were mentioned in Haynes' reports from Nippur in which they are said to have been found in Mound III (Tempelhügel) between the layers of the Ur-Nammu platform, not underneath it as he earlier reported.

The upper right corner and the lower left corner of the plaque are in Jena, numbers 888 (Fig. 3) and 887 (Fig. 4), respectively. The plaque is best described as whole (Fig. 5). On the upper right corner a male figure sits on a heavy stool. A long twisted lock of hair hangs down beside his tapered beard to the thick rolled belt. He wears a typical male costume of the Early Dynastic period—a skirt plain to knee with a row of long chevron-shaped fringes along the bottom. He holds the handle of a fly whisk in his left hand while the soft end curves over his lap. The surface has dissolved where the right lower arm should appear raising a cup. At the left end of the register sat a female companion of whom only the front edge of a voluminous robe and the outline of a flywhisk on her lap remain. Standing before her was another figure represented now by the back of the hips, the skirt, and the sharp elbow of a lower arm bent over the waist. The plain skirt is preserved in patches with some grooves on the bottom that could be edges.

To the right of these two figures, on another fragment, is a harpist who has the edge of his instrument tucked under the right elbow and his fingers on the third of five strings. The skirt is plain from waist to the knees, then has a border of four large chevron-shaped tufts preserved. On the right side of the harpist fragment there is an upper arm and the edge of a long lock of hair of another figure. A further fragment shows the piece of man's skirt and legs that probably belong to this figure. The heads of these people were probably like that of the seated man in the register. Attendants usually look no different than the principals.

In the middle register, bovine figures lie on either side of the square hole in the middle of the plaque. The long thick neck and double chin of the animal at left (on Jena 887) prove these are cattle. The animals face the outside of the plaque in a reclining pose, propped up on one foreleg with hind leg bent under them and the tail encircling the rump. They are tethered by a rope around the hoof of the foreleg that is tucked up against the belly.

In the lower register men paddle a boat using long paddles that have large heart-shaped blades. The pointed stern and bow of the boat are very high. The men have long locks of hair hanging down beside their beards. Their skirts billow out like that of the figure seated at right above. In the water under the boat a school of fish swim close together. Some have pointed heads, dorsal fins, and short, wide tails. Others have longer tails and more rounded heads.

⁴ A. Westenholz and Joachim Oelsner, "Weihplattenfragmente der Hilprecht-Sammlung Jena," *AoF* 10 (1983) 210–2.

Early Dynastic Plaque Fragments

Scales are indicated and, in one case, an eye is as well. A large bird with a long neck, probably a goose, swims in front of the boat directly above a fish, partly covering it.⁵ A square section appears cut out of the front side of the boat.

II. B 13151–4

The second fragmentary plaque from Nippur in the University Museum (B 13151–4) consists of five fragments of its right half (Fig. 6).⁶ The surface is in excellent condition, but the under side of the stone has horizontal cracks and some dissolved surfaces. A thin slice of the top register is missing. The scenes are similar to those of the first plaque discussed above. In the top register a man with a long thin beard sits on a high stool. He has a lock of hair over his chest and wears a plain skirt with six deep chevron shaped tufts at the bottom. It is less bouffant than that of his counterpart on the other plaque. He grasps the handle of a fly whisk in his left hand with the limp end hanging over his skirt. In front of him is the pointed base of a tall, slender vessel fitted into what looks like a high, narrow beaker of the period, standing on the ground. The high-arched feet of a figure in a short, male skirt with tufts are seen on the other side of the vessel.

In the middle register a long-horned goat lies on one foreleg that is stretched out along its neck. The other foreleg and a hind leg are bent under it. It is not tethered. The goat has a tiny head, an enormous eye like the human figures on the plaque, and a very long, thin neck.⁷ Behind it is the edge of the central perforation. In the third register, the head and upper arm of a man paddling a high-prowed boat are preserved.

Except for the small-headed goat on the second plaque and the goose on the first, the scenes on the Museum plaques are quite usual. It is therefore interesting that a complete plaque formerly in the Erlenmeyer Collection has both unusual features.⁸ In the middle register on the left side of the Erlenmeyer piece there is a goat with a similar small head. In the bottom register three men paddle a boat. A passenger raising a cup sits on a plain stool behind the front paddler. Fish also swim under this boat and a very

⁵ Note that all the heads and the stern of the boat break through the frame above as does the prow of the boat on the second plaque fragment in the University Museum.

⁶ Nippur, Season of 1893–96; B 13151–4 (in drawer A-36). Top fragment: height, 0.045m.; greatest preserved width, 0.015m.; lower fragment: height, 0.108m.; greatest preserved width, 0.025m.

⁷ For more normal kneeling goats from Asmar, see OIP 60 pl. 66 no. 323 (from the Square Temple) and pl. 106 (from the Single Shrine Temple).

⁸ M.-L. Erlenmeyer and H. Erlenmeyer, "Cerviden-Darstellung auf altorientalischen und ägäischen Siegeln II," *OrNS* 26 (1957) 323 pls. 16–7, figs. 8–9; Boese, *Weihplatten* 209–10 and pl. 38; in Sotheby Catalogue of Sale no. 281 (September 7, 1992) 182.

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fat duck(?) swims before the bow. Another, smaller bird perches at the bow inside the boat. Remarkably, there is an incised square in the same place where a square section is missing from the boat in the University Museum.

Early Dynastic Plaque Fragments

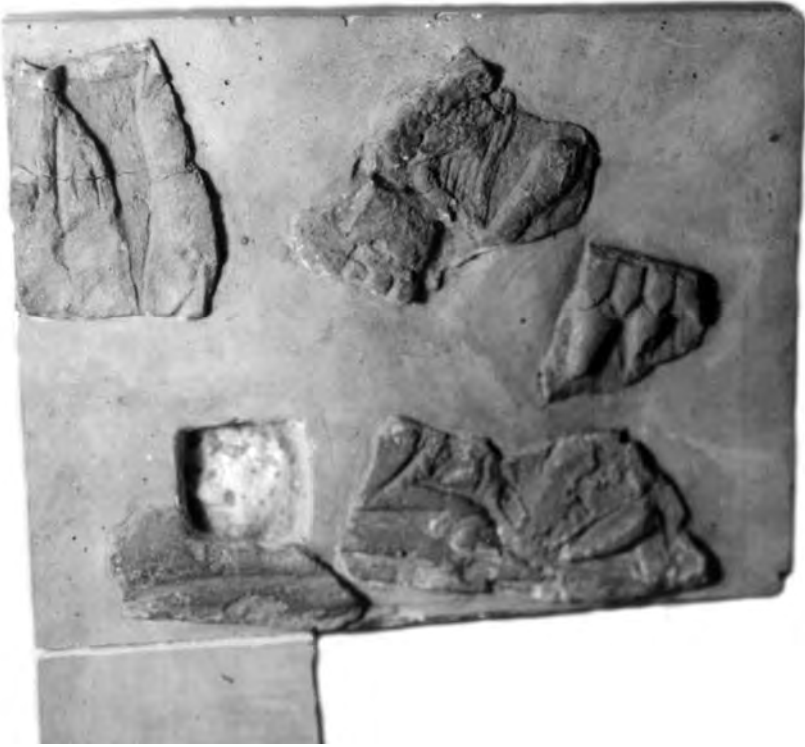


Fig. 1. UM Plaque I restored in plaster



Fig. 2. UM Plaque I boat cut away from other fragments



Fig. 3. Jena Plaque Fragment 888



Fig. 4. Jena Plaque Fragment 887

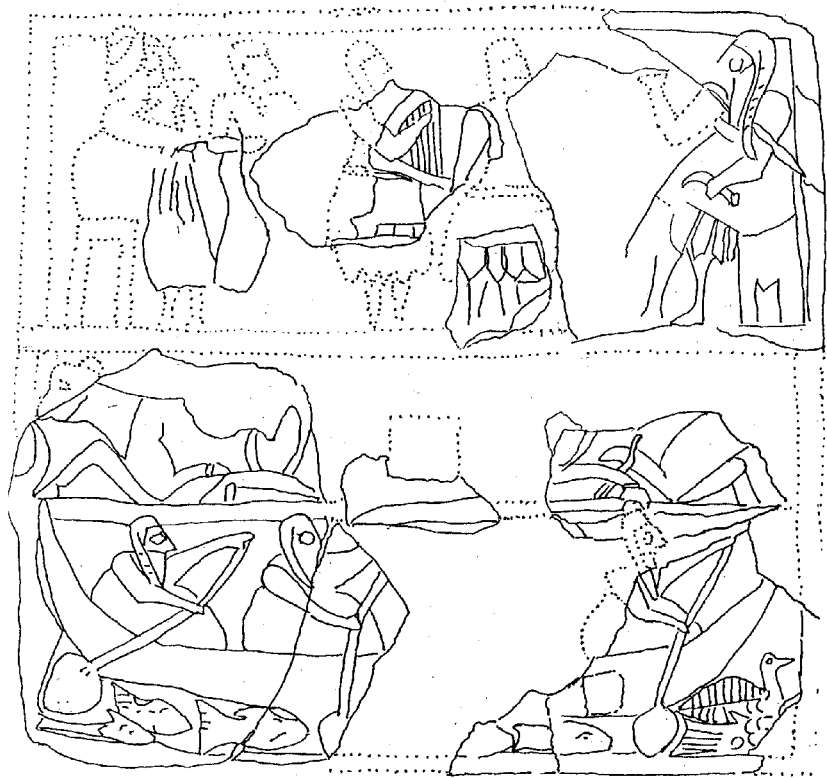


Fig. 5. Plaque I restored with Jena Fragments



Fig. 6. UM Plaque II

BE₅/PE-EN-ZÉ-ER = BIŠŠŪRU

Miguel Civil

This is a study of a little known Sumerian word, its meaning, its origin, and its secondary semantic extensions. It is intended to honor, however inadequately, a scholar, who without being a Sumerologist, has been, behind the scenes as it were, one of the creative forces behind the *Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary*.¹

1. Lexical Sources

1.1. The basic passage is Old Babylonian Proto-Lu 379–82 (MSL 12 46):

- [1] 379 gal₄-la
380 gal₄-la
381 sġk-gal₄-la
382 be₅-en-zé-er²

A comparison with [4] and [5] shows how closely lexical texts depend on the traditional literary works.

1.2. NW recension. The Emar version of Lu (Arnaud, *Emar* 6/4 no. 602:368'–72' [Msk 74121 vii 8' ff.]) gives:

- [2] 368' galgal₄ ú-ru
369' galgal₄ bi-iš-šu-ru
370' sġk-gal₄-la su-uġ-šu : iz-bu
371' bi-in-zi-ir li-pi-is-si₂₀-tu₄ : á-an-na-bu
372' sġk-na-BI ġa-an-du-tù

The word *suġšu* in line 370' is apparently a lexical hapax, in need of confirmation in view of the peculiar spellings in the Emar lexical texts;³

¹ J. Westenholz, G. Rubio, and C. Woods read a draft and provided valuable suggestions. C. Wunsch collated some texts in the British Museum. I am grateful to them all.

² Two sources have incorrectly -en, against six with -er. The transliteration with b- is meant to reflect the etymology, but since the word has crossed linguistic borders, this is an arbitrary, unprovable decision.

³ If the form is genuine and has to be taken as a derivation from *saġāšu*, “to catch in a net,” according to CAD S 54b s.v., it could reflect perhaps a connection between “pubic hair” and “net” or “web,” see below (4).

the “Western” Semitic gloss *iz-bu* is susceptible of several readings and interpretations. In line 371', *li-pí-is-si₂₀-tu₄* stands for *lipiššatu*, given as synonym of *biššūru* in Hg B IV 22 (MSL 9 34); *ṭá-an-na-bu* means simply ‘something filthy’ and is not to be considered properly an anatomical term. Line 372' is found only in Emar, its Akkadian, however, is known as a synonym of *biššūru*, see below (3). The parallel Ugarit sources (unpubl.) are unilingual and offer the following variants: 368' f.: *gal₄-la*; 371': *be₅-en-zé-er*; 372' is omitted. These lines from Proto-Lu and MB Lu are not preserved, or were not included, in canonical Lu, unless K 9893(!) in MSL 9 25 turns out to be part of canonical Lu.⁴ As a rule the lexical list Ugu-mu (MSL 9 51–73) does not include specifically female body parts.

1.3. In the series of Sumerian words for *lipiššatu* (as part of the animal body) in Hh 15:210–14⁵ *be₅-en-zé-er* is missing among the terms after *išaru* and *išku* and before *za-ra-aḥ* = *laql[*aqqu*]* and *dis^{ti}tēš* = *ḥa[*nduttu*]*. It is equally missing in Hg B IV 22 (MSL 9 34). In the small fragment K 9893 (MSL 9 25, collated from photo)⁶ the Sumerian subcolumn is missing, and in Rm 963:6'–8' (MSL 9 25, collated by C. Wunsch) the Sumerian is [pa]-paḥ as in Hh 15:212. It would seem thus that the word *be₅-en-zé-er* disappeared from the later lexical tradition.

1.4. The Akkadianized form is found in:

- [3] *i-zi* = *be₅-en-zu-rum* Proto-Izi 1:369 (MSL 13 29)
i-iz⁷ = *be₅-en-z[u]r-r[u]* Izi 5:82 (MSL 13 163)

For a discussion, see [5] below.

2. Literary Texts

- [4] *gal₄-la tur sik gal₄-la gid-gid be₅-zé-er HAR* Two Women B:149 f.
A small vulva, very long pubic hairs, a ... *b*.
[5] [*sik gal₄*]-*la si₄-si₄ be₅-en-zé-er bu-ud-bar⁸ 'x' [...]* Two Women A D:25
Reddish pubic hairs, a lame(?) *b*, [...].

⁴ Reedited in the Appendix.

⁵ MSL 9 12 completed by MSL SS 1 49 no. 34 and pl. viii.

⁶ Given incorrectly as K 9983 in MSL 9.

⁷ Var. *i-zi* (MSL 9 163).

⁸ See PSD B 169a s.v. Additional passages are: *bu-ud-bar ma-ad igi KU BU-a*, *bu-ud-bar ḥul-dim-ma tūg ni-zu šu-è P 1.113–4* (see Alster, *SP* 1 26, completed by an unpubl. text, courtesy D. Owen); *bu-ud-bar [...]* é *ib-ši* [...] Edubba D 74, and *bu-ud-bar-ra muš-bi ki nu-ág Ribatum 7* (unpubl.). The Akkadian translation is the obscure *ḥaršu A*, see also *muḥarrišu*.

be₅/pe-en-zé-er = biṣṣūru

- [6] ú dam-mu na-ma-ab-il-i⁹
 be₅-en-zé-er-mu ugun la-ba-ak-e
 My husband does not need to bring me grass, Proverb 14.43
 my b. will not be decorated. (Alster, *SP* 1 220)¹⁰

The first two passages are part of derogatory, insulting descriptions of the female body. The implications of the proverb are not clear. Here ú is better understood as “plants, grass” used as a “decoration” of a bed, rather than “food” or “firewood.” Cf. the topos giš-ná ú za-gin barà-ga, “a bed strewn with green grass” Ur-Namma A 159, Temple Hymns 210, Enmerkar and Enmuškešdana 81, cf. Lament Sumer and Ur 443. The implications of ugun–ak, whether in a metaphorical sense or not,¹¹ are unclear: they can range from readiness of the woman (no need to woo her) to refusal (whatever the husband does, she will not be willing). Other interpretations are still possible.

3. Meaning

It is obvious that be₅-en-zé-er designates the female sex organ or part thereof. It is a loan from Semitic, attested only in Akk. *biṣṣūru* and Ar. *baṣr* or *bunzur* (with many variants),¹² “clitoris,” see already H. Holma, *Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen, eine lexikalisch-etymologische Studie* (Annales academiae scientiarum Fennicae B/7/1; Helsinki: Suomalaisen tiedeakatemia kustantama, 1911) 101 f. “weibliche Scham,” and now the comparative dictionaries: D. Cohen, *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques* 2 (Paris: Mouton, 1976) 61b; V.E. Orel and O.V. Stolbova, *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary* (HdO 1/18; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995) 70 no. 279; A. Militarev and L. Kogan, *Semitic Etymological Dictionary* (AOAT 278/1; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2000) 35 no. 37. As often happens with loanwords, when the native competing word is preserved, a semantic readjustment of the

⁹ 3 N-T 930h+, not used by Alster, has nothing after -i.

¹⁰ The translations be₅-en-zé-er “leather worker(?)” (Alster, *SP* 432) and “ein Funktionär” (AHw 854 s.v. *penzur(r)u(m)*) assume that because the entry is found in Proto-Lu it has to designate a person or trade. Jacobsen, apud E. Gordon, “Sumerian Proverbs and their Cultural Significance” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1955) 549 proposed “my spinning-girl does not do (multicolor) work.”

¹¹ I would not go as far as proposing a restoration [ugun]-ak-a = *ithuzu ša DAM* in Nabnītu 3:271 (MSL 16 67); such a restoration would provide a much more direct sexual sense.

¹² There are reflexes of this word in Mehri, though the consonant correspondence is irregular: *beṣ’er*; *beṣ’oower* “slit, vulva” (slang), T.M. Johnstone, *Mehri Lexicon* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1987) 62; Harsusi *bešelēt*, “clitoris.” T.M. Johnstone, *Harsusi Lexicon* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977) 20 is probably related (refs. courtesy G. Rubio).

resulting doublet takes place, cf. cases such as *kaskal* and *ḥar-ra-an* or *gír* and *ba-da-ra* in Sumerian. Thus it is not apparent in what respect the more frequent term *gal₄-la* and *be₅-en-zé-er* differ. Leaving aside euphemistic or derogative Sumerian designations, such as *za-ra-aḥ* = *laqlaqqu* Hh 15:215, “crane” (and at the same time an unpleasant skin condition, cf. also Akk. *gurištu*), or *murúb* = *šuhḥu* “opening” (explained in the commentary CT 41 30:17 as *ūri ša SAL* and listed by one copy of Hh 15 [MSL 9 6:24a] by attraction after *pū*), the most common competing Akkadian terms, quasi-synonymous with *biššūru*, are *ūru*, *lipiššatu*, and *ḥanduttu*; see K 9893 and Rm 963, quoted above (1.3). The most frequent term seems to be *ūru*, if only because Assyriologists usually prefer to read the logogram SAL.(LA) this way, though often without clear reasons. Unfortunately, the other three terms are infrequent enough so that a closer semantic determination (labia, clitoris, vagina, vulva) is not possible.¹³ It is not even clear whether the terminology of the time would have distinguished all these anatomical parts. If the reasoning in the following paragraph (4) is correct, a meaning that includes the pubic hair is required. In dealing with sexual terms one has to keep in mind two things: first, they tend to be vague, imprecise, and riddled with metaphors;¹⁴ and second, their use is markedly a function of the social dimension. Unfortunately, at a remove from the distant past, it is almost impossible to decide what was vulgar, “obscene,” or not to be said in “polite” company. However, since the literary texts quoted above belong to the popular genres of dialogues and proverbs, it is likely that they had an intended shocking effect, and thus *be₅-en-zé-er* could very well be a “vulgar” synonym of *gal₄-la*.

4. Additional Meanings

A second meaning of *be₅-en-zé-er*, with the determinative *ú* (possibly incorporated into the Akkadian form), is “spiderweb.” The main lexical passage is Hh 14:334 f. (MSL 8/2 36), immediately before “spider”:¹⁵

- [7] 334 *ú-ú-sur-sur (ú).pi-in-zi-ir*
 335 *úKA^{zu}-sur MIN*

¹³ The meaning “womb” appears to be a good translation of *rēmu*, note however that the passage W.G. Lambert, *JSS* 4 (1959) 10b 5, 7 (quoted CAD L 199a s.v. *lipiššatu*) speaks of “a rag to wipe” the *rēmu*; if the passage is to be taken literally *rēmu* can hardly be there an internal organ.

¹⁴ For an example of a good study of the sexual vocabulary of a particular language, see J.N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (London: Duckworth, 1982) esp. 80–109.

¹⁵ See B. Landsberger, *Fauna* 135 ff. pointing to the right interpretation.

beš/pe-en-zé-er = biššūru

The Akkadian of line 334 has numerous variants (see MSL 8/1 36), all without the ending *-u*. The root *sur* has here the common meaning “to spin.”¹⁶ The Mesopotamian scribes obviously had difficulties classifying cobwebs in the natural order of things. The assigned placement next to spiders in Hh 14 is quite logical, but the scribal tradition included it also among plants in the OB forerunners and in the NW recension of Hh 17. The term is not preserved in the canonical recension and possibly was not included in it, since it is missing in its traditional place in the older sources, inserted after *munzer* by phonological attraction. For monolingual forerunners, see MSL 10 120:14 and 124 3b:4. The corrupt Ugarit text (no sources from Emar are available) shows that the scribes hardly understood the passage (cf. MSL 10 108 ad 33 f.).

- [8] 33 *úpi-in-sir^{ir}* (var. *úpi-in-zé-er*) *aš-tu* (var. UL.KU *aš-tum*)
 34 *úššisic-in-sir^{ir}* *da-di-lu* (var. *ša-mu-ut-tum*)

The term appears in Uruanna with numerous pharmaceutical synonyms, which do not need to be discussed here, and it refers to a medication used mostly for skin lesions (references in J. Scurlock, “Creepy Medicine”).¹⁷ The use of cobwebs to treat skin wounds and the like is widespread in the history of ethnomedicine. Unless one assumes two separate, but homophonous or quasi-homophonous words, an assumption with no etymological basis at present, the only solution is to postulate a semantic extension from “pubic hair” to “spider web.” If this solution is correct, a further extension from spiderweb to a weblike structure offers no problem. This structure could be made of red mats (Hh 8:303–5, revised edition):

- [9] 303 *gⁱkid-níg-nigin-na* *nalmû*
 304 *gⁱkid-á-ùr-ra* MIN
 305 *gⁱkid-á-ùr-ra* *kīt bunzirri*

It could also be made of leather strips (Hh 11:144, revised edition):

- [10] *kuškin-tur* *bu-un-zī^l-ir^l-ri^l*

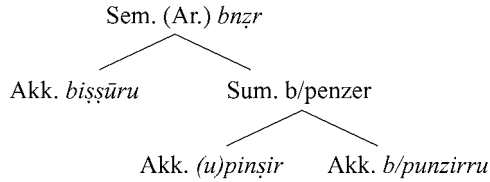
The synonym *nalmû* (not in the dictionaries) in [9] suggests that the *bunzirru* was used to make enclosures, and thus it may designate a trap (see below, 5) rather than a “fowler’s blind” as suggested by CAD B 322a s.v. However, the following passage (Erimhuš 5:125, MSL 17 72) could be adduced to support the latter:

¹⁶ J. Scurlock, “*pizzer* or *upinsir*: Creepy Medicine,” *NABU* 1995/110 translates it “spitting,” is this a typo for “spinning?”

¹⁷ Her translation “cantharides” (Spanish fly) I find unsupported.

[11] igi-tab bu-un-zir-ri

A point of major interest in [9]-[11] is the reborrowing of be₅-en-zé-er into Akkadian as *bunzirru*. The relationship of the words just discussed can be resumed as follows:



5. Residual Forms

The passages quoted sub [3] could be related to a meaning “enclosure” [9]-[11], since i-zi (var. iz-zi) means “wall” (CAD I/J 34b s.v. *igāru*) besides “wave.” AHW 854 s.v. *pe(n)zuru(m)* cites *PI-zi-ri-um* from UET 3 676; the word appears also in UET 3 477 without *-um*. It is a small item (nine of them weigh one shekel) of gold jewelry. The word remains obscure in form and meaning, and a connection with be₅-en-zé-er is most unlikely.

6. Other Words Ending in -nzer

There are a number of other words ending in -nzer, the better known being: *ḥumunzer*, *ḥenzer*, *munzer*, *ganzer*, and *kimanzer*. The first two are unproblematic borrowings from Semitic meaning “mouse” (or a similar rodent), and “piglet,” respectively. The latter means also “child,” a reasonable semantic extension, and is used as a personal name in Old Akkadian. For *munzer*, a plant, possibly licorice,¹⁸ and for *ganzer* “flame” there is no obvious etymology. The last one, written *ki ma-an-zé-er* and meaning “slippery place,” could perhaps be analyzed as a Sumerian phrase: “a place (which) is slippery for me.” All, except perhaps the last one, must be thus considered foreign words.

In conclusion, these notes may clarify what images may have been in the mind of someone who heard the words of the ša-zi-ga incantation: *ašbāku ina bunzirri ša šīḫāti bu’ura aj aḫti* “I am sitting on a ‘spider web’ of delights, may I miss no prey” (TCS 2 33:12 f.).

¹⁸ M. Civil, “Feeding Dumuzi’s Sheep: The Lexicon as a Source of Literary Inspiration,” in *Studies Reiner* 46.

beš/pe-en-zé-er = biššūru

APPENDIX

The fragment K 9893 (quoted as K 9983 in MSL 9 25, transliterated here from photo and collated by C. Wunsch) could perhaps be a fragment of *lú = ša*, roughly parallel to the Emar text:

col. i'	1'	[...]	<i>ú-rum</i>
	2'	[...]	<i>ú-rum</i>
	3'	[...]	<i>ḥa-an-du-tum</i>
	4'	[...]	MIN
	5'	[...]	[<i>l</i>]i-biš-šá-tum
	6'	[...]	[MIN]
col. ii'	1'	l _x [...]	[...]
	2'	ME [x]	[...]
	3'	su-[x]	[...]
	4'	nam-[x-(x)]	[...]
	5'	UD-[x]	[...]
	6'	UD-[...]	[...]

Rm 963:5'–7' is somewhat related, though it employs different logograms. It is an unidentified fragment (collated also by C. Wunsch), possibly Antagal, which is similarly quoted in MSL 9 25 and gives the following:

1'	[...]	^r x ^r šá [...]
2'	[...]	MIN šá [...]
<hr/>		
3'	[...]	<i>up-[pu]</i>
4'	[...]	<i>kar-[ru]</i>
4'	[...]- ^r x ^r	<i>ma-a[š²-x]</i>
<hr/>		
5'	[(x) m]ug	<i>bi-iš-s[u-ru]</i>
6'	[pa]-paḥ	<i>li-biš-[ša-tu]</i>
7'	[...]- ^r x ^r -ba	<i>ḥa-an-[du-tu]</i>
<hr/>		
8'	[suḥ]ur ² -lá	<i>ḥúl-[...]</i>
9'	[tūg]ib-lá	<i>nī-[bit-tu]</i>
10'	[(x)-n]am ² -darà	<i>mī-[sir-ru]</i>

A SMALL OLD BABYLONIAN ARMY OF *A-PI-RU-Ú*

Mark E. Cohen

Hab/piru has been understood variously as designating members of a low social stratum, migrants, refugees, brigands, the detribalized, who from time to time served as mercenaries. I present in this article evidence of *apiru* constituting a fully organized professional mercenary army under their own officer corps, with many family members serving side by side.

I dedicate this article to my teacher, friend, and fellow sports enthusiast, Erle Leichty, whose enthusiasm for reading texts was passed on to me, his grateful student. Opening a museum drawer, perusing the tablets, and spying an undiscovered treasure is a wonderful experience.

Such little treasures are YBC 11032 and YBC 12073, two Old Babylonian lists of soldiers under the command of General (GAL.MAR.TU) Warad-Sîn who, in YBC 12073, are designated as *apiru* (lú.meš*a-pí-ru-ú*).¹ This is the only cuneiform text to date with the orthography *a-BI-ru-ú*, rather than *ḥa-BI-ru*.² Moreover, except for YBC 12073, only in Nuzi documents is a final length -*ú* (i.e., *ḥa-BI-ru-ú*) indicated.³

The scribe, when totalling the soldiers listed on YBC 12073, writes:

62 lú.meš <i>a-pí-ru-ú</i>	62 <i>apiru</i>
NÍG.ŠU ÌR- ^d EN.ZU GAL.MAR.TU	the responsibility of General Warad-Sîn.

This total includes Warad-Sîn—the general was an *apiru*.

YBC 11032 also is a detailed roster of the army of General Warad-Sîn, but on this tablet there is no notation that they were *apiru*.

The differences between the two tablets are substantial, clearly indicating two different scribes (and perhaps two different locations):

¹ I thank Benjamin R. Foster, curator of the Yale Babylonian Collection, for permission to publish YBC 12073 and YBC 11032 and Ulla Kasten, associate curator of the Yale Babylonian Collection, for her assistance in my obtaining photographs of the texts. I express my thanks to Benjamin Foster, Marcel Sigrist, Eckart Frahm, Jack Sasson, and Gary Rendsburg for their insightful suggestions and comments. And I take this opportunity to thank Bill Hallo, who served as curator of the Yale Babylonian Collection for over thirty years, for the privilege of being allowed to “rummage” through the tablet room drawers during his tenure in search of treasure.

² There are two attestations of a cuneiform orthography *a-bu-ur-ra* from El-Amarna (see J. Bottéro, “Ḥabiru,” *RIA* 4 14–27, nos. 204 and 205). The Ugaritic script writes the designation as *pr* and the Egyptian as *pr(w)*.

³ For a list of occurrences (and orthographies) of the terms *ḥa-BI-ru* and SA.GAZ, see J. Bottéro, “Ḥabiru,” *RIA* 4 14–27.

- (1) *shape and size*: YBC 12073 is elongated (15 cm × 6.5 cm), resembling the shape and style of many Old Babylonian tablets from Larsa. YBC 11032 is less elongated (16.5 cm × 8.5 cm), thicker and heavier, with much larger writing.
- (2) *format*: YBC 12073 contains a name with patronym on the main entry lines. YBC 11032 contains only the name, no patronym; this shorter entry allowed the scribe to format the tablet with two columns on each side.
- (3) Some variations in spelling of the same individual's name occur:

YBC 12073:	YBC 11032:
<i>Ra-sa-nu</i>	<i>Ra-sà-nu-um</i>
<i>Ip-qa-tum</i>	<i>Ip-qá-tum</i>
^d EN.ZU-li-ta-la-al/làl	^d EN.ZU-li-ta-lal
DUMU-MAR.TU	DUMU- ^d MAR.TU
^d EN.ZU-i-qí-ša-am	^d EN.ZU-i-qí-ša
DINGIR-šu-ib-ni-šu	DINGIR-šu-ib-ni
Ú-ši-i-na-pu-uš-qí	Ú-ši-i-<na->pu-uš-qí

- (4) The summary lines use different formulae, as well as different systems for writing numerics.

YBC 12073:	62 ^{lú.meš} a-pí-ru-ú NÍG.ŠU ÌR- ^d EN.ZU GAL.MAR.TU
YBC 11032:	1 ŠU 1 ÉRIN.MEŠ GAL.MAR.TU ÌR- ^d EN.ZU

The other differences between the two tablets are less style than content variation.

- (5) In YBC 12073 Milki-li'el is the only officer in his unit and bears the enigmatic title written NE. The individual designated UG-*ni-ša* is a regular soldier reporting to him. The other two units each have an UGULA and a NU.BÀNDA. In YBC 11032 UG-*ni-ša* has been promoted to NU.BÀNDA under Milki-li'el, whose title is now UGULA. YBC 12073 is dated to month 9 (no year specified) and YBC 11032 to month 8 (no year specified). Thus, unless UG-*ni-ša* was demoted rather than promoted, YBC 12073 is the older text by at least eleven months.
- (6) The list of soldiers is almost identical, in almost the identical order. YBC 11032 lists 61 soldiers and YBC 12073 62 soldiers.

The names and patronyms of the soldiers (ÉRIN) are standard Babylonian or Amorite—quite unlike the *habiru* names listed in the prism of King Tunip-

Teššup of Tikunani.⁴ However, the orthography *a-pi-ru-ú* surely refers to the peoples otherwise designated as *ḫa-BI-ru(-ú)* (or ^{lu}SA.GAZ). There is another Old Babylonian *ḫabiru*-list (MLC 1346) that, like ours, meticulously lists a patronym after each individual's name, and, like ours, totals the individuals with the note that they are *ḫabiru*: “8 ^{lu}SA.GAZ.MEŠ.”⁵ In addition, there are lists of *ḫabiru*-soldiers from Alalakh.⁶ So understanding our names to be another list of *ḫabiru*-soldiers seems warranted.⁷

YBC 12073 may originate in the Larsa area, based upon the physical similarity of the tablet with many Larsa texts. Unfortunately we cannot determine whether the differences between YBC 12073 and YBC 11032 should be attributed to variations in scribal practice within one city or to variation in scribal notation in two different locations. If the latter, then this would suggest that this small, compact army of *apiru* may have served as mercenaries, who hired themselves out to various rulers and cities.

The men are divided into three units of size 15 (YBC 11032 lists 14), 30, and 17, which raises a question as to why such small units would need both a NUBANDA and an UGULA. Not only were there six (YBC 12073) or seven (YBC 11032) officers over just 55 men, but the highest officer over this small contingent was a general. This seems to indicate that this unit of 62 soldiers served as an independent army, small, but with the hierarchy of a standard army, again suggesting mercenary activity.

Another interesting feature of the texts is the rather large number of relatives serving together. Obviously, in any list of names there can be unrelated individuals whose fathers share the same name. Yet, in our text, the uniqueness of the patronym Kananum strongly suggests that, at least in this instance, the sons bearing the same patronym are brothers. There is then probably one, but perhaps as many as five pairs of brothers in our text. There are eleven or twelve likely relatives out of only 62 men (almost 20%):

1. General Warad-Sîn and Buriya, sons of Kananum. Possibly Liwwirum (l. 33) is the son of our General Warad-Sîn.
2. UG-*ni-ša* and Šēlebum are both listed as sons of Nūr-Išḫara but not one directly after the other.
3. Šamaš-rabi and Warad-Ninšubur, sons of Apil-ilišu, are listed next to each other.

⁴ M. Salvini, *The Habiru Prism of King Tunip-Teššup of Tikunani* (Rome: Istituto Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali, 1996).

⁵ MLC 1346, published by both J.J. Finkelstein, “An Old Babylonian SA.GAZ List,” in CRRAI 4 (1954) 177–80 and M. Greenberg, *The Ḫab/piru* (AOS 39; New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1955) 19, contains eight names, totalled as: 8 ^{lu}SA.GAZ.MEŠ.

⁶ Greenberg, *The Ḫab/piru* 20–2.

⁷ For more recent discussion of the *ḫabiru* issue, see N.P. Lemche, “Ḫabiru, Ḫapiru,” *ABD* 3 6–11.

4. Ipqatum and Sîn-iddinam (listed next to each other) are sons of Sîn-išme'anni, who may be the same Sîn-išme'anni who is the NUBANDA of the same unit.
5. UGULA Sîn-līlāl, the son of Namram-šarūr, may be the brother of a soldier serving under him, Buriya, the son of Namram-šarūr.

A cogent argument favoring these men as being brothers, rather than unrelated individuals whose fathers happen to share a name, is that, aside from General Warad-Sîn and Buriya,⁸ each pair serves in the same unit.⁹ The probability that, distributed among three units of variable size, eight unrelated men, consisting of four pairs, each pair sharing a patronym, were assigned either randomly or on some basis independent of patronym resulting in each pair sharing a patronym being assigned to the same unit is just 1 : 81 (or 1.2% probability).¹⁰ Thus, probability statistics support the contention that these men were brothers.

Our two texts indicate that these *apiru* were a well-ordered group of 62 men, most with perfectly proper Babylonian or Amorite names with Babylonian or Amorite patronyms, and includes one of their own who achieved the highest possible military rank (GAL.MAR.TU) in society, as well as others in positions of authority (NUBANDA and UGULA). These men apparently constituted a totally separate military unit, which included top-ranking officers, from general on down. That the two tablets could be from two different locations and that the structure of this sixty-two-man fighting force is self-contained, i.e., it has its own complement of officers, indicate that these men most likely constituted a mercenary army that subscribed to army protocols—they were not simply a group of refugees or migrants hiring themselves out to fight; they were professionals. The group's size is another indication that they were an independent fighting force. It seems unlikely that any regular military establishment would create an army unit headed by a general with just 62 men. That so small a group of men would have so many officers suggests that the structure was formed from within the group, not imposed from without as part of a regular army organization.

⁸ In the case of General Warad-Sîn and Buriya, obviously, the general could not actually serve in any one unit; rather, as the final summary line indicates, he was in charge of all three units. For the sake of the integrity of the overall count, Warad-Sîn was counted in the first unit following his name in both texts.

⁹ It is understandable that relatives, in particular brothers, would want to serve in the same unit and thus be available to help each other in time of distress. On the U.S.S. Arizona, which was sunk at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, there were "23 sets of brothers, and a father and his son" (George F. Will, *The Washington Post*, September 8, 2002).

¹⁰ Given three units of variable size, the odds of the two men with the same patronym being in the same unit by chance or some reason independent of patronym is 1 : 3 (or 1/3 of the time). For this event to occur for all four pairs of patronym-sharing individuals, the probability is $(1/3)^4 = 1/81 = 1.2\%$.

A Small Old Babylonian Army of A-pí-ru-ú

The function of the tablets is unclear. Since the two tablets are so different, in particular, one with and one without patronyms, along with the fact that a scribe would be constantly needed to make revisions, it is unlikely that these tablets were carried and maintained by Warad-Sîn's army. Perhaps these tablets were written and stored by those who hired the army, to be used for the administrative processes of payroll and supply. It is interesting that the order of the names in the two lists is almost identical. Warad-Sîn's army may have maintained an oral roll-call, recited (perhaps by an officer or by the soldiers themselves, each shouting out his name in established roll-call order) whenever the need arose for the names of the soldiers to be recorded.

It is not entirely clear why scribes needed to indicate that those listed were *apiru*. Presumably this entitled them to pay, supplies, or conditions that differed from the non-*apiru* soldiers. However, YBC 11032 clearly shows that there were scribes listing *apiru* who did not deem it necessary to indicate that the men were *apiru*. Quite possibly, then, we have other tablets containing lists of *apiru* on which there is no indication of their *apiru*-status, tablets that, unfortunately, we have no way of identifying.

In conclusion, although a meaning "émigré," "refugee," or the like is clearly warranted in some archives, based on our two texts and the very high preponderance of texts in which the term (*h*)*apiru* occurs in a military context, the term *apiru* in some periods and in some locations assuredly denoted professional mercenaries. The continuing influx and shifting of peoples as well as the constant political realignments during the close of the third millennium and the first half of the second millennium must have resulted in the displacement from the land of large segments of the population. It would have been natural for many of these displaced or newly unemployed peoples to seek employment by banding together and offering themselves as mercenaries. Living outside the control of city administrations, they married, had children, and developed into independent communities of mercenary families. Such a mercenary community could provide the power base needed by a man with ambition, such as Idrimi, who claims to have lived with the *apiru* before seizing the kingship of Alalakh.¹¹ A somewhat similar situation is described in 1 Samuel, wherein the future-king David leads a band of professional mercenaries who would ultimately help him secure a throne.

Being armed and usually outside governmental control, an army of professional mercenaries would be a force not only to be respected but feared and, when large enough, capable of producing havoc, as occurs in the

¹¹ See M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Die Inschrift der Statue des Königs Idrimi von Alalakh," *UF* 13 (1981) 201–69.

Levant in the Amarna Age. That professional mercenary armies existed is documented in the Tell Leilan archive, in which *ḥabbātu*—not *(h)apiru*—is used to denote professional mercenaries.¹²

Over the course of so many centuries, professional mercenary armies were assuredly defeated many times. In some instances, the defeated mercenaries may have found new employment by working for the victor. However, other times, when deemed too dangerous to be allowed to remain intact, mercenary communities may have been forcibly broken up—the men and women shipped off to do agricultural, construction or menial work, or were sold as slaves, or perhaps just forced to scatter and seek employment on an individual basis. This may explain some of the references to *apiru* in which we see individuals assuming low-status positions.

Lastly, the writing *a-BI-ru-ú* in YBC 12073 injects a new factor to be considered when analyzing the etymology of Akkadian *ḥapiru*, Ugaritic *ʿpr*, and Egyptian *ʿpr(w)*. The Akkadian verb *apāru* meets the linguistic requirements for a root from which *(h)apiru* could derive. The verb *apāru* occurs with a prima /ʾ/, a prima /ḥ/ (CAD A/2 s.v. *apāru* 2 [including at Mari]), and an echo of /ʾ/ (CAD A/2 s.v. *apāru* 1b1', 1d), which accords with the forms of the term *ḥapiru* beginning with /ʾ/ and /p/ in Ugaritic and Egyptian, and /ḥ/ or—as our text now shows—/ʾ/ in Akkadian. Hebrew *ʾāpēr*, a cognate of Akkadian *apāru*, denotes a scarf or wrap (1 Kgs 20:38–41): “Then the prophet, disguised by an *ʾāpēr* over his eyes, went and waited for the king by the road.... Quickly he removed the *ʾāpēr* from his eyes and the king recognized him.” However, a derivation from *apāru* and its Semitic cognates with, perhaps, a meaning “bandaged ones,” which might allude to the *apiru* wearing face wraps to protect themselves from the elements, seems somewhat strained or forced. Thus, despite the additional information provided by our text, we are probably still lacking a likely candidate for the word from which *ḥapiru* is derived.

YBC 12073 (Figs. 1–9)

(Some lacunae have been filled in on the basis of YBC 11032.)

Obverse

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 GAL.MAR.TU ÌR- ^d EN.ZU | DUMU <i>Ka-na-nu-um</i> |
| 2 UGULA <i>Ma-nu-um</i> | DUMU ^d EN.ZU- <i>e-ri-iš</i> ! |
| 3 NU.BÀNDA ^d EN.ZU- <i>iš-me-an-ni</i> | DUMU ^d UTU- <i>ba-ni</i> |

¹² I thank Prof. J. Eidem for sharing this information with me. A complete discussion of the *ḥabbātu* in the Tell Leilan archive will appear in his forthcoming volume on the Tell Leilan letters and treaties; cf. also J. Eidem, “Tell Qal’at al Hādī again,” *NABU* 1988/9.

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4	1 DUMU-MAR.TU	DUMU <i>Ap-lum</i>
5	1 DUMU-Eš ₄ -tár	DUMU <i>Za-ri-qum</i>
6	1 ^d EN.ZU-i-din-nam	DUMU ÌR-ì-lí-šu
7	1 <i>I-lu-ni</i>	DUMU ÌR- ^d INANNA [?]
8	1 <i>A-ba-a</i>	DUMU ÌR-di-di
9	1 ^d UTU-DINGIR	DUMU <i>Šil-lí-^dAdad</i>
10	1 DUMU- ^d UTU	DUMU <i>I-bi-^dNin-šubur</i>
11	1 <i>Ip-qa-tum</i>	DUMU ^d EN.ZU-iš-me-an-ni
12	1 ^d EN.ZU-i-din-nam	DUMU ^d EN.ZU-iš-me-an-ni
13	1 <i>Nu-ri-ya</i>	DUMU <i>A-di-du-um</i>
14	1 ^d EN.ZU-i-qí-ša-am	DUMU <i>A-bi-lum</i>
15	1 <i>Ib-ni-^dUraš</i>	DUMU [...- ^d EN.Z]U [?]
16	15 ÉRIN.MEŠ <i>Ma-nu-um</i>	
17	UGULA ^d EN.ZU-li-ta-la-al	DUMU <i>Nam-ra-am-ša-ru-ur</i>
18	NU.BÀNDA <i>Ra-sa-nu</i>	DUMU ^d EN.ZU-ga-mil
19	1 <i>A-ḫu-ši-na</i>	DUMU <i>A-bi-DINGIR</i>
20	1 <i>E-ri-ba-am-^dEN.ZU</i>	DUMU <i>A-pil-^dEN.ZU</i>
21	1 ^d UTU-ki-nam-i-di	DUMU <i>E-le-lum</i>
22	1 <i>Nu-úr-Kab-ta</i>	DUMU <i>E-te-rum</i>
23	1 <i>É-a-ra-bi</i>	DUMU <i>Ḫa-am-me-a-nu-um</i>
24	1 <i>Bu-ri-ya</i>	DUMU <i>Ka-na-nu-um</i>
25	1 <i>A-bu-ya-nu</i>	DUMU <i>Nu-úr-ì-lí-šu</i>
26	1 ^d UTU-ḫa-zi-ir	DUMU <i>É-a-na-ši-ir</i>
27	1 <i>Ḫu-zi-ra-nu</i>	DUMU <i>Be-el-šu-nu</i>
28	1 <i>Ta-ri-bu-u[m]</i>	DUMU <i>A-ḫi-ša-gi-iš</i>
29	1 <i>A-lí-ba-ni-šu</i>	DUMU <i>I-pi-iq-Eš₄-tár</i>
30	1 ^d UTU-ra-bi	DUMU <i>A-pil-ì-lí-šu</i>
31	1 ÌR- ^d Nin-šubur	DUMU <i>A-pil-ì-lí-[šu]</i>

Bottom

32	1 ^d EN.ZU-i-din-nam	DUMU <i>Du-ba-ba-t[um]</i>
33	1 <i>Li-wi-rum</i>	DUMU ÌR- ^d EN.ZU
34	[1] <i>Bu-ri-ya</i>	DUMU <i>Nam-ra-am-ša-ru-ur</i>

Reverse

35	[1 <i>Pí-lah-^dAdad</i>]	DUMU ÌR-ti-ya
36	1 <i>A-wi-li-ya</i>	DUMU DUMU-Eš ₄ -tár
37	1 <i>I-lu-ni</i>	[DUMU] x-x-nu-um [?]
38	1 <i>A-bu-wa-[qar]</i>	DUMU [?] x-x-x [?] -ša
39	1 ^d Šu-[<i>bu-la-a-bu-um</i>]	DUMU] <i>In-bu-ša</i>
40	1 ^d UTU-g[<i>a-mil</i>]	DUMU <i>Za-ri-qum</i>
41	1 [?] x x [?] [...]	DUMU <i>Ad[?]-ri-nu-um</i>
42	1 <i>I-túr-aš-du</i>	DUMU <i>Na-bi-^dUTU</i>
43	1 <i>Ku-na-nu-um</i>	DUMU DUMU- ^d UTU
44	1 DINGIR- <i>šu-ib-ni-šu</i>	DUMU <i>Šil-lí-^dMAR.TU</i>
45	1 <i>Ga-gi-ya</i>	DUMU <i>Ib-na-tum</i>

46	1	Ú-ší-i-na-pu-uš-qi	DUMU Ri-iš- ^d UTU
47		2 ÉRIN.MEŠ	
48		30 ÉRIN.MEŠ ^d EN.ZU-li-ta-làl	
49	NE	Mil-[k]i-li-el	DUMU Uš-ta-aš-ni-DINGIR
50	1	Še-le-bu-[um]	DUMU Nu-úr- ^d UTU
51	1	ÌR- ^d Nin-šu[bur	DUMU ...]
52	1	^d Tišpak-na-[...	DUMU ^d EN.ZU-na-wi-<ru>um
53	1	UG-ni-ša	DUMU Nu-úr- ^d Ìš-ḫa-ra
54	1	E-ri-súm-ma-tum	DUMU BI-di-DINGIR
55	1	Qí-iš-ì-li	DUMU A-bu-wa-qar
56	1	E-tel-KA- ^d EN.ZU	DUMU A-píl-DINGIR
57	1	Ḫu-zu-mu-um	DUMU Ap- ^r kál ^r -DINGIR
58	1	LÚ- ^d Adad	DUMU DINGIR-šu-a-bu-šu
59	1	A-ḫu-la-ap- ^d EN.ZU	DUMU Nu-úr-a-ḫi-šu
60	1	Še-le-bu-um	DUMU Nu-úr- ^d Ìš-ḫa-ra
61	1	Ad-nu-ra-bi	DUMU Ri- ^r x ^r -a-šu
62	1	DINGIR-šu-ib-n[i-šu]	DUMU A-ḫu-tà-bu
62	1	[In...	DUMU Ì]-lí-ip-pa-al-sa
63	1	[ÌR...	DUMU ...]-nu
64	1	[Im-gur- ^d ...	DUMU ...- ^d EN].ZU?

Top

65		^r 17 ^r ÉRIN.<MEŠ> [M]il-[k]i-li-el
66		62 lú.meš a-pí-ru-ú
67		NÍG.ŠU ÌR- ^d EN.ZU GAL.MAR.TU

Left edge

ITI GAN.GAN.È.A U₄.3.KAM

YBC 11032 (Figs. 10–11)

Obverse

Col. i

1	GAL.MAR.TU ÌR- ^d EN.ZU
2	UGULA Ma-nu-um
3	NU.BÀNDA ^d EN.ZU-iš-me-an-ni
4	1 DUMU-Eš ₄ -tár
5	1 DUMU- ^d MAR.TU
6	1 ^d EN.ZU-i-din-nam
7	1 I-lu-ni
8	1 A-ba-a
9	1 ^d UTU-DINGIR
10	1 DUMU- ^d UTU
11	1 Ip-qá-tum
12	1 ^d EN.ZU-i-din-nam

A Small Old Babylonian Army of A-pí-ru-ú

- 13 1 ^dEN.ZU-*i-qí-ša*
- 14 1 *Ib-ni*-^d*Uraš*
- 15 14 ÉRIN.MEŠ UGULA *Ma-nu-m*
- 16 UGULA ^dEN.ZU-*li-ta-lal*
- 17 NU.BÀNDA *Ra-sà-nu-um*
- 18 [1] *A-ḫu-ši-na*
- 19 [1] *E-ri-ba-am*-^dEN.ZU
- 20 [1 ^dUTU]-*ki-nam-i-di*
- 21 [1 *Nu-ú*]-*r-Kab-ta*
- 22 [1 ...] 'x'
- 23 [1 ...]
- 24 [1 ...]
- 25 [1 ...]
- 26 [1 ...]
- 27 [1 ...]
- 28 [1 ...]

Col. ii

- 1 1 *A-li*-[*ba-ni-šu*]
- 2 1 ÌR-^d[*Nin-šubur*]
- 3 1 ^dEN.ZU-^r'-[*din-nam*]
- 4 1 *Li-wi*-[*rum*]
- 5 1 *Bu-ri-ya*
- 6 1 *Pi-laḫ*-^d*Adad*
- 7 1 *A-wi-li-ya*
- 8 1 *I-lu-ni*
- 9 1 *A-bu-um-wa-qar*
- 10 1 ^dŠu-*bu-la-a-bu-um*
- 11 1 *I-túr-aš-du*
- 12 1 ^dUTU-*ga-mil*
- 13 1 *Ku-na-nu-um*
- 14 1 DINGIR-*šu-ib-ni*
- 15 1 *Ga-gi-ya*
- 16 1 *Ú-ši-i*-<*na*->*pu-uš-qí*
- 17 1 *Pir-ḫi-i-lí-šu*
- 18 30 ÉRIN.MEŠ ^dEN.ZU-*li-ta-lal*
- 19 UGULA *Mil*-[*k*]-*i-li-el*
- 20 NU.BÀNDA UG-*ni-ša*
- 21 1 *Še-le-b*[*u-um*]
- 22 1 ^d*Tišpak-na*-[...]
- 23 [1 ...]
- 24 [1 ...]
- 25 [1 ...]
- 26 [1 ...]

Reverse

Col. iii

- 1 [1 ...]
- 2 [1 ...]
- 3 [1 ...]
- 4 [1 ...]
- 5 1 [...]
- 6 1 DIN[GIR-*šu-ib-ni-šu*]
- 7 1 *In*-[...]
- 8 1 *İR*-[...]
- 9 1 *Im-gur*-^d[...]
- 10 17 ÉRIN.MEŠ
- 11 UGULA *Mil-ki-li-el*
- 12 1 ŠU 1 ÉRIN.MEŠ
- 13 GAL.MAR.TU *İR*-^dEN.ZU

Col. iv

- 1 ITI APIN.DU₈.A U₄.20.KAM

Comments

In the comments below, it is not my intention to provide an exhaustive list of occurrences of the personal names in our text, merely one or more occurrences of some of the Amorite or more unusual names. I have tried, without success, to find other references to the soldiers listed in our text. Line numbering is according to YBC 12073.

1. For the order of the military ranks at Mari and Babylon in the Old Babylonian period, see D. Charpin, “La hiérarchie de l’armée babylonienne,” s.v. *Notes brèves*, *MARI* 5 (1987) 662–3. The army at Mari has been discussed at length in J. Sasson, *The Military Establishments at Mari* (Studia Pohl 3; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969) 56 n. 40.

The GAL.MAR.TU at Mari has been discussed by Sasson, *The Military Establishments at Mari* 12 passim. For the Akkadian rendering of the term GAL.MAR.TU as *rabi amurrim*, see D. Charpin, “La hiérarchie de l’armée babylonienne” 662–3.

According to Sasson, at Mari the GAL.MAR.TU was appointed and paid by the king, and on occasion granted gifts. At times he might be under the control of the district governor. In our text he commands a very small military contingent, just 62 men. Sasson notes occasions at Mari when the GAL.MAR.TU commanded armies numbering from 200 to 3000 troops. There appear to be, however, occasions when the title did not necessarily

denote a military role, as in “the GAL.MAR.TU of the palace gate” (ARM 14 110:7–8). There were multiple GAL.MAR.TUs in an army at one time. Note ARM 21 389 (a summary by rank) and ARM 22 42 (listing by name followed by summary by rank—unfortunately the names of the GAL.MAR.TUs are destroyed) for the count: 7^{lu}GAL.MAR.TU.

For references to previous discussions on GAL.MAR.TU and discussion of the equation of the terms GAL.MAR.TU and GAL.^dMAR.TU, see M. Stol, *Studies in Old Babylonian History* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1976) 88–9. For references to specific GAL.MAR.TUs, see J. Sasson, *The Military Establishments at Mari* 12 and P. Abrahami, “A propos des généraux (gal mar-tu) de la Mésopotamie du Nord à l’époque du règne de Zimri-Lim,” *NABU* 1998/35.

I have found no other instances of the personal name *Ka-na-nu-um* except for line 24 of our text, YBC 12073: *Bu-ri-ya* DUMU *Ka-na-nu-um*. Note the name *Ka-(an-)na-a-ia* (S. Dalley, C. B. F. Walker, and J. D. Hawkins, *The Old Babylonian Tablets from Tell al-Rimah* [London: The British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1976] 230:7' and 232:6); *Ka-an-na-a* (D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand, “Relectures d’ARMT VII,” *MARI* 2 [1983] 91); *Ka-an-na-ni* (J. Eidem, *The Shemshara Archives 2: The Administrative Texts* [Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 1992] 137:8); and note the indices to ARM 23 and ARM 24 for multiple references to the name *Ka-an-na-an*.

2. See Sasson, *The Military Establishments at Mari* 56 n. 40 for the military ranking of the NU.BÀNDA, as well as CAD L s.v. *laputtû* for references in which the NU.BÀNDA is listed before the UGULA. However, in our two texts, based on the order of lines 2–3 and 17–8 and the unit being summarized as under the UGULA, the UGULA would seem to be of higher rank than the NU.BÀNDA in General Warad-Sîn’s army.

3. Quite possibly this Sîn-išme’anni, who serves as the NU.BÀNDA of this unit, is the Sîn-išme’anni in lines 11 and 12, who is the father of Ipqatum and Sîn-iddinam, two soldiers assigned to the same unit.

4. For several individuals with the name *Mār-dAmurru*, see YOS 12 45.

8. The name *A-ba-a* may occur in YOS 12 no. 119:19. Perhaps ÌR-*di-di* is an orthography for Wardi-idi.

13. The orthography *A-di-du-um* occurs in F.N.H. Al-Rawi and S. Dalley, *Old Babylonian Texts from Private Houses at Abu Habbah, Ancient Sippir: Baghdad University Excavations* (Edubba 7; London: Nabu Publications, 2000) no. 109:20; the orthography *A-di-dum*, occurs in M.P. Streck, *Das*

amurritische Onomastikon der altbabylonischen Zeit (AOAT 271/1; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2000) 2.104.

15. The name Ibni-^dUraš occurs several times in YOS 13, a collection of Late Old Babylonian texts. Compare, in particular, with our name and partial patronymic, YOS 13 249:2: *Ib-ni-^dUraš DUMU A-wi-il-^dEN.ZU*.

16. The term ÉRIN can denote a workforce as well as soldiers. However, the occurrence of the term GAL.MAR.TU (almost exclusively military),¹³ as well as both NUBÀNDA and UGULA (either of which can be assigned in either situation), indicates that ÉRIN in this instance connotes actual soldiers, not a simple workforce.

17. Note that Sîn-lītalal is written with two orthographies on YBC 12073: *-la-al* (l. 17) and *-lāl* (l. 48) and yet another orthography using *-lal* on YBC 11032. Our text enables us to read the seal impression on YOS 12 no. 73: *Ka-sà-ap-^dEN.ZU DUMU ^dEN.ZU-li-ta-lāl ÌR ^dNin-si₄-an-na*. The name utilizes the Gt-stem of *alālu* B, “May Sîn boast/triumph!”

18. Note that YBC 12073 has *Ra-sa-nu*, whereas YBC 11032 has *Ra-sà-nu-um*.

22. Note YOS 13 16:8 and 36 seal B for *Nu-ūr-^dKab-ta*.

23. For Amorite names beginning with *Ḥammi/u-* (“people”), see R. Zadok, “On the Amorite Material from Mesopotamia,” in *Studies Hallo* 320b. However, I have been unable to find any names beginning with the orthography *Ḥa-am-me-*.

27. For this personal name, see AHw s.v. *ḥuzirānum*, “Schweinemann.”

29. The name *Ali-bānīšu* occurs also in YOS 12 nos. 325:7 and 536:34, as well as H. Weiss, “Tell Leilan and Shubat Enlil,” *MARI* 4 (1985) 282 fig. 10.

32. The name *Du-ba-ba-tum* occurs in Streck, *Das amurritische Onomastikon* 2.104 and 4.7.

33. Although the name Warad-Sîn is very common in the Old Babylonian onomasticon, perhaps Liwwirum is the son of our General Warad-Sîn, given

¹³ For an exception see comment to line 1.

the seemingly large number of soldiers with relatives serving with them in the contingent (see comment to line 1).

35. The name ÌR-ti-ya occurs in I. J. Gelb et al., *Nuzi Personal Names* (OIP 57; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943) 172.

43. In YBC 11032 the first sign of the name is clearly KU. In YBC 12073 the first sign could be either MA or KU. The name *Ma-na-nu-um* is cited in J.-R. Kupper, *Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari* (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1957) 214 n. 1.

47. The significance of this line eludes me. These two unnamed soldiers are not part of the total unit count of 30. Perhaps it indicates that this unit was to be assigned two more, as yet unselected, men, who would increase unit strength to 32 men. However, unit strength was not increased in the presumed later text, YBC 11032. Perhaps, the addition of two soldiers may have been offset by the loss of two soldiers—note that we do not have all the names in this unit preserved on YBC 11032 and, thus, we cannot know if this unit in YBC 11032 and in YBC 12073 matches man for man.

49. For the name *Mi-il-ki-li-el*, see Streck, *Das amurritische Onomastikon* 2.29 and 2.95; *Mi-il-ki-DINGIR* 5.59, and *Mi-il-ki-la-el* 2.95 and 3.34.

The sign NE presumably indicates Milki-li'el's rank in YBC 12073. I am not aware of any such military designation. Unlike the structure of the other two units in YBC 12073, Milki-li'el does not have an officer reporting to him. However, once he has a NU.BÀNDA reporting to him (YBC 11032), he is listed as an UGULA.

53. The first sign of the name is clearly preserved in YBC 11032. The first two left wedges seem to be horizontal, which indicates the sign UG rather than GÌRI. Note, however, that the Sumerian name Giri-ni-i-ša₆ is attested in Old Babylonian documents, even in an Akkadianized form, such as Giri₃-ni-i-sà (YOS 12 186: r. 11).

54. The first sign of the patronym is clearly BI, excluding a reading *Qúr'-di-DINGIR* (see YOS 13 68 for the name).

57. For the personal name *Ḫuzzumum*, see AHW s.v. *ḫuzzumu(m)*. Note YOS 13 no. 19:4 *Ap-kál-i-li*.

59. The name *A-ḫu-la-ap-^dEN.ZU* occurs also in Al-Rawi and Dalley, *Abu Habbah* 115:27.



Fig. 1. YBC 12073 obv.

A Small Old Babylonian Army of A-pí-ru-ú

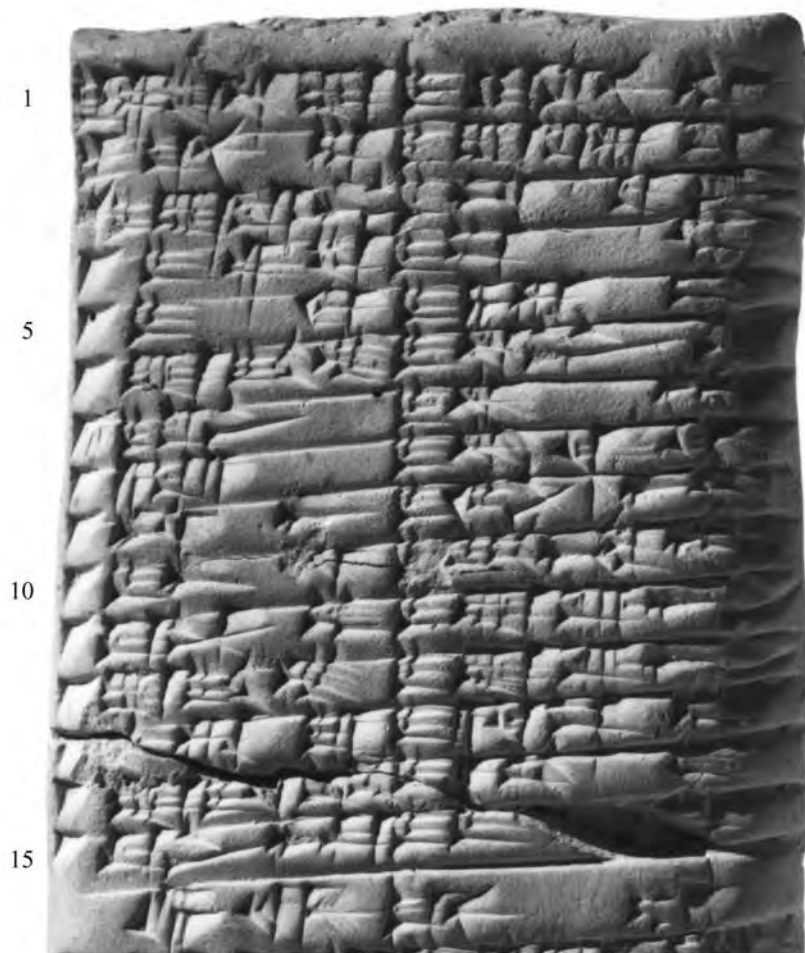


Fig. 2. YBC 12073 obv. 1–16

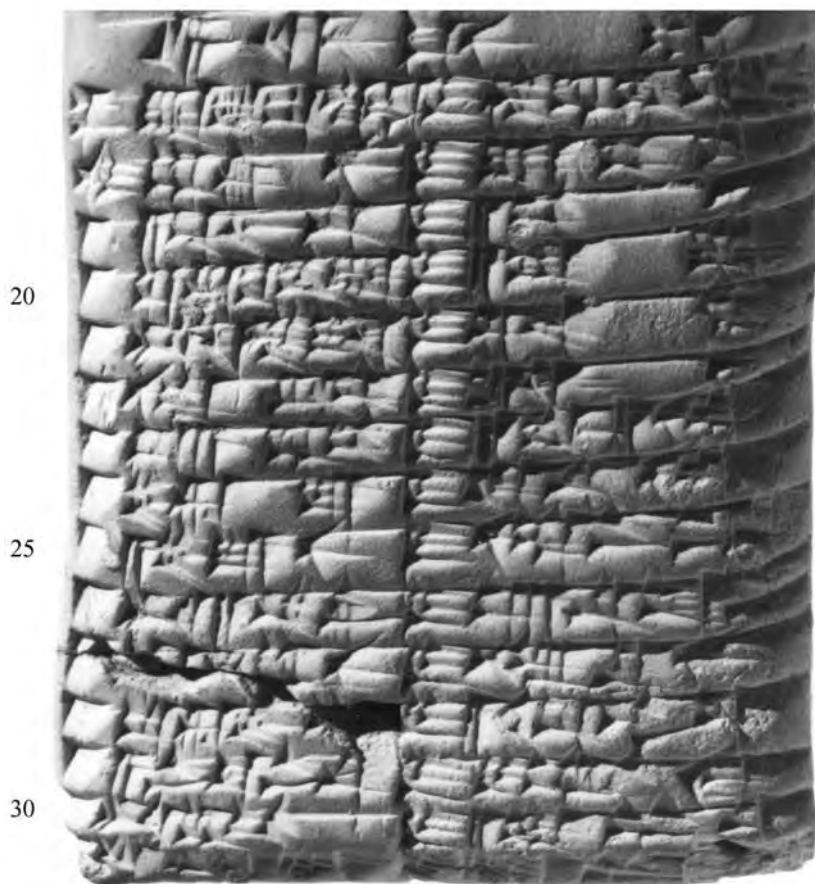


Fig. 3. YBC 12073 obv. 16–31

A Small Old Babylonian Army of A-pí-ru-ú



Fig. 4. YBC 12073 lower edge

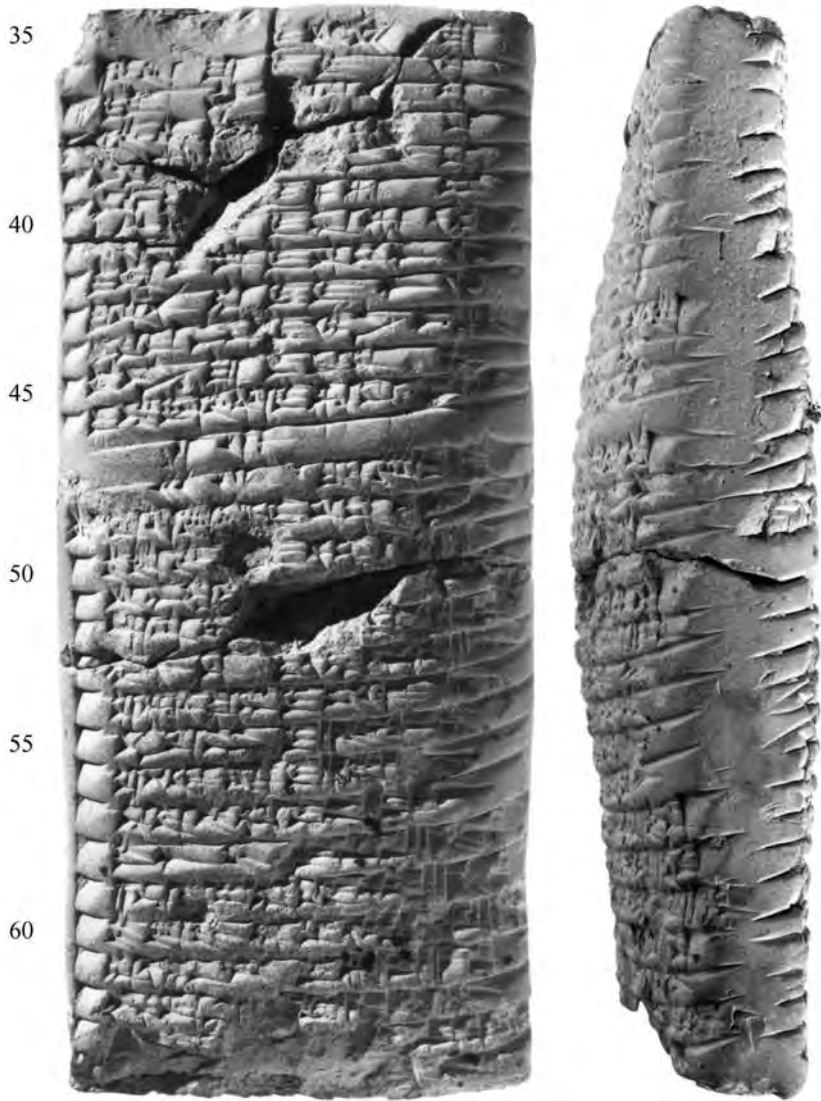


Fig. 5a. YBC 12073 rev. and right edge

A Small Old Babylonian Army of A-pí-ru-ú

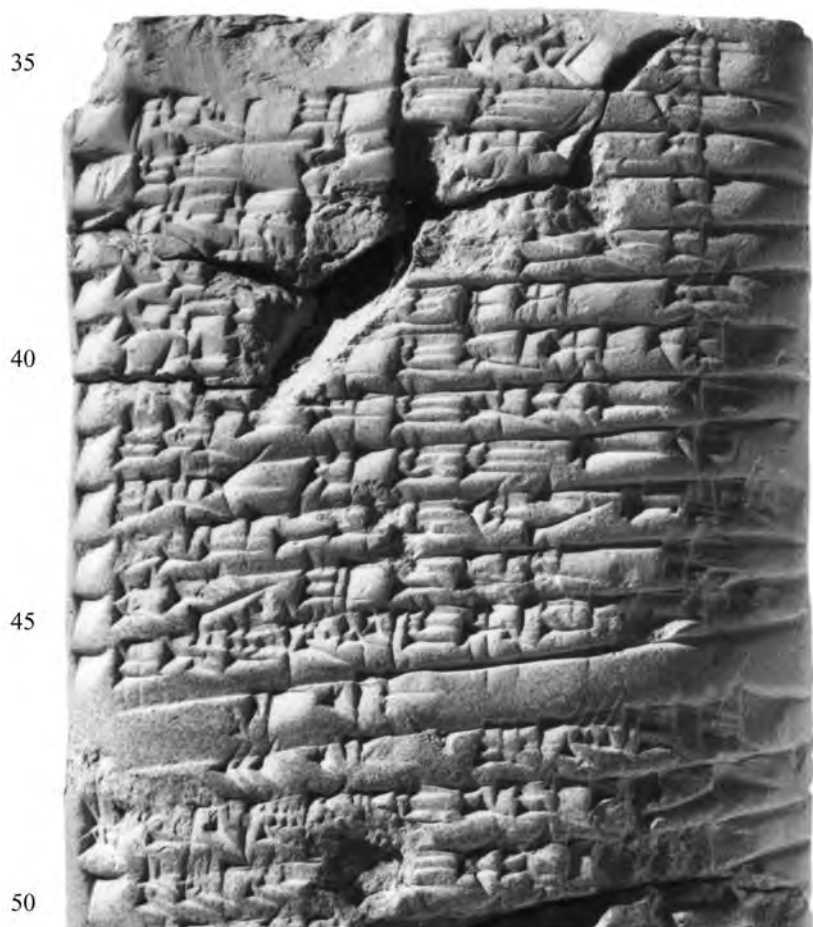


Fig. 6. YBC 12073 rev. 35–50

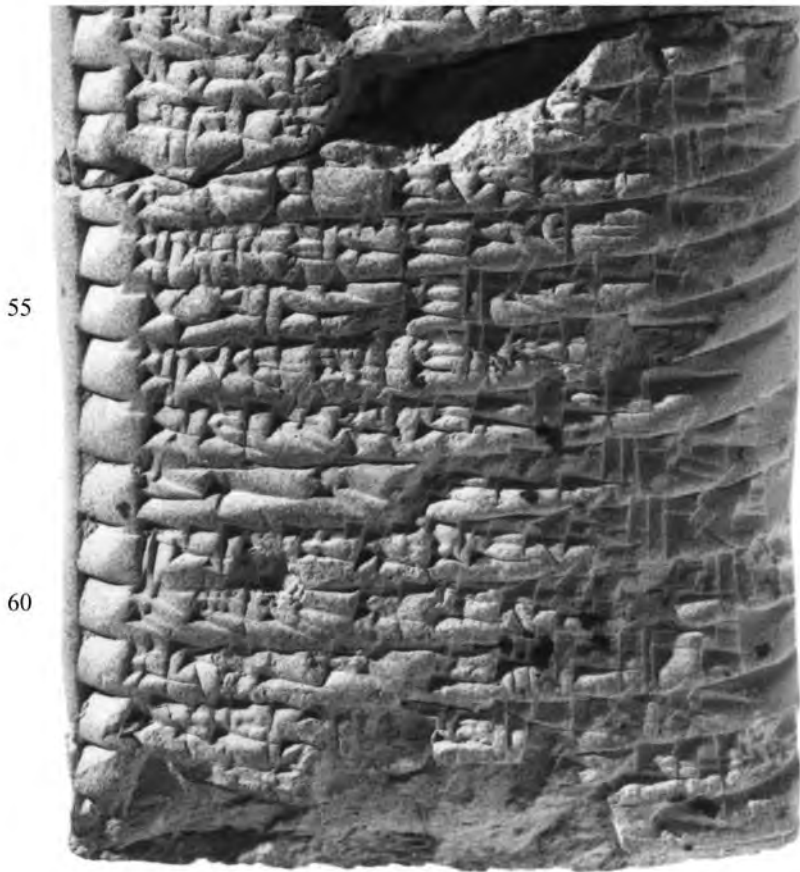


Fig. 7. YBC 12073 rev. 50-64

A Small Old Babylonian Army of A-pí-ru-ú



Fig. 8. YBC 12073 upper edge



Fig. 9. YBC 12073 left edge

A Small Old Babylonian Army of A-pí-ru-ú

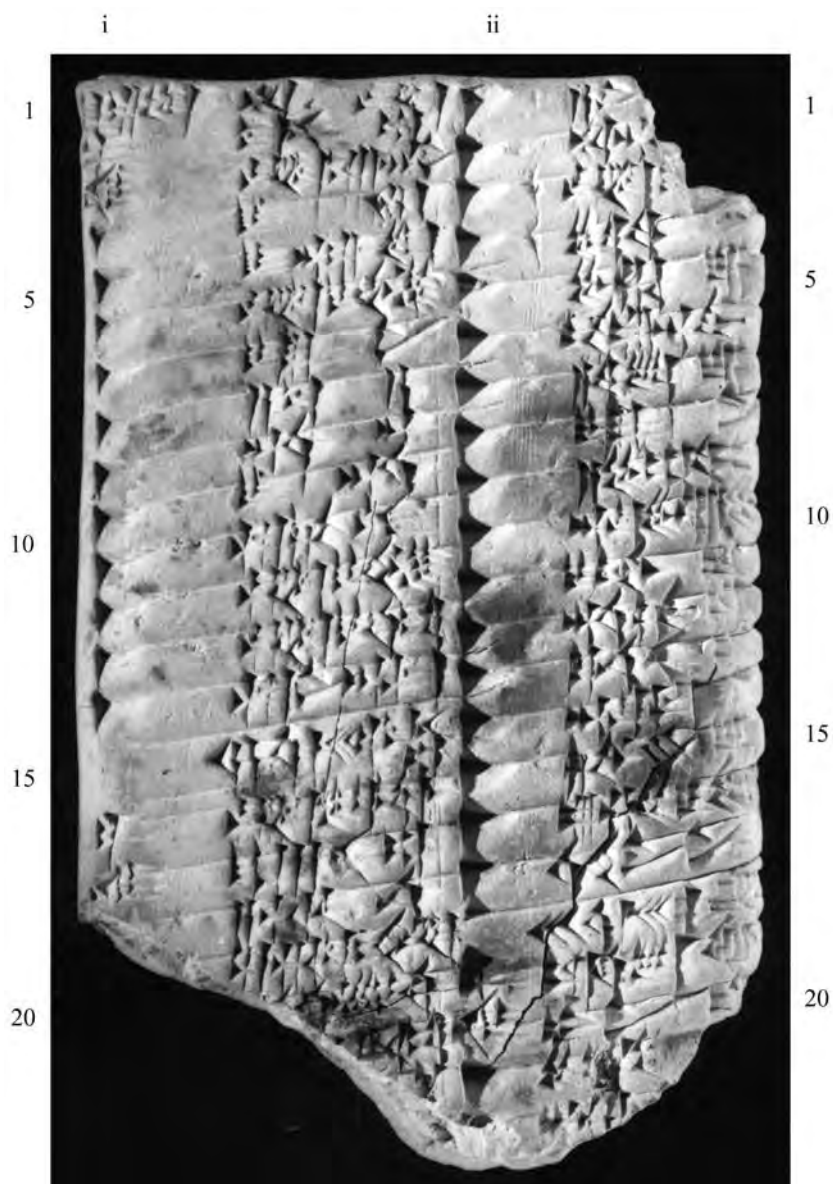


Fig. 10. YBC 11032 obv.

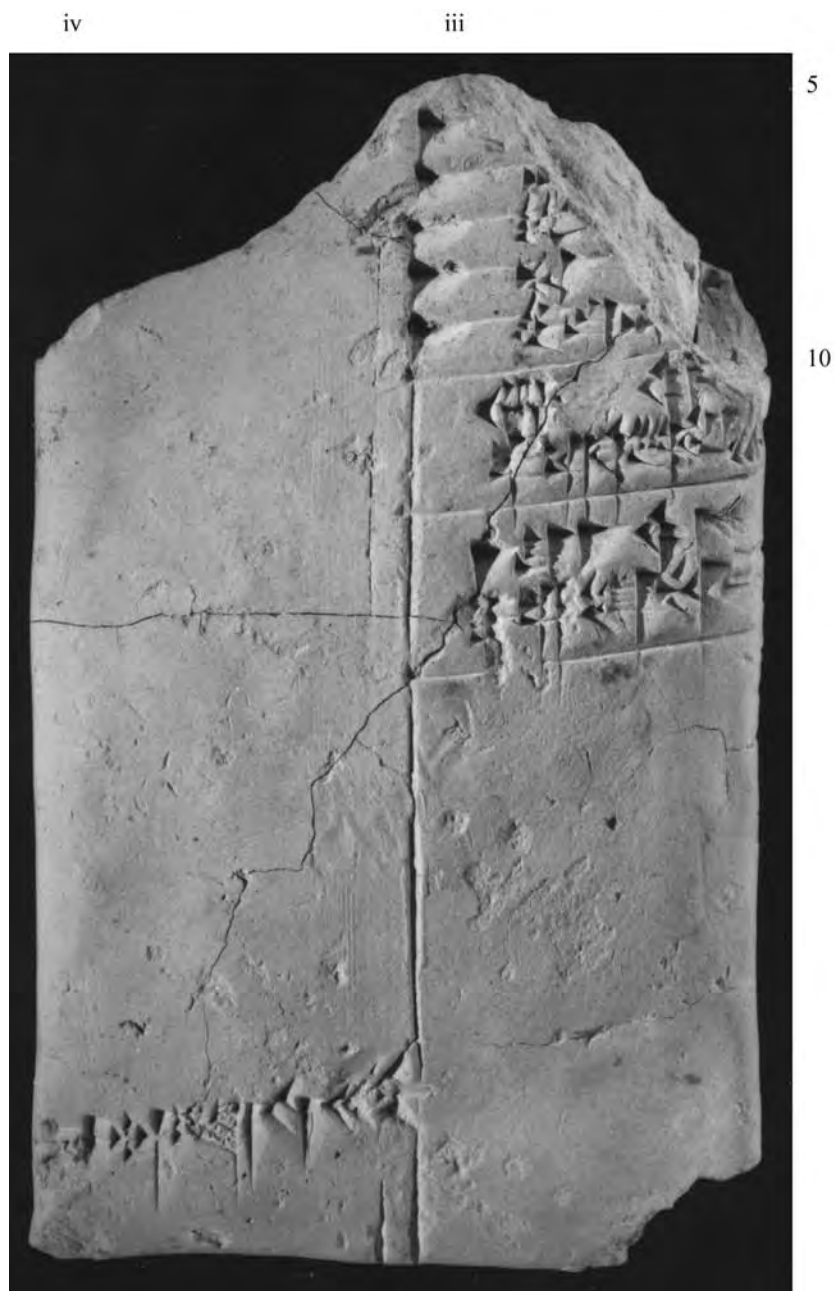


Fig. 11. YBC 11032 rev.

CUNEIFORM STUDIES AT PENN: FROM HILPRECHT TO LEICHTY

Barry L. Eichler

The history of the development of the discipline of Assyriology in American institutions of higher learning¹ may be divided into three distinct periods: Beginnings, Between the Two World Wars, and the Post World War II Years. The aim of this article is twofold: to trace the growth of cuneiform studies at the University of Pennsylvania and its Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology within this broad periodic framework² and to highlight the contributions of my esteemed colleague, Erle Leichty, to Penn's cuneiform studies program.

I. Beginnings at Penn

By the middle of the 19th century, Assyriology was becoming an established discipline in Europe, due mainly to the pioneering activities of British and French scholars.³ In the 1870s, leadership in Assyriological research passed to Germany,⁴ when Friedrich Delitzsch created the first school of Assyriology at the University of Leipzig in 1874. The early growth of Assyriology in

¹ Carroll Wade Meade's *Road to Babylon: Development of U.S. Assyriology* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974) presents a comprehensive outline of the growth of American Assyriology which may be read together with Philip J. King, *Archaeology in the Mideast: A History of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (Philadelphia: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1983). These may be supplemented in part by Bruce Kuklick's intellectual history, *Puritans in Babylon: The Ancient Near East and American Intellectual Life, 1880–1930* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

² Although a history of cuneiform studies at the University of Pennsylvania has not been written, Cyrus H. Gordon has discussed the development of Semitic studies at Penn in his *The Pennsylvania Tradition of Semitics: A Century of Near Eastern and Biblical Studies at the University of Pennsylvania* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986). Two celebratory histories of the University Museum also have been written: one by Percy Chester Madeira, *Men in Search of Man: The First Seventy-five Years of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964) and the other by Dilys Pegler Winegrad, *Through Time, Across Continents: A Hundred Years of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University Museum* (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1993).

³ Credit for the decipherment of cuneiform is shared by the Irish scholar Edward Hincks, the Englishman Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, and the German-born French scholar, Jules Oppert. For the story of the decipherment of cuneiform and the history of early British and French archaeological explorations, see Samuel Noah Kramer, *The Sumerians: Their History, Culture and Character* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963) 14–24.

⁴ Meade, *Road* 16.

America was intimately connected to this German school, since Delitzsch trained almost all of the first-generation American Assyriologists.⁵

The formal teaching of Assyriology in America began in 1880⁶ when Francis Brown, who had studied Assyrian under Eberhard Schrader in Berlin, introduced a course in the Assyrian language at the Union Theological Seminary in New York. Although Brown taught Assyrian and published a number of articles on Assyrian topics, the Hebrew Bible remained his primary area of interest.⁷ Harvard was next to initiate the teaching of Assyrian in 1882 with the appointment of David Gordon Lyon, often referred to as “the father of American Assyriology,”⁸ who had shortly before returned from Leipzig, where he earned his doctorate under Delitzsch. A year later, Johns Hopkins appointed a German scholar, Paul Haupt, who was already established in the field, as Professor of Semitic languages to teach courses in Akkadian and Sumerian. By the end of the 19th century, cuneiform studies had spread to approximately twenty American universities, colleges, and seminaries.⁹ However, by 1920, as a result of World War I and an ebbing of the general tide of enthusiasm, many of these institutions no longer offered courses in Assyriology.

During this initial period, the University of Pennsylvania played a unique role in the development of Assyriology in the United States, mainly due to its

⁵ Edgar James Banks (University of Chicago), Robert Francis Harper (University of Chicago), Paul Haupt (Johns Hopkins University), Hermann V. Hilprecht (University of Pennsylvania), Morris Jastrow, Jr. (University of Pennsylvania), and David Gordon Lyon (Harvard) received their doctorates from Delitzsch in the 1870s and 1880s. John Punnett Peters (University of Pennsylvania) had also studied with Delitzsch, although he received his degree from William Dwight Whitney at Yale (Kuklick, *Puritans* 125). In Kuklick's view (*Puritans* 6) the field of ancient Near Eastern studies is just one example of the maturation of the American university and its connection to Germany. [Editors' note: see D. I. Owen and E. Wasilewska in the present volume, 259 n. 2].

⁶ In America, the formal study of Assyriology was preceded by a period of popular interest in exotica, dating back to the 1830s. During that time reports of European excavations and progress on the decipherment of cuneiform generated excitement in the United States, and popular books on ancient Assyria and Babylonia were published in America (see Meade, *Road* 17–27 for a detailed presentation). In the 1850s some Mesopotamian antiquities, including inscribed bricks and pottery, made their way to the American shores, mostly brought back by American missionaries working in the Near East. The American Oriental Society, founded in Boston in 1842, did much to promote a more scholarly interest in Assyriology, with papers on Assyriological topics being presented sporadically at its meetings during this period. Many of these American scholars had deep Judeo-Christian commitments and viewed the study of the ancient Near East as a means of securing biblical truths. One of the themes developed by Kuklick in his book is the secularization of intellectual life in America and the paradoxical role of ancient Near Eastern studies in this process of secularization (Kuklick, *Puritans* 19 ff.).

⁷ Officially, Brown served as professor of biblical philology at Union. In one of his articles entitled “Assyriology: Its Use and Abuse in Old Testament Study,” he warned theologians to accept the clear facts discovered by Assyriologists and not to distort them to fit corresponding biblical statements (Meade, *Road* 29).

⁸ Meade, *Road* 30.

⁹ Meade, *Road* 37–43.

four expeditions to Nippur, which marked the beginning of American field archaeology in the Near East. In the mid 1880s, Penn's Provost, William Pepper, created a Semitic languages program to strengthen the College vis-à-vis its professional schools.¹⁰ The program was greatly enhanced by the appointment of Hermann Vollrath Hilprecht (1859–1925), a German scholar who received his doctorate from Delitzsch at Leipzig, as Professor of Assyriology. Hilprecht joined the Episcopal clergyman John Punnett Peters (1852–1921), who had been appointed Professor of Hebrew in the previous year. Peters, a graduate of Yale, had pursued post-doctoral studies with Delitzsch in Germany and before his appointment at Penn served as professor of Old Testament languages at the Episcopal Divinity School in Philadelphia. Having an avid interest in Assyriological studies, he delivered public lectures at Penn on the ancient civilization of Babylonia and devoted much energy to ensuring the realization of the first American exploration of ancient Mesopotamia. Toward that end, Peters worked tirelessly with Edward White Clark of the prominent Philadelphia banking family to create the Babylonian Exploration Fund. In 1887, the Babylonian Exploration Fund and the University of Pennsylvania entered into a contractual agreement, whereby the finds from the excavations would become the property of the university, to be properly housed in an anticipated University Museum building.¹¹

In 1888 organizational plans for the financial arrangements and staffing of the first American expedition to the ancient Near East were set in place. Peters headed the expedition, with Hilprecht second-in-command, and excavations officially began at Nippur on February 6, 1889. The first expedition, which recovered more than two thousand cuneiform tablets and hundreds of artifacts, was followed by three other expeditions in 1890, 1893–96, and 1899–1900.¹² Although not distinguished for their scientific field methodology, these expeditions nevertheless yielded almost thirty thousand cuneiform tablets, uncovered the large Ekur temple and ziqqurrat, and led the way to further American expeditions to the Near East.

With Hilprecht away on the Nippur expedition in 1888–89, Morris Jastrow Jr. (1861–1921) undertook the teaching of Hilprecht's two Akkadian courses. Jastrow, who completed his undergraduate studies at Penn, joined

¹⁰ Kuklick, *Puritans* 27–8.

¹¹ For a history of the beginnings of the University Museum and a detailed study of the connection between its founding and the Nippur expeditions, see Richard L. Zettler, "The Excavations at Nippur, The University of Pennsylvania, and the University's Museum," in *CRRAI* 35 (1992) 325–36.

¹² In April 1900 Hilprecht also conducted a brief expedition at Fara, ancient Shuruppak and at Abu Hatab, ancient Kisurra (Meade, *Road* 63, 142). For a detailed account of Penn's four expeditions which were replete with danger, intrigue, and suspense, see Meade, *Road* 52–63, and Kuklick, *Puritans* 46–57, 67–77. For a glimpse into the tensions between the participants that were already apparent from the beginning of the expeditions, see Kuklick, *Puritans* 33 f., 63.

Penn's teaching staff in 1885 upon completion of his graduate studies in Germany where he had received his doctorate in Semitic languages from Delitzsch. Two years after his return from Nippur, Peters resigned from Penn in 1893 to accept his father's position as rector of St. Michael's Church in Manhattan.¹³ As a result of Jastrow's permanent appointment at Penn in 1892 as Professor of Semitic Languages, Assyriological offerings were increased to seven courses in the following academic year.¹⁴ The university bulletins and catalogues continue to record substantial course offerings, with Sumerian being offered for the first time in 1898 by Hilprecht. Although Hilprecht never specialized in Sumerology, he encouraged some of his students and post-doctoral fellows to study the Sumerian cuneiform tablets in the University Museum collections.¹⁵ Upon Jastrow's appointment as University Librarian in 1898 and the subsequent reduction of his Assyriological course offerings, the University appointed Albert Tobias Clay (1866–1925), a student of Hilprecht who had earned his Ph.D. degree at Penn, as a lecturer in Assyriology in 1899.¹⁶ Penn's curriculum combined with Hilprecht's scholarly activities brought recognition to Penn as a prominent center of Assyriological studies. Having ingratiated himself with Ottoman officials in Constantinople by helping to oversee Western exploration and by cataloguing material for the Ottoman Museum, Hilprecht held a favored position with the Turks, which caused even the European Assyriological community to take special note of him and his work. Hilprecht also realized that Penn's reputation would depend on the reliable publication of scientific editions of its cuneiform tablets and for that purpose initiated and edited *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania* series. The quality of his publications gave enduring prestige to the University. In recognition of Hilprecht's contribution to Penn, Edward W. Clark and his brother Clarence established the Clark Research Professorship of Assyriology in 1902,¹⁷ the first endowed chair of Assyriology in the United States,

¹³ See Kuklick's explanation for Peters' departure, *Puritans* 64–5. The bickering between Hilprecht and Peters foreshadowed the feud, known as the Hilprecht-Peters controversy, that would erupt between them at a later date. See below, n. 19.

¹⁴ *Catalogue of the University of Pennsylvania 1893–1894* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1894) 202.

¹⁵ The first decade of the twentieth century saw the beginning of the publications of Sumerian texts under Hilprecht's guidance in Philadelphia by the University of Pennsylvania Department of Archaeology: Hugo Radau, *Sumerian Hymns and Prayers to the God 'Nin-ib' from the Temple Library of Nippur* (BE 29/1; 1911), *Sumerian Hymns and Prayers to the God Dumu-zi* (BE 30/1; 1913); David W. Myhrman, *Sumerian Administrative Documents Dated in the Reigns of the Second Dynasty of Ur from the Temple Archives of Nippur* (BE 3/1; 1910).

¹⁶ While a graduate student at Penn, Clay taught Hebrew during the academic years 1892–94 (Gordon, *Tradition* 14). Upon receiving his doctorate from Hilprecht in 1894, he taught in the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Chicago until his return to Penn in 1899 (Meade, *Road* 71).

¹⁷ Meade, *Road* 35 states that the chair was established in 1886, but cf. Madeira, *Men in Search* 25 and Kuklick, *Puritans* 90.

with Hilprecht as its first incumbent. However, Hilprecht's insatiable desire for self-aggrandizement, his inability to get along with people, and his absolute domination of the cuneiform tablets and their publication¹⁸ antagonized his colleagues, assistants, and students and led to the so-called "Peters-Hilprecht Controversy."¹⁹ This hostile atmosphere eventually weakened the Penn program. In 1910, Clay left Penn to accept the William M. Laffan Professorship of Assyriology at Yale,²⁰ and the following year, Hilprecht resigned from Penn amid great animosity.²¹ This left only Jastrow, causing a temporary curtailment of the Assyriological course offerings. Penn at this time negotiated with Stephen Langdon, an American-born and -trained Assyriologist with specialization in Sumerian, who held an appointment at Oxford. Langdon examined the Museum tablet collection, publishing many of the important Sumerian texts, but nevertheless decided to remain at Oxford.²² The Assyriology program eventually was strengthened with the appointment of Edward Chiera (1885–1933), who was born in Rome, and had earned a Bachelor of Divinity and Master of Theology degrees from Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania. Upon completion of his doctoral studies at Penn in 1913 under Jastrow, he joined the faculty as an Instructor in Assyriology. Jastrow and Chiera handled the Assyriological offerings at Penn between 1913–20. With James A. Montgomery on leave in 1914–15 as

¹⁸ Kuklick *Puritans* 124 ff. describes the deterioration of relationships among Hilprecht, Clay, Ranke, Myhrman, and Jastrow. Hilprecht even thwarted the Nippur expedition publications of his student, the archaeologist Clarence Fisher, who had served as an architect on the fourth expedition. The only associate at Penn who supported Hilprecht was his young German research assistant, Hugo Radau, who had received his doctorate from Columbia University in 1899 and who edited the *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume: Studies in Assyriology and Archaeology* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1909). It is interesting to note that with the exception of Radau no scholar working in America contributed to the volume. Radau not only defended Hilprecht at the trial but also wrote to European scholars, denouncing the University's treatment of Hilprecht. This action incurred the anger of Penn's Provost Charles Harrison, costing Radau his career at Penn (Kuklick, *Puritans* 139, 168 f.).

¹⁹ For a full discussion of this controversy, see Meade, *Road* 72–6; Kuklick, *Puritans* 63, 123–40; Samuel Noah Kramer, *In the World of the Sumer: An Autobiography* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1986) 141–2. For an interesting dimension of this controversy with personal correspondence and notes, see Eleanor Robson, "Guaranteed Genuine Originals: The Plimpton Collection and the Early History of Mathematical Assyriology," in *Studies Walker* 245–92. Cf. Gordon, *Tradition* 29–32 where he defends Hilprecht's statements as journalistic rather than scholarly pronouncements and explains that Peters contrived a case against Hilprecht because of professional jealousy. Despite Hilprecht's having been acquitted of all charges (see the Court of Inquiries' report to the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania [June 26, 1905] quoted in Meade, *Road* 75), hostility between Hilprecht and his colleagues continued to exist.

²⁰ For the warm relationship between Clay and the financier J.P. Morgan, who created the Laffan Chair for him, see Kuklick, *Puritans* 107 f., 118, 178. William Laffan, a former editor of the *New York Sun*, had been one of Morgan's brokers for acquiring Near Eastern antiquities.

²¹ For the events surrounding Hilprecht's resignation and departure, see Kuklick, *Puritans* 137–40; and for a description of Hilprecht's animosity toward Clay and Jastrow, see Kuklick, *Puritans* 124 ff.

²² Kuklick, *Puritans* 161, 167.

Director of the American School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, Penn invited Arthur Ungnad of Berlin to offer courses in Bible, Aramaic, Syriac, and Assyriology.²³

II. Between the Two World Wars at Penn

The second period in the growth of cuneiform studies in America began in 1920, one year after the founding of The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. In 1921, the famous Egyptologist and founder of The Oriental Institute, James Henry Breasted, inaugurated the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary project by naming Daniel David Luckenbill as its director.²⁴ During this second period, American Assyriology came of age. With the rapid expansion of high quality research and publication, American universities began to be recognized as leading centers of Assyriological study, taking an important place beside their European counterparts. This period also marked the beginning of scientific field archaeology in the United States. Since careful scientific excavations of ancient sites required much more money, the practical pooling of financial resources of individual institutions in the form of jointly sponsored expeditions became more prevalent.

During this period, Penn continued to maintain a prominent position in Assyriological research, both in the areas of field archaeology and philology. Ever since Hilprecht's resignation in 1911,²⁵ the director of the Museum, Dr. George Byron Gordon, had been actively seeking a scholar to take charge of the tablets and artifacts excavated at Nippur. Having failed to find a candidate in America and England,²⁶ he offered the position to Léon Legrain (1878–1963), a Roman Catholic priest who had studied with Vincent J. Scheil at the Sorbonne. Legrain came to the University Museum in 1920, and subsequently became the permanent curator of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum and the second incumbent of the Clark Research Chair in Assyriology.²⁷ At this time, the University Museum decided to sponsor

²³ Gordon, *Tradition* 21. In the winter of the previous year, Ungnad visited Penn to study Old Babylonian cuneiform tablets in the University Museum dating from the period of Hammurapi, which resulted in the publication of *Babylonian Letters of the Hammurapi Period* (PBS 7; 1915).

²⁴ The field began to reap the benefits of this long-term project some 35 years later, when the first volume of the dictionary was published in 1956. Presently, 22 volumes of the CAD have been published and the dictionary project is finally near completion. See now also Erica Reiner, *An Adventure of Great Dimension: The Launching of the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* (TAPS 92/3; Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2002).

²⁵ For the strained relationship between Hilprecht and George B. Gordon, see Kuklick, *Puritans* 136–8.

²⁶ S.N. Kramer, "Léon Legrain," *AfO* 21 (1966) 261. [Editors' note: see Clyde Curry Smith's article in the present volume 431–41.]

²⁷ Madeira, *Men in Search* 37; and Kramer, "Léon Legrain" 261. During his twenty-eight year

new archaeological explorations in British-mandated Iraq in cooperation with the British Museum. In 1922, Charles Leonard Woolley was chosen to direct the joint expedition to excavate Ur,²⁸ while Legrain served as second-in-command, and as an epigraphist during the 1924–26 seasons.²⁹ Another expedition associated with Penn personnel was that at Yorghana Tepe. In 1924 Chiera, as annual professor at the American School of Oriental Research in Baghdad, dug trial trenches at the site of ancient Nuzi. This initial campaign, which recovered over one thousand cuneiform tablets, was followed by two other campaigns. The third Nuzi campaign, from 1928–31, was sponsored jointly by Penn, Harvard, and the Baghdad School.³⁰

In 1921, Penn's Assyriological instruction suffered an initial setback due to the death of Jastrow, who for forty years had been a central, stabilizing force in Penn's Semitic languages curriculum. For the next two years after his passing, Chiera alone was responsible for the cuneiform course offerings. In 1923 Penn appointed the Canadian George Aaron Barton (1859–1942) as Professor of Semitic Languages. Barton, a former student of Lyon at Harvard, had taught Assyriology at Bryn Mawr College for twelve years prior to his appointment at Penn.³¹ Barton also had played an instrumental role in the creation of the Baghdad School of the American Schools of Oriental Research, serving as its founding director from 1921–34.³² Together with Chiera, Barton maintained the cuneiform studies program at Penn and

curatorship, Legrain directed his efforts not only to the publication by the University Museum in Philadelphia of cuneiform tablets (*Historical Fragments* [PBS 13; 1922]; *Royal Inscriptions and Fragments from Nippur and Babylon* [PBS 15; 1926]) but to the publication of artifacts as well (*The Culture of the Babylonians from their Seals* [PBS 14; 1925]; *Terra-Cottas from Nippur* [PBS 16; 1925]).

²⁸ Woolley's first association with the University Museum was in 1906, when he served as an assistant to David Randall MacIver during the Museum's expedition to Nubia (Madeira, *Men in Search* 29).

²⁹ Madeira, *Men in Search* 37; Kramer, "Léon Legrain" 261. Cf. Winegrad, *Through Time* 8 fig. 12. The joint British Museum-University Museum expedition to Ur continued for twelve seasons, ending in 1934 (Meade, *Road* 105–8). Legrain represented the University Museum in the apportionment of the finds (Madeira, *Men in Search* 37) and he published many of the tablets (*Business Documents from the Third Dynasty of Ur* [UET 3; 1947]) and seals (*Archaic Seal Impressions* [UE 3; 1936]; and *Seal Cylinders* [UE 10; 1951]).

³⁰ For a complete account of the expeditions, see F. R. S. Starr, *Nuzi: Report on the Excavations at Yorgan Tepe near Kirkuk, Iraq, conducted by Harvard University in conjunction with the American Schools of Oriental Research and the University Museum of Philadelphia 1927–1931* (2 vols.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1937, 1939). Cf. D. L. Stein, "Nuzi," *OEANE* 4 172; G. Wilhelm, "Nuzi. A. Philologisch," *RIA* 9 638–9; and D. L. Stein, "Nuzi. B. Archäologisch," *RIA* 9 639–47.

³¹ While at Bryn Mawr, Barton had taken an active role as one of Hilprecht's leading critics (Kuklick, *Puritans* 136).

³² For an account of the founding of the Baghdad branch of the American Schools of Oriental Research, see Meade, *Road* 131–3 and J. S. Cooper, "American School of Oriental Research in Baghdad," *OEANE* 1 92–3.

even expanded it by introducing the study of Hittite in 1924.³³ During this period, Chiera began an intense examination and analysis of the Nuzi texts, which he had excavated, laying the foundations for future research in Nuzi studies.³⁴ But having copied Sumerian texts while in Istanbul,³⁵ Chiera also devoted much energy to the study of Sumerian literary texts in the University Museum.³⁶ When Chiera left Penn in 1928³⁷ to assume the directorship of the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary project at the Oriental Institute in Chicago, Barton continued the Semitic language offerings at Penn, including Akkadian.³⁸ He was aided in his Assyriological teaching with the appointment of Ephraim Avigdor Speiser (1902–65) as assistant professor of Semitics. Speiser was not a newcomer to Penn. He had received his M.A. degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1923. Having completed his doctorate the following year at Dropsie College, he was appointed a Harrison Research Fellow in Semitics at Penn from 1924–26, working together with Chiera on the newly excavated Nuzi tablets. This scholarly collaboration, with Chiera copying the texts and Speiser translating them, resulted in the publication of two joint articles.³⁹ In 1926, Speiser spent two years as a Guggenheim Fellow in the Near East, where he also served as annual professor of the Baghdad School of American Schools of Oriental Research in 1926–27. During these two years, he participated in the second campaign at Nuzi and conducted archaeological surveys in the Kurdish and Turkoman areas of Iraq, resulting in preliminary excavations at Tepe Gawra. Two years later, in spring 1930, Speiser returned to the field to survey Tell Billa (in the vicinity of Tepe Gawra) under the auspices of Penn and the Baghdad

³³ For an assessment of Barton as teacher and scholar, see the remarks of his student, Gordon, *Tradition* 45–7. Cf. Kramer, *World* 21.

³⁴ His copies of the Nuzi tablets were published by the Baghdad School of the American Schools of Oriental Research as *Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi*, 1–5 (1927, 1930, 1931, 1934, 1934) and by Harvard University as *Excavations at Nuzi* 1 (HSS 5; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1929).

³⁵ These were published as *Sumerian Religious Texts* (Crozer Theological Seminary Babylonian Publications 1; Upland, Pa.: Crozer Theological Seminary, 1924).

³⁶ See below, n. 46.

³⁷ Meade (*Road* 100), Kramer (*World* 47), and Kuklick (*Puritans* 170) date Chiera's departure from Penn to 1927. However, Cyrus Gordon who was a first-year graduate student in 1927–28, reports that Chiera was on campus in 1927, noting his departure before the start of the 1928–29 academic year (Gordon, *Tradition* 37).

³⁸ Gordon (*Tradition* 41) states that Legrain did not teach during his tenure at Penn. Cf. Meade, *Road* 122 who has Legrain teaching Assyriological courses at Penn with the departure of Chiera. According to the *University of Pennsylvania Bulletins*, Legrain is first listed as a faculty member in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences in 1931 (*University of Pennsylvania Bulletins*, 32: *Announcements issued in 1931–32*) as a member of the newly formed Oriental Studies Department. But no course offerings are ever listed as being taught by him throughout his tenure at the University Museum. The Clark Professorship, which he held, is a research professorship that does not obligate the incumbent to teach.

³⁹ "A New Factor in the History of the Ancient Near East," *AASOR* 6 (1926) 75–92 and "Selected 'Kirkuk' Documents," *JAOS* 47 (1927) 36–60.

School. He returned again in 1931 and 1932 to direct the excavations at Tepe Gawra, under the auspices of Penn, the Baghdad School, and Dropsie College.⁴⁰ During the 1930–31 academic year, Cyrus Herzl Gordon (1908–2001), who had just attained his doctorate from Penn, served as an Instructor in Assyriology.⁴¹ In 1931 Speiser was promoted to full professor. At that time the study of ancient non-Western civilizations began to be more focused at the University of Pennsylvania. In a move to bring together faculty who were interested in the study of Oriental cultures, the Indologist Norman Brown and the East Asian scholar John Shryock joined with the Department of Semitic Languages and Archaeology to form the Department of Oriental Studies, under the chairmanship of Penn's leading Semitist and Biblicist, James A. Montgomery (1866–1949).⁴² In the following year, Barton retired and Speiser alone was responsible for maintaining Penn's cuneiform studies program. Speiser expanded the program by offering, on a regular basis, courses in Hittite, Hurrian, and Elamite, as well as Akkadian and Sumerian. The motif associated with Speiser's research during this time was the recovery of Hurrian civilization, which began with his discovery of the Hurrians as an ethnic factor in the ancient Near East and culminated in his pioneering work on the Hurrian language.⁴³

Ten years elapsed after Barton's retirement before the University made another appointment in Assyriology. In 1943, Samuel Noah Kramer (1897–1990) was named associate curator of the University Museum's Babylonian Section tablet collection. He, too, was not a newcomer to Penn. Kramer had been Speiser's first Ph.D. candidate, earning his doctorate in 1929.⁴⁴ The following year, he traveled to Iraq as an American Council of Learned Societies Fellow, participating in archaeological activities at Tell Billa and Fara. In 1932, after returning from Iraq, he accepted a post at The Oriental Institute as a member of its Assyrian Dictionary Staff. In Chicago, Chiera

⁴⁰ For a more detailed account of Speiser's archaeological activities, see S. N. Kramer, "Ephraim Avidor Speiser," *Year Book of the American Philosophical Society* (1965) 206–9. Speiser's academic connections with Dropsie College have recently been documented by Mark S. Smith, *Untold Stories: The Bible and Ugaritic Studies in the Twentieth Century* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 2001) 23–4. Speiser began to teach at Dropsie in the early 1930s and continued to offer courses there until 1941. He thus joined a number of his departmental colleagues who taught at two institutions, including both Montgomery and Barton, who also taught at the Philadelphia Divinity School.

⁴¹ Gordon, *Tradition* 39. For Gordon's account of the nature of the personal relationship between Speiser and him, see Gordon, *Tradition* 70–2. For a more balanced presentation, see Smith, *Untold Stories* 28–32, 80 with n. 218.

⁴² Gordon, *Tradition* 40 ff. James A. Montgomery had joined the Penn faculty in 1909 and led the department for over twenty years after the death of Jastrow in 1921 (Gordon, *Tradition* 33–56).

⁴³ *Introduction to Hurrian* (AASOR 20; New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1941).

⁴⁴ Kramer's thesis on the verb in Nuzi Akkadian was accepted and approved toward the end of the year (Kramer, *World* 21) and hence the misdating by Gordon in *Tradition* 61.

and Poebel, both of whom had received their doctoral training at Penn,⁴⁵ introduced Kramer to the study of Sumerian literature.⁴⁶ Kramer left Chicago in 1936⁴⁷ and spent the next two years as a Guggenheim Fellow (1937–39) in Istanbul, where he copied Sumerian literary tablets in the Museum of the Ancient Orient. Upon his return to the United States, Kramer came to the University Museum to study, copy, and publish the Sumerian literary tablets and fragments from Nippur. The American Philosophical Society funded Kramer's research for four years until his appointment as associate curator of the Babylonian Section, serving under Legrain.

III. Post World War II to the Present at Penn

While Europe was recovering from the devastation of the war, Assyriology continued to develop in the United States. In 1946, The Oriental Institute resumed preparations for publishing the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary with I.J. Gelb as editor-in-chief. He was succeeded by A. Leo Oppenheim in 1955, with the first volume of the dictionary appearing the following year. The publication of the first volume of the *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* in 1947 under the auspices of the Baghdad School of the American Schools of Oriental Research marked the debut of an American periodical devoted exclusively to Assyriological research. The continued growth of American Assyriology during the post war years was marked by an increase in the number of foreign students from Europe and the Middle East who came to the States for graduate training and post-doctoral research in cuneiform studies.

⁴⁵ In 1905, Arno Poebel came to Penn from Germany as a Harrison Research Fellow to pursue doctoral studies with Hilprecht. After completing his doctorate which was published by the University Museum as *Babylonian Legal and Business Documents from the Time of the First Dynasty of Babylon, Chiefly from Nippur* (BE 6/2; 1909), he went back to Germany in 1907. Poebel returned to the United States as a teaching fellow at Johns Hopkins University in 1911, and left again for Germany in 1914 to assume a professorship at the University of Rostock. During his years at Johns Hopkins, Poebel once again resumed his study of the cuneiform tablets at the University Museum. The published results of his years of study at Penn include: *Historical and Grammatical Texts* (PBS 5; 1914); *Historical Texts* (PBS 4/1; 1914); and *Grammatical Texts* (PBS 6/1; 1914). In 1930, Chiera invited Poebel to join him as his associate on the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary Project. For the impact of Poebel on Kramer's scholarly career, see Kramer, *World* 36–41.

⁴⁶ When Chiera left for Chicago, he had taken with him his excellent and elegant hand copies of 270 tablets and fragments in the University Museum, which he had studied while at Penn between 1924–27, to ready for publication by The Oriental Institute. Upon Chiera's sudden death in 1933 (Gordon, *Tradition* 24 n. 7), Kramer took upon himself the task of preparing these texts for final publication. These texts appeared in 1934 as *Sumerian Epics and Myths* (OIP 15) and as *Sumerian Texts of Varied Contents* (OIP 16). For an appreciation of Chiera's contribution to Sumerology, see Kramer, *World* 42 ff.

⁴⁷ For the circumstances under which he left, see Kramer, *World* 50–2. Kramer did retain an official affiliation with The Oriental Institute as an unpaid research associate until 1942.

Cuneiform Studies at Penn: From Hilprecht to Leichty

This third period of American Assyriology also mirrored the overall growth of American colleges and universities and their liberal arts curricula.⁴⁸ These years are marked by a notable expansion and growth in cuneiform studies through the 1960s, leveling off in the 1980s, and then entering a period of retrenchment which began in the 1990s and continues to the present.

Penn's Oriental Studies Department and its cuneiform studies program were well situated to benefit from the post-war interest in non-Western languages, literatures, and cultures.⁴⁹ The Department was then the largest and one of the most prestigious departments in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. Its faculty was primarily devoted to the training of young scholars and the pursuit of scholarly research.⁵⁰ Penn enjoyed continued expansion of its cuneiform course offerings and graduate student population. Graduate student data indicate that Penn, as of 2002, had awarded 53 doctoral degrees in cuneiform studies since the inception of its Assyriology program in the 1880s. Of these, only fifteen degrees were granted prior to 1945,⁵¹ while thirty-eight doctoral degrees in cuneiform studies were

⁴⁸ With the GI bill guaranteeing returning soldiers the right to a college education, the numbers of students attending universities increased dramatically. The war had sparked interest in the Middle East and in other neglected areas of study which were deemed vital to US national interests. Beginning in the 1960s, the federal government promoted the establishment of Centers to encourage and coordinate the study of neglected foreign languages and cultures and to award National Education Act Fellowships to students pursuing such studies. Increased interest in ancient Near Eastern studies in general and Mesopotamian studies in particular contributed to the opening of related positions in departments of Middle Eastern languages and literatures, history, religion, anthropology, and archaeology.

⁴⁹ It is interesting to note that the war years had a profound influence upon the future direction of Penn's Oriental Studies Department. A number of its faculty suddenly found themselves thrust into a world of wartime services, which broadened their horizons and gave them new insights into the significance of their studies. Brown became chief of the India desk in the newly created Office of Strategic Services. He was soon joined in Washington by Speiser, who became head of the Near East Section. Bodde, after serving briefly with the OSS, joined the Office of War Information and helped direct a large Army Special Training Program in Chinese. The effect of this wartime experience after the war was to add new dimensions to the Oriental Studies program. In contrast with most Oriental Studies programs in other universities, which focused upon the ancient and medieval periods of oriental civilizations, the Department spearheaded the development of modern Asian and Middle Eastern studies at Penn. Furthermore, within the department itself, modern studies became an integral part of the overall study of ancient and medieval non-Western civilizations.

⁵⁰ In 1973, the graduate faculty merged with the undergraduate faculty into the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, which resulted in the department's greater focus on undergraduate education.

⁵¹ Ph.D. dissertations, University of Pennsylvania: E. T. Kretschmann, "Babylonian Slave Trade of the Time of King Nabu-na'id from the Texts published by Strassmaier, and in Addition the Interpretation of Four Cuneiform Texts Published for the First Time" (1892); T. W. Kretschmann, "Babylonian Deeds of Gift Dated in the Reigns of Nebuchadrezzar, Nabonidos and Cyrus, as Published by Strassmaier, and Transliterated, Translated and Commented Upon" (1892); A. T. Clay, "Legal and Commercial Transactions Dated in the Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods, Chiefly from Nippur" (1894); T. H. P. Sailer, "Babylonian Contract Tablets" (1895); S. Koppe, "A Discussion of the Business Documents of Murashu Sons, Bankers and Brokers of Nippur" (1898); W. Dippel, "Phonetically-Written Proper Names: A Discussion of the Laws Underlying Proper Names in Babylonian and Assyrian Contract

awarded in the post-World War II period.⁵² Another seven Ph.D. dissertations that relied heavily on cuneiform primary sources were written in biblical studies.⁵³ This unprecedented growth of its graduate student body is directly attributable to developments within the Department of Oriental Studies.

Tablets" (1899); W.J. Hinke, "New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadrezzar I from Nippur" (1906); A. M. Poebel, "Babylonian Legal and Business Documents from the First Dynasty of Babylon, Chiefly from Nippur" (1909); E. Chiera, "Legal and Administrative Documents from Nippur, Chiefly from the Dynasties of Isin and Larsa" (1914); S. N. Kramer, "The Verb in the Kirkuk Tablets" (1931); M. Berkooz, "The Nuzi Dialect of Akkadian: Orthography and Phonology" (1937); D. Cross, "Movable Property in the Nuzi Documents" (1937); F. R. Steele, "Nuzi Real Estate Transactions" (1942); A. A. MacRae, "Semitic Personal Names from Nuzi" (1943); P. M. Purves, "Non-Semitic Personal Names from Nuzi" (1943).

⁵² Ph.D. dissertations, University of Pennsylvania: J. J. Finkelstein, "Cuneiform Texts from Tell Billa" (1953); M. Greenberg, "The *Hab/piru*" (1954); E. I. Gordon, "Sumerian Proverbs and their Cultural Significance" (1955); A. E. Draffkorn, "Hurrians and Hurrian at Alalakh: an Ethno-Linguistic Analysis" (1959); A. Shaffer, "Sumerian Sources of Tablet XII of the Epic of Gilgamesh" (1963); A. J. Skaist, "Studies in Ancient Mesopotamian Family Law Pertaining to Marriage and Divorce" (1963); F. A. Ali "Sumerian Letters: Two Collections from the Old Babylonian Schools" (1964); B. L. Eichler, "Nuzi Personal *ditennūtu* Transactions and Their Mesopotamian Analogues" (1967); J. Klein, "Shulgi D: A Neo-Sumerian Royal Hymn" (1968); D. D. Reisman, "Two Neo-Sumerian Royal Hymns" (1969); C. A. Benito, "'Enki and Ninmah' and 'Enki and the World Order'" (1969); A.-H. al-Fouadi, "Enki's Journey to Nippur: The Journey of the Gods" (1969); R. C. McNeil, "The 'Messenger Texts' of the Third Ur Dynasty" (1970); M. E. Cohen, "An Analysis of the Balag-Compositions to the God Enlil Copied in Babylon During the Seleucid Period" (1972); J. S. Paradise, "Nuzi Inheritance Practices" (1972); S. Cohen, "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta" (1973); D. Loding, "A Craft Archive from Ur" (1974); C. F. Myer, "The Use of Aromatics in Ancient Mesopotamia" (1975); A. Feigenbaum-Berlin, "Enmerkar and Ensuhkeshdanna: A Study in Sumerian Narrative Poetry" (1976); C. Hamlin, "Cuneiform Archives as Data: Reliability of the Mari Archive for Agricultural Reconstruction" (1976); M. P. Maidman, "A Socio-Economic Analysis of a Nuzi Family Archive" (1976); S. M. Moren, "The Omen Series *šumma alu*: A Preliminary Investigation" (1978); M. T. Roth, "Scholastic Tradition and Mesopotamian Law: A Study of FLP 1287, a Prism in the Collection of the Free Library of Philadelphia" (1979); R. Falkowitz, "The Sumerian Rhetoric Collections" (1980); M. D. Pack, "The Administrative Structure of the Palace at Mari (ca. 1800–1750 BC)" (1981); M. Malul, "Studies in Legal Symbolic Acts in Mesopotamian Law" (1983); M. G. Hall, "A Study of the Sumerian Moon-God, Nanna/Suen" (1985); P. D. Gerardi, "Assurbanipal's Elamite Campaigns: A Literary and Political Study" (1987); L. B. Schiff, "The Nur-Sin Archive: Private Entrepreneurship in Babylon (603–507 BC)" (1987); C. E. Suter, "Gudea's Temple Building: a Comparison of Written and Pictorial Accounts" (1995); J. Cross Polonsky, "The Rise of the Sun-god and the Determination of Destiny in Ancient Mesopotamia" (2002). In the post-World War II period, a number of students majoring in cuneiform studies received their Ph.D. degrees from the Ancient History graduate group. These included E. R. Jewell, "The Archaeology and History of Western Anatolia during the Second Millennium B.C." (1974); G. Oller, "The Autobiography of Idrimi" (1977); J. F. Robertson, "Redistributive Economies in Ancient Mesopotamian Society: A Case Study from Isin-Larsa Period Nippur" (1981); B. N. Porter, "Symbols of Power: Figurative Aspects of Esarhaddon's Babylonian Policy (681–669 BC)" (1987); T. J. Schneider, "A New Analysis of the Royal Annals of Shalmaneser III" (1991); L. B. Bregstein, "Seal Use in Fifth Century BC Nippur, Iraq: A Study of Seal Selection and Sealing Practices in the Murashu Archive" (1993); M. W. Waters, "A Survey of Neo-Elamite History" (1997); and A. Hattori, "Texts and Impressions: A Holistic Approach to Ur III Cuneiform Tablets from the University of Pennsylvania Expeditions to Nippur" (2002).

⁵³ Ph.D. dissertations, University of Pennsylvania: Y. Muffs, "Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine" (1964); S. Paul, "The Book of the Covenant, its Literary Setting and

The department's fully integrated programs in ancient Near Eastern civilizations, which included Assyriology, Egyptology, and biblical studies in its ancient Near Eastern context attracted students to study at Penn. The Department's interdisciplinary focus and its cooperative relationship with other related fields, such as linguistics, religious studies, anthropology, and ancient history, encouraged students from other disciplines to enroll in cuneiform course offerings.

Upon the retirement of Legrain in 1948, Kramer was appointed curator of the tablet collection and the Clark Research Professor of Assyriology. He continued to focus on the recovery of Sumerian literature, using the University Museum's rich and varied Nippur collection as the core area of research. His research also necessitated periodic trips to other museum tablet collections throughout the world in search of new tablets, fragments, and joins.⁵⁴ In conjunction with these ongoing research activities, Kramer began to publish more synthesized, popular studies on the Sumerians, emphasizing their great contributions to world culture.⁵⁵ Thanks to Kramer, the Sumerians almost became a "household word" and Penn became a leader in the field of Sumerology. In 1948, Francis Rue Steele, who earned his doctorate at Penn in 1942, was appointed as an assistant professor of Assyriology. He assisted in the teaching of cuneiform languages and remained on the faculty until 1953. In 1958, Kramer invited Miguel Civil, a talented Spanish cuneiformist who had studied in France, to come to the University Museum as a research assistant to help him in publishing newly discovered Sumerian literary compositions.⁵⁶ During his stay at Penn, Civil reconstructed seven Sumerian disputations from several hundred tablets and fragments, and began to lay the groundwork for his indispensable and widely circulated catalogue index of Sumerian literature. He left Penn in 1962 to assume a post in Sumerology at The Oriental Institute of Chicago.

During this period, Speiser continued to offer courses in Akkadian, Hittite, and Hurrian. However, in the last decade of his life, he again turned to

Extra-Biblical Background" (1965); M. Cogan, "Imperialism and Religion: Assyria, Judah and Israel in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries BC" (1971); R. Sonsino, "Motive Clauses in the Biblical Legal Corpora in Light of Biblical and Extra-Biblical Literature" (1975); E. Curtis, "Man as the Image of God in Genesis in the Light of Ancient Near Eastern Parallels" (1984); D. Glatt, "Chronological Displacement in Biblical and Related Literatures" (1991); N. Fox, "Officials and Their Roles in the State—Organization of the Israelite Monarchy" (1998).

⁵⁴ The story of Kramer's recovery of Sumerian myths, epics, hymns, and wisdom literature as well as his visits to European museums, including the Istanbul Museum of the Ancient Orient and the Hilprecht Collection of the Friedrich Schiller University in Jena, and his sojourn in Russia, are all recounted in his autobiography, *World* 53–134, 144–81.

⁵⁵ Among these books are *From the Tablets of Sumer: Twenty-five Firsts in Man's Recorded History* (Indian Hills, Colo.: Falcon's Wing Press, 1956); *History Begins at Sumer* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1959); *The Sumerians: Their History, Culture, and Character* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963); *Cradle of Civilization* (New York: Time, Inc., 1967).

⁵⁶ See Civil's personal note in the foreword of Kramer, *World* 10.

Semitic philology and biblical scholarship.⁵⁷ He was an active member of the Jewish Publication Society's translation committee, which was preparing a new Torah translation. He also wrote a commentary on Genesis for the Anchor Bible Series in which he emphasized the Mesopotamian background of the book and the Hurrian influences allegedly reflected in the socio-legal customs of the Patriarchs. Speiser's combined interests in Semitics, Bible, and Assyriology, which represented a continuous Penn tradition that began with Peters, Hilprecht, and Jastrow, attracted to cuneiform studies a sizable group of graduate students with strong backgrounds in Bible and Judaica.⁵⁸ His leadership role in establishing at Penn a government-sponsored Middle East Center that grants government fellowships for language and area study also helped to attract excellent students. While still vigorous and productive, Speiser became ill in 1961 and died four years later.

In the three years following Speiser's death, a number of appointments in Assyriology were made. In 1965, I was asked to join the faculty as an instructor in Akkadian. At the time, I was a senior graduate student at Penn who was also employed by Kramer as a research assistant in the Museum. In 1966, Åke W. Sjöberg, a noted Swedish cuneiformist, joined the faculty with the understanding that he would eventually succeed Kramer upon his retirement. Sjöberg, while pursuing his graduate studies at the Royal University of Uppsala in Semitics, had studied between 1953–58 for eight semesters with the Sumerologist Adam Falkenstein at the University of Heidelberg. He received his doctoral degree from Uppsala in 1960. In 1963, after having taught Hebrew at the Royal University of Uppsala, Sjöberg came to Chicago's Oriental Institute and served there as professor of Sumerology until his appointment at Penn. In 1967, Penn appointed James D. Muhly as a lecturer in ancient Near Eastern history and promoted him to assistant professor in 1969, upon completing his graduate studies at Yale. Finally, in 1968, Erle V. Leichty, who had studied with A. Leo Oppenheim at The Oriental Institute, came to Penn from the University of Minnesota as professor of Assyriology with overall responsibility for the Akkadian program; I was also appointed assistant professor in Assyriology. In the same year, Kramer retired, and Sjöberg became the fourth incumbent of the Clark Research Professorship at the University Museum.

⁵⁷ Speiser's first scholarly contribution in this field was his Dropsie College Ph.D. dissertation, "The Pronunciation of Hebrew Based Chiefly on the Transliterations in the Hexapla" (1924). He maintained an avid interest in Semitics and Bible throughout his career and toward the end of his life published more extensively in this area.

⁵⁸ These included J.J. Finkelstein (1953), M. Greenberg (1954), C. Brichto (1962), A. Shaffer (1963), A. Skaist (1963), Y. Muffs (1964), and S. Paul (1965), as well as a younger group of students who did not complete their doctoral dissertations with him because of his untimely death, which included B. Eichler (1967), J. Klein (1968), L. Levine (1969), J. Paradise (1972), S. Cohen (1973), and A. Feigenbaum-Berlin (1976).

The transition from the Speiser-Kramer years to the Sjöberg-Leichty-Eichler-Muhly years was now complete, with the four newly appointed cuneiformists at Penn representing four important schools of Assyriological research—the Heidelberg, Chicago, Pennsylvania, and Yale traditions. Sjöberg, Leichty, and I also received curatorial appointments in the Babylonian Section of the Museum, while Muhly, with interests in the history and archaeology of the eastern Mediterranean in the Bronze and Iron Ages, served as chair of the Ancient History graduate group. He served in this post for many years (1979–87 and 1990–94), playing a formative role in the development of its programs. Muhly also enriched the cuneiform studies program with his occasional teaching of Hittite and the El-Amarna letters.

During these years, Leichty specialized in first millennium Mesopotamia, offering courses in historical, literary, religious, economic, and scientific texts. His major research interests focused on omenology, divination, and Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions. I specialized in second millennium Mesopotamia, with major research focus on ancient Near Eastern law, biblical studies in its ancient Near Eastern context, and Sumerian literature, offering courses in Old Babylonian and peripheral dialects of Akkadian. Although Sjöberg occasionally taught Akkadian literature, he devoted himself almost entirely to Sumerological research and the teaching of Sumerian. Like Kramer, he devoted much energy to the recovery of Sumerian literature, publishing Sumerian school compositions, divine hymns, and temple hymns.⁵⁹ However, Sjöberg's most important contribution to Penn's research program and to world Sumerology was in the area of Sumerian lexicography, with the creation of the Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary Project. Building upon the work of the previous generation of Sumerologists, most notably Falkenstein, Kramer, and Jacobsen, and in cooperation with his fellow Sumerologists in America and abroad, Sjöberg began to collect and create authoritative editions of Sumerian literary compositions with the help of a cadre of research assistants and graduate students. These editions served as the basis of his highly accurate and meticulously typed file card collection, eventually numbering over 400,000 entries, which formed a concordance of Sumerian words. The first volume of the *Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary* appeared in 1984. With this publication, Sjöberg's project, which has gained international support and recognition, once again propelled Penn's cuneiform program into the forefront of Sumerian research. The project employed a considerable number of young Sumerologists, who enriched the cuneiform studies program by their formal and informal teaching.⁶⁰ Most notable among these were Hermann

⁵⁹ For a bibliographic listing of his publications until 1988, see the bibliography compiled by Jane Heimerdinger, who for many years served as Kramer and Sjöberg's secretarial research assistant at the Museum, in *Studies Sjöberg* 593–5.

⁶⁰ In 1976, the Sumerian Dictionary Project staff consisted of Professor Åke Sjöberg,

F. Behrens (1944–1996) from Germany⁶¹ and Steve Tinney, who were to play important roles in Penn's cuneiform studies program. Behrens joined the Sumerian Dictionary project in 1981 as a Research Associate. He shared Sjöberg's passion for Sumerian lexicography and eventually became assistant director of the project. In 1991, Tinney, a British Assyriologist who received his M.A. degree from the Faculty of Oriental Studies in Cambridge and his doctorate from the University of Michigan, joined the Sumerian Dictionary Project as a Post-Doctoral Research Assistant. With Sjöberg's retirement in 1996, Tinney was appointed assistant professor of Sumerology and assistant curator of the Museum's tablet collection, and Behrens was given the post of Director of the Sumerian Dictionary Project. Unfortunately, Behrens' sudden and untimely death in summer 1996 did not allow the fruition of this arrangement. Tinney assumed responsibility for the Sumerian Dictionary Project, and Leichty became the fifth incumbent of the Clark Research Chair in Assyriology.

With regard to archaeological expeditions in the Near East during this third period of American Assyriology, Penn has shared the same fate as other American institutions in its dependency upon the international political climate. The University Museum resumed excavations at Nippur from 1948 to 1952, in a joint expedition with The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.⁶² The University Museum's Near Eastern Section then focused its attention on conducting excavations in Iran.⁶³ However, as political

Dr. Darlene Loding, and Dr. Stephen J. Lieberman. Lieberman left to accept a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1979 and was replaced by Dr. Piotr Michalowski, who subsequently left to accept an endowed chair at the University of Michigan. Other members of the staff over the years included Dr. Margaret Green, Dr. Jacob Klein, Dr. Antoine Cavigneaux, Dr. Niek Veldhuis, Dr. Wu Yuhong, Dr. Tonia Sharlach. Dr. Philip Jones, who joined the project full-time in 1997, and Dr. Fumi Karahashi, who has a part-time position, are presently staffing the project under the direction of Professor Steve Tinney.

⁶¹ Hermann F. Behrens, a Roman Catholic priest, pursued studies in theology (M.A., 1970) and Assyriology (Ph.D., 1977) at the University of Freiburg/Breisgau. From 1979–81 he was a research assistant in the Orientalisches Seminar at the University of Freiburg, where he taught Sumerian, Akkadian, and Near Eastern archaeology. His major publications include: *Enlil und Ninlil. Ein sumerischer Mythos aus Nippur* (Studia Pohl, Series Maior 8; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978); *Glossar zu den altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften* (FAOS 6; co-authored with Horst Steible; Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1983); *Die Ninegalla-Hymne. Die Wohnungnahme Inannas in Nippur in altbabylonischer Zeit* (FAOS 21; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998).

⁶² Texts found during the third season (November 1951–March 1952) were published by Jane W. Heimerdinger in *Sumerian Literary Fragments from Nippur* (OPSNKF 4; Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1979). The Oriental Institute continued to excavate Nippur in conjunction with the American Schools of Oriental Research in Baghdad.

⁶³ Tepe Hissar, in northeastern Iran, was the site of the University Museum's first Iranian expedition, conducted in 1931–32, under the direction of Erich F. Schmidt in conjunction with the Philadelphia Museum of Art and the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology. Major excavations in the post-World War II period, beginning in 1956, took place at Hasanlu in northwestern Iran, under the direction of Robert H. Dyson, Jr., in collaboration with the Iranian

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conditions prevented further expeditions to Iran and Iraq, attention was then turned to sites in Syria.⁶⁴

Leichty's Contributions to Cuneiform Studies at Penn

With Leichty's retirement in 2002, an important chapter in the history of Penn's cuneiform studies program has come to an end.⁶⁵ In paying tribute to our honoree, it is worth reflecting upon his career at Penn in order to appreciate his unique and manifold contributions to the cuneiform studies program during his thirty-five year tenure.

Studying with Speiser and Kramer in the early 1960s, one sensed a dichotomy between the Akkadian program, centered in the Oriental Studies department and the Sumerian program, housed in the University Museum.⁶⁶ The appointments of Sjöberg, Leichty, and me heralded a new sense of unity within the cuneiform program at Penn, which allowed for fuller integration of its rich Assyriological resources. This unity was based not only upon a common academic vision of Assyriological training and research, but also upon cordial feelings of mutual respect and personal liking which developed among the three of us as we worked together over the next three decades. Leichty, who was the more practical and experienced in the ways of academia, took the lead in setting an agenda for this new phase of Assyriology at the

Archaeology Service, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the University of Michigan, and the American Institute of Iranian Studies. In 1971, excavations were begun at Tall-i Malyan under the direction of William M. Sumner, in collaboration with the American Institute of Iranian Studies. For more detailed information, see *Expedition* 13 (1971) 72 and Winegrad, *Through Time* 150 ff.

⁶⁴ Since 1989, the University Museum has excavated at Tell es-Sweyhat in northern Syria under the direction of Richard L. Zettler. Through 1991, the excavations were a joint endeavor with Thomas Holland of The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, who had originally excavated the site for three seasons in 1973–75 as part of the international salvage project undertaken in connection with the construction of a hydro-electric dam at Tabqa. The University Museum continued to excavate the site in 1993, 1995, 1998, 2000, and 2001. For a summary of the finds, see Michael D. Danti and Richard L. Zettler, "Excavating an Enigma: The Latest Discoveries from Tell es-Sweyhat," *Expedition* 44 (2002) 36–45.

⁶⁵ In 2002, Tinney was promoted to associate professor and, upon Leichty's retirement, he became the sixth incumbent of the Clark Research Chair in Assyriology.

⁶⁶ Speiser, as chairman of the department, exerted a great influence upon the graduate students from course selection to dissertation topics. It was expected of students to take at least one year of Sumerian with Kramer and one was allowed to take another year with Kramer's permission. A student could gain access to tablets only if one were invited to work with Kramer on a Sumerian project. To be sure, Speiser and Kramer were very different in their personalities, attitudes, and demeanors and each ruled his own separate and independent domain at Penn. I have heard it said that there were certain tensions between them, but if they did exist, we as students were completely unaware of any hostility or even dislike. Both men were scholars and gentlemen who appreciated each other's scholarship. Kramer's obituary for Speiser in *A/O* 21 (1966) 262 indicates a fine appreciation of Speiser's contributions to Assyriology and a deep respect for Speiser the man.

University. The agenda focused upon four separate yet interrelated, areas of concern: the curriculum, the tablet collection, support of research and publication.

Curriculum

No longer were the Sumerian and Akkadian programs viewed as separate entities. A new and intensive cuneiform studies curriculum for graduate students was developed and implemented, allowing for a clear sequencing of courses in both Akkadian and Sumerian. A less rigorous minor track in cuneiform studies was also developed for students majoring in Biblical Studies or Egyptology. Most importantly, every student now enrolled in the program would have open access to the treasures of the Tablet Room and would be able to gain first-hand, practical knowledge in reading cuneiform tablets. The physical relocation of the Babylonian Section of the Museum into the then-newly completed Educational Wing of the University Museum also facilitated a greater graduate student presence within the Tablet Room.

Tablet Collection

In anticipation of a broader utilization of the Museum's cuneiform tablet collection by graduate students and visiting scholars, Leichty initiated two important projects: conserving the nearly 30,000 tablets housed in the Babylonian Section of the Museum, and systematically cataloguing the collection. For the efficient cleaning and conserving of the tablets, Leichty with the help of the Museum created the Israel Stieffel Tablet Conservation Laboratory in the basement of the Museum.⁶⁷ Based on the work of C. A. Bateman of the British Museum⁶⁸ and Eric Parkinson at the University Museum, Leichty prepared a program for the conservation of the tablets and, under his able guidance, all the tablets were baked, cleaned, and renumbered.⁶⁹ Leichty's sense of responsibility to the field and his keen entrepreneurial spirit led to the contracting of conservation projects with other institutions in the area that housed cuneiform collections, such as Bryn Mawr College, the Free Library

⁶⁷ The laboratory was made possible by a legacy from the late Pennsylvania state senator, Israel Stieffel, whose interest in cuneiform studies stemmed from his acquaintance with Kramer.

⁶⁸ "The Treatment of Cuneiform Tablets in the British Museum," published in C. A. Bateman, V. E. Crawford, G. F. Wales, and L. J. Majewski, *Preservation and Reproduction of Clay Tablets and the Conservation of Wall Paintings* (Colt Archaeological Institute Monograph Series 3; London: Bernard Quaritch, Ltd., 1966).

⁶⁹ For a more detailed description of the project written by involved graduate students, see A. Guinan, G. Oller, and D. Ormsby, "Nippur Rebaked: The Conservation of Cuneiform Tablets," *Expedition* 18 (1976) 42-7.

of Philadelphia, the Princeton Theological Seminary, and the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore.

In conjunction with the conservation project, Leichty began to systematically review Hilprecht's handwritten catalogue of the holdings of the Tablet Room with the goal of publishing an updated catalog of the entire collection.⁷⁰ Throughout the years, he has devoted as much time as possible to the catalog project, but as yet, it has not been completed. In the 1980s, Pamela Gerardi, then a graduate student, assisted him in the cataloging of the collection. This effort resulted in her publishing *A Bibliography of the Tablet Collections of the University Museum*,⁷¹ which is a helpful reference work for scholars working with the Museum's tablets.

Support of Research

Drawing from his own experience in working on the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary Project as a research fellow (1960–63) at The Oriental Institute, Leichty was extremely supportive of Sjöberg's research agenda to publish the world's first comprehensive dictionary of the Sumerian language. In 1975, when the Tools Division of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) announced the availability of funding for dictionaries, Leichty worked closely with Sjöberg to formulate a major grant application. Subsequently, when the NEH agreed to support the project, Leichty played a crucial role in the creation of a solid financial basis for the beginning of the project by helping to solicit generous funding from philanthropic foundations.⁷² With his indispensable help, the Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary (PSD) Project was officially born in 1975, and over the many years since its inception, he has been deeply involved as an unofficial administrator and as a dedicated advisor in every stage of its development. He was especially instrumental in establishing excellent relationships with the NEH officers with his candor, his willingness to listen, and his openness to new ideas and approaches. With his enthusiastic support of PSD as "one of the world's greatest projects in the Humanities,"⁷³ he also helped propel the project from the narrow confines of cuneiform studies to the consciousness of the world at large.

⁷⁰ Early on in the project, Leichty discovered that a group of 120 fragments of Neo-Babylonian economic and legal tablets (CBS 192–311), which Professor Robert Francis Harper had purchased in 1888 from the Baghdad antiquities dealer, Joseph Shemtov, were clever forgeries. For further details of Leichty's investigative prowess, see "A Remarkable Forger," *Expedition* 12 (1970) 17–21.

⁷¹ This volume appeared as OPBF 8 (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1984).

⁷² NEH funding was supplemented by a generous gift of matching funds from the William Penn Foundation, and subsequent support from the Phoebe W. Haas Trust, the University of Pennsylvania and its Museum, the American Schools of Oriental Research, the American Philosophical Society, the Institute of Semitic Studies, and the Kelly McLure Estate.

⁷³ "The Curators Write: The Sumerian Dictionary," *Expedition* 24 (1982) 48.

Working closely with Phoebe R. Resnick, the Public Relations officer of the Museum,⁷⁴ Leichty successfully publicized the work of the Tablet Room and the dictionary staff on five different occasions which were written up by the major wire services, resulting in world-wide publicity.⁷⁵

Leichty's generous efforts to facilitate the research objectives of other cuneiform scholars were not limited to the work of his colleagues in the Department. With the physical expansion of the Tablet Room in the new Academic Wing of the Museum, he seized the opportunity to assist the research of cuneiform scholars living in the Greater Philadelphia area. He invited David I. Owen, Maria deJ. Ellis, and Stephen J. Lieberman, among others, to become Research Associates of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum. The presence of these scholars in the Tablet Room heightened the intellectual excitement of Assyriological research and created a stimulating environment for the benefit of students and faculty. The relaxed and happy atmosphere in the Tablet Room, which permeated all aspects of Penn's cuneiform program, was due in great measure to the personal warmth, caring concern, good nature, and humorous irreverence of both Leichty and Sjöberg.

Publication

Leichty has also served cuneiform studies at Penn and Assyriology at large by creating an active publication program. As editor of the Museum's journal, *Expedition*, from 1970–73, Leichty gained invaluable experience in scholarly publishing. In 1972, with the assistance of Maria deJ. Ellis, Leichty assumed the editorship of the *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* and continued to serve as editor of the journal for seventeen years. Always frugal, financially responsible, and resourceful, Leichty experimented with the technological forerunners of desk-top publishing. Through his efforts, the journal was published by means of camera-ready copy, prepared with the use of a phototypesetter. During this period, Leichty founded the Babylonian Fund to create a series for books and monographs entitled *Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund*. In 1988, the Fund was renamed in honor of Kramer

⁷⁴ Even after she left the museum to found her own company, Resnick Communications, Inc., Resnick has continued to work with Leichty in bringing the Sumerian Dictionary Project to the attention of a wider audience.

⁷⁵ Penn's Sumerian Dictionary Project and the Tablet Room were showcased on radio and television, and were featured in diverse publications. These publications included *Forbes*, *Science* 84, *Science Digest*, *Discover*, *US News and World Report*, *Biblical Archaeology Review*, *Chronicle of Higher Education*, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, *Washington Post*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Boston Globe*, *Der Spiegel*, *Scienza & Vita Nuova*, *Scandinavian Airlines Magazine*, and *ARAMCO World*. The Dictionary Project even made the front page of the *New York Times*, where Sumerian was used as its Quotation of the Day (Wednesday, April 18, 1984).

as the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund. Since 1976, Leichty has served as the series' editor-in-chief, overseeing the publication of thirteen volumes.⁷⁶

In addition to his intense involvement in the Museum's tablet collection, research activities, and publications, Leichty also managed to contribute energetically to the administration of the Department of Oriental Studies⁷⁷ by serving as chairman of the Department in 1980–81 among other administrative duties. His most lasting service, however, was to the Near East Section of the Department, which he headed for almost thirty years. With a B.A. in Arabic and Islamic Studies and an M.A. in Islamic Art from the University of Michigan, Leichty was uniquely suited to lead the Near East Section, which oversaw the teaching of ancient, medieval, and modern Near Eastern languages, literatures, and cultures. He also served as Chair of the Ancient History Program from 1987–90. As a long standing, administrative faculty member of the School of Arts and Sciences, Leichty worked tirelessly for the expansion of Ancient Near Eastern Studies in ancillary disciplines. He warmly supported the appointments of Irene Winter and Holly Pittman in History of Art and the appointments of Richard Zettler and Bruce Routledge in Anthropology and the late James Sauer in Religious Studies.

Noteworthy in these years, was the strong international flavor of Penn's Assyriological program, which was due to both Sjöberg's and Leichty's personal connections with British, European, and Middle Eastern cuneiformists. Sjöberg's bond with many of the leading European Sumerologists was already forged during his student years in Heidelberg and was further strengthened during his summers abroad when he would return to Sweden. Leichty's contact with British and European Assyriologists was cultivated during his many

⁷⁶ Maria deJ. Ellis, *Agriculture and the State in Ancient Mesopotamia: An Introduction to the Problem of Land Tenure* (OPBF 1; 1976, repr. 1990); A. Berlin, *Enmerkar and Ensuĥkešdāna: A Sumerian Narrative Poem* (OPBF 2; 1979); J. Heimerdinger, *Sumerian Literary Fragments from Nippur* (OPBF 4; 1979); V. Donbaz and B.R. Foster, *Sargonic Texts from Telloh in the Istanbul Archaeological Museums* (OPBF 5; co-published as American Research Institute in Turkey Monographs 2; 1982); M. W. Stolper, *Texts from Tall-i Malyan, I: Elamite Administrative Texts* (OPBF 6; 1984); J. A. Brinkman, *Prelude to Empire* (OPBF 7; 1984); P. Gerardi, *A Bibliography of the Tablet Collections of the University Museum* (OPBF 8; 1984); E. Leichty, M. deJ. Ellis, and P. Gerardi (eds.), *A Scientific Humanist: Studies in Memory of Abraham Sachs* (OPSNKF 9; 1988); M. Sigrist, *Tablettes du Princeton Theological Seminary: Époque d'Ur III* (OPSNKF 10; 1990); H. Behrens, D. Loding, and M. T. Roth (eds.), *DUME-E₂-DUB-BA-A: Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg* (OPSNKF 11; 1989); G. Selz, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des altsumerischen Stadtstaates von Lagaš* (OPSNKF 13; 1995); M. deJ. Ellis (ed.), *Nippur at the Centennial: Papers Read at the 35^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Philadelphia, 1988* (OPSNKF 14; 1992); V. A. Hurowitz, *Inu Anum šīrum: Literary Structures in the Non-Juridical Sections of the Codex Hammurabi* (OPSNKF 15; 1994); S. J. Tinney, *The Nippur Lament: Royal Rhetoric and Divine Legitimation in the Reign of Išme-Dagan of Isin (1953–1935 B.C.)* (OPSNKF 16; 1996); and S. M. Freedman, *If a City is Set on a Height: the Akkadian Omen Series šumma ālu ina mēlē šakin* (vol. 1; OPSNKF 17; 1998).

⁷⁷ In the fall of 1992, the name of the Department of Oriental Studies was changed to the Department of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies.

summers spent in the Student Room of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities at the British Museum. Leichty's initial contact with the British Museum's tablet collections began in the summer of 1960, when Keeper R.D. Barnett suggested that he compile *A Bibliography of the Kuyunjik Collection of the British Museum*. In 1964, subsequent to the publication of the volume, Barnett proposed that he undertake the "Sippar" project as part of a series of catalogues under the overall coordinating editorship of C.B.F. Walker. For more than fifteen years, Leichty spent his summers in London, preparing a catalogue of the "Sippar" tablets, the large majority of which were excavated by Hormuzd Rassam at Abu Habbah (ancient Sippar). In the course of the preparation of the catalogue, which was published in three volumes,⁷⁸ Leichty worked closely with I.L. Finkel, M.J. Geller, A.K. Grayson, D.A. Kennedy, F. Köcher, W.G. Lambert, C.B.F. Walker, and others, including the Keepers R.D. Barnett, E. Sollberger, and T.C. Mitchell. In the Students Room, many acquaintances and friendships were developed due in large measure to Leichty's gregariousness and genuine interest in all aspects of Assyriological research. In Philadelphia, Sjöberg and Leichty reciprocated by opening the University Museum's tablet collection to a larger audience of cuneiformists. This resulted in a steady flow of visits by senior and junior scholars from around the world.⁷⁹ The presence of international scholars who offered lectures and seminars at Penn greatly enriched the academic program and added to the intellectual excitement of the student experience. The highlight of Penn's connection with the international community of scholars took place in July 1988 at the University Museum, when Leichty invited the Recontre Assyriologique Internationale to hold its annual meeting in Philadelphia, marking the centennial anniversary of Penn's

⁷⁸ E. Leichty, *Tablets from Sippar 1* (vol. 6 of *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*; London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1986); E. Leichty and A.K. Grayson, *Tablets from Sippar 2* (vol. 7 of *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*; London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1987); and E. Leichty, J.J. Finkelstein, and C.B.F. Walker, *Tablets from Sippar 3* (vol. 8 of *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*; London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1988).

⁷⁹ Among the many visitors from abroad that come to mind are J. Asher-Greve (Switzerland), B. Alster (Denmark), P.-A. Beaulieu (Canada), P. Bordreuil (France), R. Borger (Germany), E. Braun-Holzinger (Germany), A. Caubet (France), D. Charpin (France), G. Colbow (Germany), M. Cogan (Israel), F. Cryer (Denmark), M. Dandamayev (Russia), V. Donbaz (Turkey), D.O. Edzard (Germany), R. Englund (Germany), Y. Eph'al (Israel), I. Finkel (England), D. Frayne (Canada), M. Gates (Turkey), M.J. Geller (England), A. George (England), W. Horowitz (Israel), V.A. Hurowitz (Israel), D. Kennedy (France), J. Klein (Israel), W.G. Lambert (England), B. Lafont (France), K. and G. Van Lerberghe (Belgium), A. Livingstone (England), J. Oelsner (Germany), S. Parpola (Finland), B. Pongratz-Leisten (Germany), E. Robson (England), L. Sassmannshausen (Germany), Y. Sefati (Israel), A. Shaffer (Israel), M. Sigrist (Israel), H. Steible (Germany), M. Stol (Netherlands), H. Tadmor (Israel), H. Vanstiphout (Netherlands), G. Visicato (Italy), K. Volk (Germany), H. Waetzoldt (Germany), A. Westenholz (Denmark), J. Westenholz (Israel), C. Wilcke (Germany), G. Wilhelm (Germany), M. Yokoyama (Japan), and R. Zadok (Israel).

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excavations at Nippur. The theme of the Rencontre was aspects of work on Nippur past or present and the delivered papers were published in the Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund.⁸⁰

With Leichty's retirement in 2002, a very special period of Assyriological study at Penn is drawing to a close. Leichty remains active in the Tablet Room, offering informal tutorials in Akkadian texts to graduate students, supervising publication activities, and conducting his own research. His present labor of love, however, is the creation of a world-class Assyriological research library within the Tablet Room. Leichty donated his own impressive personal library of over 1200 volumes, as well as his important offprint collection to the Tablet Room, where it now forms the nucleus of the research library. This valuable research collection is a fitting legacy that serves as an embodiment of Leichty's manifold contributions to Assyriology at Penn. It is our fervent wish that Leichty continue to utilize his talents for the furtherance of the discipline in good health and good cheer for many more years to come.

⁸⁰ M. deJ. Ellis (ed.), *Nippur at the Centennial: Papers Read at the 35^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Philadelphia, 1988* (OPSNKF 14; 1992). Cf. highlights of the Museum celebration in Winegrad, *Through Time* 15.

WELL, DOG MY CATS! A NOTE ON THE *URIDIMMU*¹

Richard S. Ellis

The supernatural being known in Akkadian as the *uridimmu*² had a respectable career in the ancient Mesopotamian imagination. If the dubious Agum-kakrime inscription is genuine,³ the mention of him (and it is him, as we shall see) is the earliest known. Otherwise, his origin was as one of the eleven monsters borne by Tiamat to help her in her fight against Marduk. Together with his siblings he was placed by the victorious god as a guard at the entrance to the underworld.⁴ By Neo-Assyrian times he had become known as a being that could be called upon to guard houses and palaces.

In modern times the understanding of the *uridimmu* among students of ancient Mesopotamia has seen some changes. The Akkadian name is of course a loan word from the Sumerian *ur-idim*, which on the face of it appears to mean “mad dog” or “wild dog.” Indeed, in *ḪAR-ra* = *ḫubullu* XIV 94–5 two entries are given for *ur-idim*:

94 *ur-idim* = ŠU-*mu* (var. *ur-idim-mu*)

95 *ur-idim* = *kal-bu še-gu-ú* “mad dog”⁵

Because of the normal meaning of Sumerian *ur*, and the Akkadian translation as *kalbu*, it was naturally assumed that the *uridimmu* must have been at least partially canine in nature. Translations of the name include “Raging Hound,”⁶ “Mad-Dog,”⁷ “ein mythischer Wildhund,”⁸ and (my personal

¹ Though I am a cat person myself, I am happy to offer my old friend Erle Leichty, a dog person, this attempt to return the *uridimmu* to his native allegiance.

² The question of whether the Akkadian loan-word from Sumerian *ur-idim* should be *uridimmu* or *urdimmu* has been recently discussed by Frans A. M. Wiggermann, *Mesopotamian Protective Spirits: The Ritual Texts* (CM 1; Groningen: Styx, 1992) and by Paul-Alain Beaulieu, “Lion-Man: *uridimmu* or *urdimmu*?,” *NABU* 1990/121. Since the problem is irrelevant for my present purpose, I hold by *uridimmu*.

³ For a recent discussion of this text, see Tremper Longman III, *Fictional Akkadian Autobiography: A Generic and Comparative Study* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1991) 83–91, 222–3.

⁴ En. el. i 141, v 75–6.

⁵ B. Landsberger, *The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia* (MSL 8/2; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1962) 17.

⁶ L. W. King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation: Or, The Babylonian and Assyrian Legends Concerning the Creation of the World and of Mankind* (vol. 1; Luzac’s Semitic Text and Translation Series 13; London: Luzac, 1902) 19 etc.

⁷ E. A. Speiser in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (ed. James B. Pritchard; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955) 62 etc.

⁸ AHw s.v. *uridimmu*.

favorite) Langdon's "Gruesome Hound."⁹ These translations, however, were not accompanied by any clear idea of how the ancient writers might have imagined the appearance of the creature.

In the past ten or fifteen years, however, increased study of Assyrian texts that deal with the making of apotropaic figurines to be buried in houses and palaces has led to the identification of many named supernatural beings with specific types of images found in art. These images include clay figures found buried in Assyrian houses and palaces, reliefs on the walls of Assyrian palaces, as well as seals and other objects. In particular, the apotropaic clay figurines correspond particularly well with the texts that prescribed their making and use. In the major text dealing with such figures¹⁰ the *uridimmu* is simply mentioned among other figures made of clay:

186 2 NU UR.IDIM.MEŠ "Two figures of *uridimmu*"¹¹

A similar text from Assur (KAR 298) gives a few details:

Obv.

- 47 [NU.MEŠ UR.IDIM g]isEREN IM.KAL.LA lab-[šu ša] [X, Y] na-šú-u ina
Ā-šú-nu
48 [DINGIR É lu ka-a-a-an] ina GÁB-šú-nu dLAMA É lu [dà-a-ri SAR-ár]¹²
47 Figures of *uridimmu* of cedar wood, coated with yellow paste, holding [?] on their arms
48 you write: "May the house-god be always present!" On their left, "May the *lamassu*-spirit of the house be enduring!"

A further clue to the appearance of the *uridimmu* may be seen in the Assyrian ritual for the substitute king:

col. B

- 10 2 ur-dim-me šá gisŠINIG šá áz-qa-ru šá gise-ri-ni
11 ina qa-ti-š[u-n]u na-šú-ú DÙ-uš ina BAR.SIL GAB-šú-nu ki-a-am
SAR-ár
12 ši-i [lum-nu er]-ba du-muq É.GAL¹³

⁹ S. Langdon, *The Babylonian Epic of Creation* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1923) 89 etc.

¹⁰ This is the text reconstructed by Wiggermann, *Protective Spirits*, from several Kuyunjik fragments and edited by him as Text I.

¹¹ Wiggermann, *Protective Spirits* 14–5, Text I.

¹² Wiggermann, *Protective Spirits* 43, Text II. Wiggermann restored the name of the creature in line 47 because it was the only figure otherwise missing, and there was no other place for it. The beginning of the inscription in line 48 is restored from that on the Nimrud clay figurine mentioned below.

¹³ Edited by W.G. Lambert, "A Part of the Ritual for the Substitute King," *A/O* 18 (1957–58)

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- 10–11 You make two *uridimmu*s of tamarisk wood, holding crescents of cedar in their hands. On their left hip you write as follows:
12 “Depart, evil! Enter, good of the palace!”

It is confusing that in these three texts the figures are to be made, first of clay, then of cedar, and then of tamarisk. Fortunately this fact is of no importance here. More serious could be the disparity of the inscriptions, but considering that the ritual contexts are different, this need not disturb us too much here.

We have three features, then, by which we might identify an image of the *uridimmu*: a presumed doggishness, though he has something that he can hold objects with; the inscription specified in KAR 298; and the “crescents” that he holds, at least in the substitute king ritual. For a long time the attempt at identification stumbled over the fact that scarcely any images of dog-like *Mischwesen* are known in Mesopotamian art. There is of course the famous set of five colored dogs found in Assurbanipal’s North palace at Nineveh, but they clearly correspond to the figures referred to in KAR 298 simply as “dogs.”¹⁴

The eventual solution to the problem came from an examination of some of the clay apotropaic figurines that were found in the 1950s in Fort Shalmaneser, Nimrud, by the British expedition. In 1983 Anthony Green published a description and photographs of ND 7901, a figurine found in debris in Room SE5.¹⁵ The upper part is that of a bearded human being wearing a conical headgear. The lower part seems to show the legs of an animal of some kind. The figure was molded, but had afterwards been altered by hand in some places. Green saw the feet as the talons of a bird. On the back a curved ridge had been worked in the wet clay. I had already been able to inspect this figure when I was in Baghdad in 1967–68; according to my notes I could see no details on the legs or feet. However, I thought that the curved ridge on the back looked like a tail, suggesting that it might be a scorpion-man, an opinion also expressed by Green.¹⁶ In addition, however, there is an inscription on the back of both arms. Various editions of the inscription have been made, but it is essentially identical to that attributed to the *uridimmu* in KAR 298, above. When I saw the figure and still when

109–12.

¹⁴ Bruno Meissner, “Apotropäische Hunde,” *OLZ* 25 (1922) 201 ff.; *Art and Empire: Treasures from Assyria in the British Museum* (ed. John E. Curtis and Julian E. Reade; New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995) 116–7.

¹⁵ Anthony Green, “Neo-Assyrian Apotropaic Figures: Figurines, Rituals and Monumental Art, with special reference to the figures from the excavations of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq at Nimrud,” *Iraq* 45 (1983) 92–3, pls. 13c, 14b. Earlier publications, without photographs but with a reading of the inscription, were made by David Oates, “Fort Shalmaneser—an Interim Report,” *Iraq* 21 (1959) 112–3 and M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and Its Remains* (vol. 2; London: Collins, 1966) 423–4, 644 n. 70.

¹⁶ Green, “Neo-Assyrian Apotropaic Figures” 93.

Green published it, the gap in KAR 298 that covered the name of the image had not yet been filled in by Wiggermann's restoration. But if we accept that restoration, which I see no reason not to do, we now have a hope of identifying the *uridimmu* in other instances and other media. In 1985 Green referred to another Fort Shalmaneser figurine, ND 8186B, that shows the same molded form and the same secondarily-worked curving tail on the back. No inscription is preserved (Figs. 1–2).¹⁷

The concept of the *uridimmu* as having a curly tail and a human torso with animal legs led soon to a specific identification. In 1964 Julian Reade published a drawing of a now-lost slab from Assurbanipal's North Palace at Nineveh that depicts a creature whose upper part is human, with a beard and a horned god-hat, and whose lower part is that of an animal with paws like those of a dog or lion, and a curled tail. He holds in front of himself an upright pole ending above in a crescent or ring (Fig. 3). Reade identified the lower part as that of a lion, but made no suggestion as to name or identification.¹⁸ In 1979 Reade again referred to this drawing, suggesting that it might represent the *urmahlilu*, or lion-man,¹⁹ a name now regarded as certainly designating the lion-centaur.²⁰ Since the publication of this drawing by Reade, it has been published in other places, and other drawings (only drawings, alas! of lost reliefs) of similar beings have been published as well. Another slab from the North Palace shows a creature identical to that mentioned, except that he carries no pole, but simply holds his hands out in front on his chest.²¹ If he had a pole, it would interfere with the tail of the upright *mušhuššu* who stands in front of him, on the same slab; perhaps that is why the pole is missing (Fig. 4). In the Southwest Palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh were found two slabs flanking a door, each of which showed the legs of a human(oid) winged figure in front, and a creature with paws behind.²² A small number of similar images is known, dating as early as the Kassite Period, but none has the

¹⁷ Anthony Green, "A Note on the 'Scorpion-man' and Pazuzu," *Iraq* 47 (1985) 76–7. Examination of photographs kindly made available to me by the Institute of Archaeology in London show that ND 8186B was almost certainly made in the same mold as ND 7901, as were several other figures, some of which were also modified in various ways after pressing in the mold.

¹⁸ "More Drawings of Ashurbanipal Sculpture," *Iraq* 26 (1964) 5–6 and pl. 2. Reade cites a note attached to the drawing stating that the head and the top of the pole were restored from the slab on the opposite side of the door in which they were found. According to Reade (pp. 1–2), the drawing was made by William Boutcher.

¹⁹ "Assyrian Architectural Decoration: Techniques and Subject Matter," *BaM* 10 (1979) 40.

²⁰ See Wiggermann, *Protective Spirits* 181–2.

²¹ Richard D. Barnett, *Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh (668–627 B.C.)* (London: British Museum Publications, 1976) pl. 54.

²² John Malcolm Russell, *Sennacherib's Palace Without Rival at Nineveh* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 182, fig 96; Erika R. Bleibtreu, Richard D. Barnett, and Geoffrey Turner, *Sculptures from the Southwest Palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh* 1 (London: British Museum Press, 1998) 76 No. 231a Or. Dr. II, 43 (a & b); vol. 2, pl 157. The existence of this drawing had been mentioned already by Reade, "More Drawings" 5–6.

specific details of the drawings of Neo-Assyrian reliefs.²³ Wiggermann was apparently the first to associate this type with the *uridimmu*.²⁴

Since the first examples were discovered this figure has been known as a lion-man, or described by some similar term that assumes that the lower part is that of a lion. For instance, William K. Loftus' 1854 description of the slab with the *uridimmu* and the *mušhuššu* states that "the lower extremities [of the former are] those of a lion with a boar's tail."²⁵ Wiggermann calls the *uridimmu* a "human-headed lion-man,"²⁶ and many other instances could be given.

Of course, if the "Mad Dog" is to be identified with the "Lion-Man," some adjustment of the terms must be made. This may be done with little difficulty, however, since the familiar equation of *ur-maḥ* = *labbu*, *nēšu* = lion shows that a lion could be considered a special kind of dog.

But is it necessary to suppose that the *ur* in *uridimmu* must mean a lion, rather than a dog? Why have pawed feet and curly tails always been assumed to be the rear ends of lions? Dogs have paws and tails, too. Let us look at the most explicit images that we have, the drawings of reliefs from Assurbanipal's North palace, and see whether the lion identification holds up.

In the absence of the heads, the elements that we have to consider are the paws, the tails, and the genitals.

One difference between the feet of domestic cats and dogs is generally known: cats' claws are retractable, and dogs' claws are not. Lions also can retract their claws, although some cannot do so entirely. On Assurbanipal's reliefs, many lions are shown with claws clearly visible when they are at rest,²⁷ while in the well-known scene of the hunting dogs straining at their leashes the claws are not shown clearly.²⁸ On the drawing of the *uridimmu* alone (Fig. 3) the claws are indistinct, while on that of the *uridimmu* and the *mušhuššu* (Fig. 4) claws are shown against the toes.

Another difference between cats' and dogs' feet is that cats have dew claws, the fifth toes that sit higher on the foot, above the other toes, on the front feet but not on the back. Dogs often have dew claws on the front feet, and sometimes but not always on the back. Dew claws on the back feet would therefore identify a dog. An Assurbanipal relief of a (tame?) lion walking in the company of musicians shows dew claws clearly on the front

²³ See Wiggermann, *Protective Spirits* 173–4; Frans A. M. Wiggermann, "Mischwesen. A. Philologisch," *RIA* 8 242; and Anthony Green, "Mischwesen. B. Archäologisch," *RIA* 8 250–1 for references to other images.

²⁴ Frans A. M. Wiggermann, *Babylonian Prophylactic Figures: The Ritual Texts* (Amsterdam: Free University Press, 1986)

²⁵ Quoted in Barnett, *Sculptures* 74.

²⁶ Wiggermann, *Protective Spirits* 173, 223.

²⁷ Barnett, *Sculptures* pls. 14 right, 15.

²⁸ Barnett, *Sculptures* pl. 14 left.

feet.²⁹ Assurbanipal's hunting dogs show them on the front feet, but very indistinctly, if at all, on the back feet.³⁰ Neither *uridimmu* drawing shows any sign of dew claws. The paws, then, provide us with no opportunity to distinguish the species of the creature's lower half.

As we saw earlier, Loftus saw the tail as that of a boar, attached to the body of a lion. It does turn up and then down, making a fairly tight loop, but hardly like that of a pig. Most observers have seen it, however, as a lion's tail.³¹ The tail was apparently an important part of the identity of the creature, since on the apotropaic clay figures from Nimrud mentioned above the tail was worked on the back after the main features of the images had been molded.³² What kinds of animals have curly tails? If we look at the many lions in Assurbanipal's sculptures, we see many with up-curving tails, but none with actual loops.³³ The hunting dogs of Assurbanipal have curved, rather scimitar-shaped tails that curve upward in a shallow arc from their rumps.³⁴ It has been pointed out that dogs cannot curl their tails into loops,³⁵ and this is indeed true of dogs whose tails are normally straight. There are however, many kinds of dogs whose tails are normally curly: spitzes, pugs, chow-chows, Eskimo sled dogs, and, indeed, the Turkish sheep dog illustrated by Barnett.³⁶ One can find curly tails in Assurbanipal's palace on the five little clay dogs with the different colors and names that were found deposited at the columned western entrance.³⁷ Figures 5 and 6 are photographs of one of these dogs; the hind quarters (Fig. 6) clearly show the tightly curled tail.³⁸ Of course, it would have been difficult to model an extended tail in unbaked clay, though a long straight tail could have been shown hanging down behind the legs. In addition, however, the numerous Neo-Assyrian bronze figurines of dogs, or of men and dogs side-by-side, that have been found at various places as far away as Samos, almost all show the dogs with tails curled on their rumps.³⁹ Some, at least, of these figurines may have been used as

²⁹ Barnett, *Sculptures* pl. 14 right.

³⁰ Barnett, *Sculptures* pl. 14 left, 40.

³¹ For example, Jeremy A. Black and Anthony Green, *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia: An Illustrated Dictionary* (illustr. by Tessa Rickards; London: British Museum Press, 1992) 122: "including a curled-over lion's tail."

³² See above, notes 15 and 17.

³³ For example, Barnett, *Sculptures* pl. 58 right.

³⁴ Barnett, *Sculptures* pls. 14 left, 40.

³⁵ Paul-Alain Beaulieu, personal communication.

³⁶ Barnett, *Sculptures* text-plate 4:1. The Turkish sheep dog is the guardian of the sheep, not the herder.

³⁷ Barnett, *Sculptures* pl. 45; Curtis and Reade, *Art and Empire* 116–7.

³⁸ It is WA 30005, "Loud-Bark." I would like to thank Drs. Prudence O. Harper and Joan Aruz for their kindness and cooperation in allowing me to examine and photograph this and several other objects as the staff of the Metropolitan Museum was taking down the exhibit of British Museum objects.

³⁹ Eva Andrea Braun-Holzinger, *Figürliche Bronzen aus Mesopotamien* (Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Abteilung 1/4; Munich: Beck, 1984) pls. 62–3.

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apotropaia.⁴⁰ Clearly these curly-tailed dogs are meant to be a different breed from the Assurbanipal's hunting dogs; they are guard dogs, not hunters. It would be quite suitable symbolically that the *uridimmu* be the apotheosis of the watch-dog.

It is the genitals shown on the drawings, however, that in my opinion clinch the identification of the hind-quarters as those of a dog. On each of the two drawings testicles and penis are shown against the creature's belly. If we survey the many lions on the reliefs of Assurbanipal, which include many that are shown almost or entirely upright, we see no example of genital organs shown against the belly (Figs. 7 and 8).⁴¹ In some instances the lion's testicles are visible behind the rear leg.⁴² Both *uridimmu* drawings were made by William Boucher, a skillful and careful artist who had drawn many of Assurbanipal's lions, and who could not possibly have added such a feature by accident or on a whim; compare Fig. 9, his drawing of the same relief shown in Fig. 7. Cats, however, do not wear their gender on their sleeve, so to speak. Anyone who has had much experience with pets knows that it is harder to determine the sex of kittens than of puppies, and anecdotal accounts provide many instances of supposed tom-cats who unexpectedly produce kittens.

Therefore: the evidence of the feet on the two drawings is equivocal; the tail is perfectly plausible for a dog; and the genitals show that it cannot possibly be a lion. I believe that it is clear that the *uridimmu* is in fact a dog-man. In the drawings that we have he looks grave and perhaps a bit anxious, rather than Mad, or Raging, still less Gruesome; no doubt he was a faithful guardian, as so many other dogs are.

⁴⁰ Vaughn E. Crawford, "Nippur, the Holy City," *Archaeology* 12 (1959) 74–83.

⁴¹ For example, Barnett, *Sculptures* pls. 8, 11, 12, 49, 50, 52, 58, 59. It may be worth mentioning that the clay figurine ND 8186B (see n. 17, above) has a narrow depression on the front, between the thighs, as if some small stick of perishable material had been inserted there. It seems reasonable to suppose that this object was meant to represent the penis, and that a visible penis was regarded as a necessary part of the identity of the *uridimmu*.

⁴² Barnett, *Sculptures* pls. 50, 52; see also pl. 13, slab 29. See also some of the larger reproductions of Assurbanipal lions in Richard D. Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs and their Influence on the Sculptures of Babylonia and Persia* (London: British Museum, 1970).



Fig. 1. ND 8186B front



Fig. 2. ND 8186B back

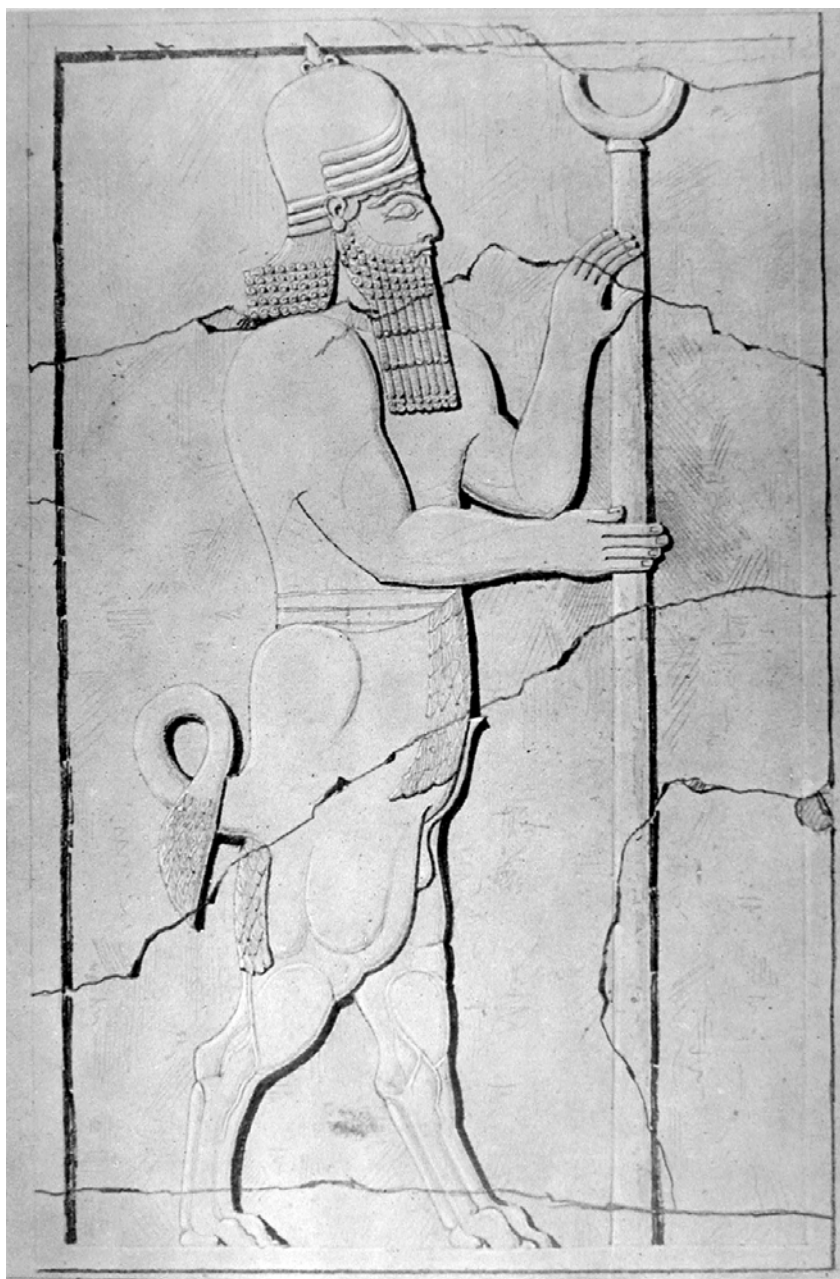


Fig. 3. North Palace, Uridimmu A



Fig. 4. North Palace, Uridimmu and Mušhuššu



Fig. 5. Clay dog WA 30005 3/4 view front



Fig. 6. Clay dog WA 30005 3/4 view back



Fig. 7. North Palace, King killing lion (photo)

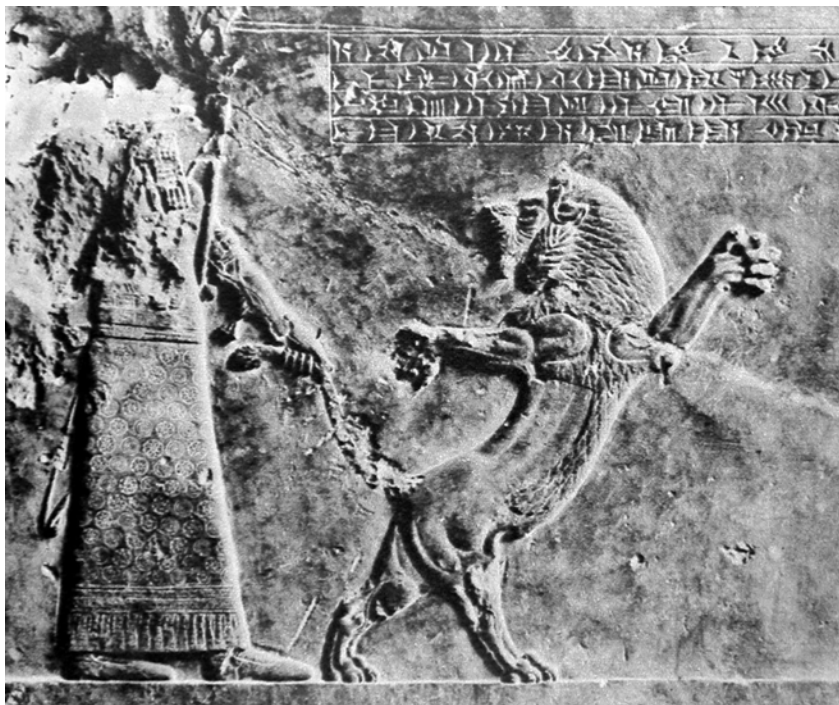


Fig. 8. North Palace, King holding lion by tail (photo)

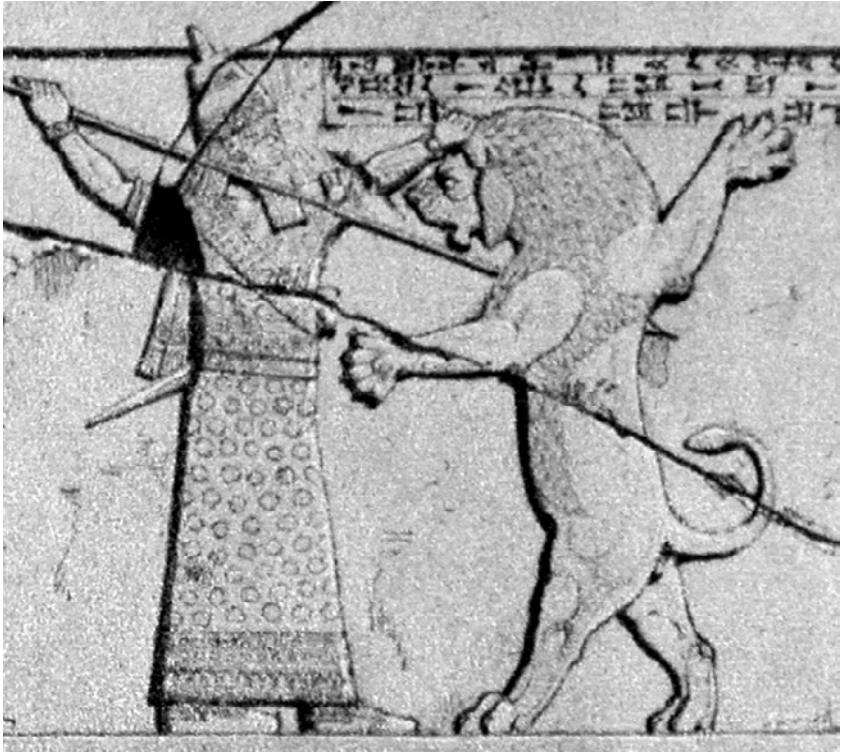


Fig. 9. North Palace, King killing lion (drawing)

THE SIZE AND VERSIONS OF INANNA'S DESCENT

A. J. Ferrara

During the course of preparing a new critical edition of Inanna's Descent (ID), now based on fifty-eight exemplars, half of which had not been used previously, it was only a matter of time before questions of its size and versions would resurface. These intriguing questions prompted a reconsideration of several interrelated questions having to do with the original circumstances of ID's composition, its subsequent development and transmission, its age and its existence in at least two putative Sumerian versions.¹ I will address briefly only one aspect of this rather complex matter—what the current textual situation can tell us.²

In the earlier stages of ID's reconstruction, several revised and expanded editions reflected incremental gains in the total number of lines of text. This was a natural consequence of the continual discovery and incorporation of newly identified textual materials, predominantly fragmentary Nippur exemplars, in the initial and intermediate stages of textual reappropriation. Kramer's *editio princeps* for example, was based upon eight Nippur tablets which yielded 212 lines of continuous text and 58 additional lines provisionally placed *en bloc* by him after l. 212 for a total of 260 lines of text.³ Confronted as he was with the various challenges in putting the composition together, Kramer was understandably in no position to gauge its size.⁴ The poor state of preservation of CBS 9800 (C2) notwithstanding, Kramer utilized this text and Ni 368 (C1) as a "framework" around which to reconstruct the composition.⁵ This framework, the first tablet of a two tablet

¹ Jeremy Black, *Reading Sumerian Poetry* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998) 44. For a discussion of the concept of versions and their interrelationships in a Sumerian hymnic composition, see Steve Tinney, "Ur-Namma the Canal-Digger: Context, Continuity and Change in Sumerian Literature," *JCS* 51 (1999) 31–49.

² See Bendt Alster's remarks, "Inanna Repenting: The Conclusion of Inanna's Descent," *ASJ* 18 (1996) 2 note 7.

³ S. N. Kramer, "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World," *RA* 34 (1937) 93–134. This does not include his restoration of ll. 58–63; cf. William R. Sladek, "Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld" (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1974) 2–6. In the course of time with subsequent and revised text editions, the number of exemplars and lines increased such that Kramer's last text edition was based upon fifteen text witnesses from Nippur and consisted of 384 lines, "'Inanna's Descent to the Nether World' Continued and Revised," *JCS* 5 (1951) 1–17.

⁴ Kramer, "Inanna's Descent" 96 note 1. The most that he ventured was that what was preserved did not contain the composition's beginning.

⁵ Kramer, "Inanna's Descent" 94–5. Ni 368 (+) CBS 9800 became a kind of *codex optimus* by default. It is unfortunate that the only publication of CBS 9800 by Kramer was the photographs which accompanied the *editio princeps*. The generally poor state of preservation and the

multi-column series, and HS 1480+HS 1580 (TuM 3 2)+HS 2505+HS 2542 (E) provide excellent comparative evidence with respect to constructing a model of the first tablet of a two tablet series.⁶ Two additional fragments furnish an idea of how the reverse of the second tablet in the series might have looked: Ni 9776 (X), ISET I 183 and BM 69737, CT 58 59.⁷ These fragments may even constitute an indirect and long distance join, despite the attributed provenience of the latter as Sippar. The paleographic and archival evidence is much too lengthy and complicated to be presented here and will have to await discussion in my forthcoming text edition. Suffice it to say that a hypothetically reconstructed obverse consisting of two columns of \pm fifty lines per column and what remains preserved of the reverse yields an approximate range of 400 lines for this two tablet series and is consistent with E's partially preserved numeric colophon.

It was not until 1963, in two different venues, that Kramer broached the problems of size and the possibility of two differently provenienced versions, one stemming from Ur and the other from Nippur.⁸ In his discussion of one of the Ur exemplars, UET 6/1 8 (M), Kramer suggested without elaboration that the tablet originally may have contained as many as eight columns.⁹ In the same discussion, based upon his analysis of what was then preserved by UET 6/1 10 (S) he noted that the size of at least this Ur redaction may have ranged from 420–500 lines.¹⁰

tablet's subsequent deterioration since it was first published have presented problems from the beginning of scholarly interest in the composition. Cf. A. Falkenstein, "Zu 'Inannas Gang zur Unterwelt'," *AfO* 14 (1941–1944) 113–4; Sladek, "Inanna's Descent" 100 note 3. See already Langdon, BE 31 78 and Chiera, *SRT* 37.

Its state of preservation makes a line count highly problematic. I have in my possession duplicates of the original museum photographs employed by Kramer and these are not much better than those which have been published. See Kramer's rationale for not providing a transliteration or autograph, "Inanna's Descent" 94–5 note 3.

⁶ For HS 2505 see C. Wilcke, *Kollationen zu den sumerischen literarischen Texten aus Nippur in der Hilprecht-Sammlung Jena* (Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-Historische Klasse 65/4; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1976) 13. HS 2542 was discovered and joined by van Dijk. I thank Professor Dr. Joachim Oelsner for kindly providing me with a copy of van Dijk's autograph of HS 2542 in advance of its forthcoming publication.

⁷ For ISET I 183, see Kramer, "ISET I: Corrigenda and Addenda to the Catalogue," *RA* 64 (1970) 96. For CT 58 59, see Kramer, "Sumerian Literature and the British Museum: The Promise of the Future" *PAPS* 124 (1980) 302; Alster, "Inanna Repenting" 5–6. Geller's copy in CT 58 is to be preferred over Kramer's.

⁸ Kramer, "Cuneiform Studies and History of Literature," *PAPS* 107 (1963) 514 note 47; Kramer, UET 6/1 3.

⁹ Kramer, UET 6/1 3. The tablet's thickness alone, 3.2 cm, suggests that Kramer's surmise may be correct. If so, it can be used as a tablet model which, at 50–60 lines per column, yields between 400–480 lines.

¹⁰ Kramer, UET 6/1 3. Counting the double lines as single lines gives a total well in excess of 500 lines. Kramer's assertion that the colophon treated the 2:1 lines as single lines may be correct but contradicts his later (?) opinion that the colophon referred to another exemplar.

The Size and Versions of Inanna's Descent

This position was clarified somewhat by Kramer in another discussion in which he stated that the number contained in the colophon of UET 6/1 10, read by Kramer as 174 (he did not transliterate the colophon), did not refer to the number of lines on the tablet, which he characterized as “unusually long and wide,” but to the number of lines on tablets of normal size. If 174 did refer to the number of lines in the tablet, then “these would correspond to about 250 lines of our myth.”¹¹ This highlights some of the methodological problems involved in computing the composition's size by means of what little was then preserved by this tablet. A telling footnote, in which Kramer's initial confidence gave way in the end to a lack of certainty, reflects the difficulties Kramer faced:

[W]e are in a position to calculate the number of lines of the myth as a whole, by adding 174 to 252 (since UET VI, No. 10 begins with line 253 of the myth) or 426 lines. And since we now have approximately 389 lines of the myth—359 lines as restored in *JCS* V ... plus the approximately thirty new lines from UET VI, No. 10 ... there are still missing only about 38 lines. However there is some possibility that the Ur version of the myth was considerably longer than that. For on top of UET VI, No. 10 we find two figures—169 and 174 [*sic*] unaccompanied by any text whatever, and it is not unlikely that these refer to the number of lines on the first and second tablets of the series of which UET VI, No. 10 is the third and last. If so, the total number of lines on the first two tablets would be 343 (that is 91 lines more than the 252 lines which they say they have) since the third tablet begins with line 252. For the present, therefore, the total number of lines of the myth is still rather uncertain.¹²

There matters remained until the appearance in 1974 of William Sladek's doctoral dissertation which is the text edition currently cited in the literature. This edition, based upon thirty-two exemplars, incorporated the Ur textual materials then extant as well as additional Nippur text witnesses that had been identified in the intervening time between Kramer's last treatment and Sladek's dissertation and consisted of 412 lines.¹³

¹¹ Kramer, “Cuneiform Studies” 514 note 47. This reflects an implicit and unwarranted assumption that almost every line of UET 6/1 10 is 2:1; Kramer, “Sumerian Literature” 303; Sladek, “Inanna's Descent” 16.

¹² Kramer, “Cuneiform Studies” 514 note 47. His reading of one of the numeric tags at the tablet's top as 174 should be reduced to 164. The numeric tallies at the tablet's top read: 120:40:9 and 120:40:4.

¹³ Sladek, “Inanna's Descent” 100–2. Sladek incorporated the Ur and Nippur materials then known and previously discussed by Kramer as well as additional Nippur exemplars. See Alster's remarks concerning the additional Nippur sources used by Sladek, “Inanna Repenting” 1 note 4. He may have been aware of the Ur texts discussed by Kramer in his “Sumerian Literature,” in whole or in part, but was unable, for unknown reasons, to utilize them in his text edition. Sladek alluded, without specification, to “unpublished Ur tablets” with respect to the lacuna posited by him after l. 384 between the end of Ni 9776 rev. ii 10' (X) and UET 6/1 10 rev. 1' (S).

In his dissertation Sladek followed Kramer's lead in calculating the composition's size based upon UET 6/1 10. Although he was aware of the numerical tallies at the tablet's top and referred to a discussion in his commentary, this was apparently omitted. He concluded nonetheless that the number 174 contained in the colophon could not refer to the number of lines in the tablet and corresponded instead to "standard" lines found in an ordinary text. He reasoned that the textual bases that he utilized to calculate the number of lines of the composition's first "half," Ni 368 (+) CBS 9800 and TuM 3 2, were sufficient in themselves to provide a continuous text and line count with some variation, up to his reconstructed line 236. To this he simply added the Ur materials then available to arrive at a total number of lines while acknowledging that the differences presented by UET 6/1 10 were attributable to its provenience.¹⁴ This clearly illustrates the inherent problems in combining line counts from differently provenienced exemplars—a suitable approach for the initial reconstruction of a running text from disparate and fragmentary sources but inappropriate when used by itself to arrive at estimates of a given composition's "size." For compositions that have a considerably high number of text witnesses from different proveniences and possibly from different time periods, one must consider alternative methods of text presentation and take into account tablet types and formats as these relate to line count. In these circumstances, the last and least desirable index of a composition's size is the text edition itself.

When these stochastic attempts were made, there was simply too little preserved of UET 6/1 10 to warrant such procedures. Both Kramer and Sladek assumed that the number of 2:1 lines presented by the tablet were more numerous than they actually were.¹⁵ It was further assumed implicitly by both that there was a narratival and episodic uniformity among fragmentary exemplars stemming from two different proveniences sufficient to warrant taking the lineation of predominantly Nippur-based text editions and adding the line totals from Nippur and Ur exemplars as well as counting forward and backward from lacunae in the running text in order to arrive at an estimate of the composition's size.

Before or possibly just after the appearance of Sladek's dissertation, Aaron Shaffer effected the join of a large fragment to UET 6/1 10. Thanks to the painstaking efforts of Shaffer, Kramer, and Alster, the tablet is now largely complete at the top, bottom, and sides although not without problems.¹⁶

¹⁴ Sladek, "Inanna's Descent" 15, 16 and note 1. Surprisingly, Sladek did not mention the partially preserved numeric colophon contained in TuM 3 2 rev. iv. The decimal and units portion of the colophon is somewhat damaged but, *faute de mieux*, it reflects 201+ lines: 180/20/1+.

¹⁵ The 2:1 lines preserved on the obverse: 4, 6, 7–8, 10, 15, 19, 21, 23, 25–27, 31, 33–35, 37, 40–41, 43, 46 (3:1 line) 47, 57. 1:3 lines, obv.: 58–60.

¹⁶ One difficulty is the poor condition of the reverse. See Kramer's remarks, "Sumerian

The tablet as reconstructed presents a more complicated picture than could have been imagined previously with respect to line count and the possible existence of another version of the composition.¹⁷ The differences exhibited by it specifically and other Ur exemplars generally suggest an Ur recension somewhat different from those of Nippur regarding both size and varia.

It has long been maintained that ID may have existed in several versions—a relatively common feature exhibited by several Sumerian literary compositions of the Early Old Babylonian Period. Given this possibility, which seems to be supported by the evidence, the task of establishing the composition's size as well as determining what additional material may have been included by the Ur recension is indeed daunting.¹⁸ The question becomes whether or not it is possible to identify a particular version current at a specific point in time and at home in a particular locale. For instance, in attempting to establish a *terminus post quem* for certain text exemplars, can a case be made that some of the place names in the description of Inanna's abandonment of cities and shrines, i.e., Kazallu, Ur, Umma, Šuruppak, and Isin mentioned in and unique to TuM 3 2 obv. i 5'ff., contain a distant, albeit incomplete memory of the alliance against Narām-Sîn? Similarly, does mention of Larsa in the corresponding list preserved by an Ur tablet as well as its occurrence in UET 6/1 10 obv. 64–5, coupled with the notion that some Ur literary texts are earlier than Nippur exemplars, give rise to a presumption that the Ur exemplars may originate from some time during the reign of Rīm-Sîn?¹⁹

Literature" 299–300. Related to this is the disparity between Kramer's and Alster's line counts, although this may be more apparent than real. Kramer counts 66 lines for the reverse. Alster, "Inanna Repenting" 7 counts 67 lines. Note however that Alster appears to omit l. 69 (13); cf. 2 note 7. Another problem is the lack of clarity of Kramer's and Alster's descriptions of how Kramer's fragments Ba, Bb, Bc, Ca, Cb, and D, published in "Sumerian Literature" 302, constitute a join. See Figs. 1 and 2 for the relative position of the fragments.

¹⁷ The question of versions is further complicated by some critics' insertion of UET 6/1 11 (Dumuzi and Geštinanna) into ID, despite that fact that there is little textual warrant to do so. I surveyed the evidence in my paper "Why the Tears Inanna? The Ur Versions of Inanna's Descent," presented at the 208th meeting of the American Oriental Society, New Orleans, April 5th–8th, 1998. Cf., Sladek, "Inanna's Descent" 26–7:59 note 1; Th. Jacobsen, *The Harps that Once ...: Sumerian Poetry in Translation* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987) 226–31; Diane Wolkstein and S. N. Kramer, *Inanna Queen of Heaven and Earth* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983) 51–85, 206. For a discussion and justification of Wolkstein and Kramer's attempt, see John D. Evers, *Myth and Narrative: Structure and Meaning in Some Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1995) 66–72. For the idea of Dumuzi and Geštinanna as a variant version of ID, see Kramer, UET 6/1 3; "Cuneiform Studies" 515–6; Jean Bottéro and S. N. Kramer, *Lorsque les dieux faisaient l'homme* (rev. ed.; Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1997) 295–300. PSD A/III 11, refers to this composition as "Inanna's Descent, Ur version," which further complicates matters.

¹⁸ The additional material raises as well the critical question of "version," and what this implies. This is a very complicated subject and cannot be dealt with in detail here.

¹⁹ Cf. BM 29+73+89, Shaffer's copy (unpublished, to appear in UET 6/3) obv. 6': larsa^{ki}-a é-me-ur₄-[ur₄...]. My thanks to Professor Shaffer for kindly furnishing me with his autograph in advance of publication and to C. B. F. Walker of the British Museum for his invaluable help.

The current state of textual affairs makes these questions slippery. Such a goal is most difficult, and we are best advised presently to view this composition and its versions as consisting of accretions of several different story elements that were subject to modification and could and did change in the course of textual transmission.

The notion of size with respect to the Ur evidence rests largely upon inferences drawn from the colophon of UET 6/1 10 and the fact that the number contained therein does not agree with the number of lines existing in the now reconstructed tablet.²⁰ If one assumes with Kramer and Sladek that the colophon reflects the number of lines of another tablet and that the numeric tallies on its top reflect the total number of lines of text of the first and second tablets of this text set, it would appear that the Ur version represented by this phantom exemplar contained slightly over five hundred lines of text or approximately one hundred lines more than the Nippur version as reconstructed.²¹

Reflected in Gadd's copy is a scholium at the left margin that signals the intentional omission of twenty-eight lines.²² Omitted *en bloc* is a report of the execution of Enki's instructions by the galaturra and kurgarra. We know from other Nippur and Ur exemplars as well as U, that most text witnesses contained this section.²³ If the number of omitted lines is added to the number of lines of text preserved in the tablet, we still fall somewhat short of the number reflected in the colophon. A remarkable feature of UET 6/1 10 reverse, ignored by earlier commentators, is a pair of vertical strokes on the lower left edge of Gadd's copy which are very similar to those that appear on the obverse.²⁴ If their function was the same as that of the scholium

The general chronological horizon for standard Sumerian literary compositions of the Old Babylonian period assumes a three hundred and fifty year period from 2000 to 1650 BC. See Black, *Sumerian Poetry* 32.

²⁰ For purposes of this discussion the lineation for UET 6/1 10 as reconstructed follows Kramer, "Sumerian Literature" and Alster, "Inanna Repenting," notwithstanding the problems with these lineation schemes that will be discussed in my forthcoming text edition. Sladek, "Inanna's Descent" 101 noted that the obverse began with his l. 231. Kramer, "Sumerian Literature" 303 read the next line as the first line of the obverse. Cf. Alster's remarks, "Inanna Repenting" 2 note 7.

²¹ The numeric tallies at the tablet's top, when added to the number in the colophon, equals 507/508 (the units portion of the colophon's number is damaged). The Nippur textual evidence points to 100 lines less than that of UET 6/1 10. Yet compare UET 6/1 8 (M), note 9 above. Sladek's argument is not altogether clear, "Inanna's Descent" 15–6, 152. There is no basis for his assumption that all three tablets mentioned in the colophon were of equal length. Merely adding the two numbers at the tablet's top to the number in the colophon still yields more than 500 lines. Cf. Kramer, "Cuneiform Studies" 514 note 47.

²² Obv. 15 according to Gadd's lineation. See Sladek, "Inanna's Descent" 134, critical apparatus ad ll. 252–79.

²³ Ni 9838 + Ni 2762 obv. 3–23 (T); N 983 obv. 1'–7' (T', placement problematic); CBS 13902 obv. 1–10 (V); UET 6/1 8 rev. 5'–18' (M); CT 42 2 rev. 1'–5' (R); YBC 4621 obv. 1–8 (U).

²⁴ Rev. l. 2 scholium at left edge, l. 3, AŠ (=10), possibly a line count mark, in the preceding

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incised on the obverse, these strokes may indicate the intentional omission of lines as well. An examination of the line environments of both scholia suggests that the one topic which both sets have in common is that of Inanna pronouncing judgments. In the first instance, that of the fly who provided her with information as to the whereabouts of Dumuzi and in the second, Inanna pronouncing the fates of Dumuzi and Geštinanna:

rev.

- 2 num-e ʾkù dīnanna-ke₄¹ [...] ʾx¹ [...]
3 ki-sikil dīnanna-ke₄ num-e¹ [nam-mu]-ni-[ib]-tar-re²⁵

rev.

- 12 u₄ nin₉-zu al-di-e u₄-bi ib-ta-e₁₁-dè
13 kù dīnanna-ke₄ ʾd¹dumu-zi sag-bi-šè bí-in-sum-ʾmu²⁶

Size is implicated as well when one considers other indicia presented by the tablet which seem to suggest a version somewhat different than that presented by Nippur text witnesses. I can only offer here a preliminary survey of these and conclude with some observations regarding related matters.

1. Ereškigal's Speech to Enki's Creatures and Attribution of Inanna's Rescue to Enki, obv. 16–8

These lines are unattested by the one Nippur exemplar, CBS 13902 (V), which belongs to this section:

- 16 dēreš-ki-gal-la gala-<tur> kur-gar-r[a gù mu-un-na-de₃]-e (282)
17 túm-mu-un-zé-en ga-ša-ʾan-ne-zu x¹ zu-ne-ne ba-dab₅²⁷ (283)
18 dʾinanna¹ inim dēn-ki-<ga-še₃> [k]ur-ta e₁₁²⁸ (284)

line; 1. 12 scholium at left edge, l. 13, as in the preceding line (lineation after Gadd's copy). Is the AŠ evidence of a feature of the tablet from which UET 6/1 10 was copied?

²⁵ Kramer, "Sumerian Literature" 305 ll. 120–1; Alster, "Inanna Repenting" 8, ll. 120–1.

²⁶ Alster, "Inanna Repenting" 9; 15 ad ll. 411–2. Whatever traces Alster read as ʾxx¹ after sag-bi-šè are completely obliterated now. Contra Alster, Kramer restored è-a in brackets, "Sumerian Literature" 305 ad l. 412.

²⁷ Sladek, "Inanna's Descent" 138; Dina Katz, "How Dumuzi Became Inanna's Victim: On the Formation of 'Inanna's Descent'" *ASJ* 18 (1996) 98–9.

²⁸ Contra Sladek, "Inanna's Descent" 138 l. 284, and Gadd's copy, there is no space between dēn-ki and kur. Restore: dēn-ki-<ga-še₃> [k]ur-ta e₁₁.

2. Description of the Demonic Deputy Band that Accompanied Inanna during her Search for a Substitute, obv. 22–9

- 22 [lú igi-na-k]_{e4} sukkal nu-me-a ^{giš}tukul šu-na¹ bí-in-du₈²⁹ (291)
 23 [bar-ra-na] ^{ra}gaba nu¹-me-a ^{giš}[tukul úr-r]_a³⁰ bí-in-du₈ [gal₅-lá-tur-tur
 gi-šukur-gin₇]³¹ (292)
 24 [gal₅-lá-gal]-^rgal gi-dub-ba¹-an³²-na zà-ga³³-na um-^rdab₅¹-[be-eš] (294)
 25 l[ú e-ne lú mu-un-ši-re₇-eš-àm lú ^dinanna-ra mu-un]-ši-r[e₇-eš-àm] (295–6)
 26 zì-dub-[dub-ba nu-kú-me-eš a-bal-bal-a nu-na₈-n]_{a8}-me-eš (298–9)
 27 dumu l[ú-du₁₀]-^rub-ta ba-ra-an¹-[zi-ge-eš dam-ú]_r lú-ka
 ba-ra-ši-il-l[e-eš]³⁴ (304)
 28 é-g[i₄-a é]-ušbar-na³⁵-ka im-ma-ta-an-^rè¹-[eš-àm] (305)
 29 sum^r_{sar}¹ nig šeš-a nu-kú-e-me-eš lú ku₆ nu-kú-me-eš lú ga-raš_{sar}¹
^rnu¹-kú-[me-eš] (306)

This is a highly variant section even among the Nippur exemplars and will be treated in my forthcoming text edition.³⁶

3. Specification of Locale Where Ninšubur Meets Inanna after She is Revived and Released from KUR, obv. 31

- ^ru₄¹-[da] ^rd¹inanna-ke₄ kur-ta e₁₁-da-ni-ta ^dnin-^ršubur¹-ra-ke₄
 abul-^rganzir¹-[ra-ka giri-ni-še ba-an-šub] (306–7)

4. Specific Attribution to Enki as the One Who Saved Inanna, obv. 43

- [^dam]-an-ki-ga-<šè> ír bí-še₈-še₈ ^dam<-an>-^rki¹-[ke₄ ma-ra-mu-un-ti]-li-na-
 àm³⁷

²⁹ Sladek, “Inanna’s Descent” 139; Kramer, “Sumerian Literature” 303 l. 21. Traces of ke₄ are visible on the tablet.

³⁰ Sladek, “Inanna’s Descent” 139; Kramer, “Sumerian Literature” ad l. 22. Whether ^{giš}tukul or ^{giš}gidri is to be restored is uncertain.

³¹ There is available space for a 2:1 line and restoration. Sladek, “Inanna’s Descent” 139 critical apparatus ad l.293 noted the presence of the line in UET 6/1 10 without comment. Kramer, “Sumerian Literature” 303 restored the continuation at the beginning of the following line.

³² Contra Sladek, “Inanna’s Descent” 149 critical apparatus note 2 ad l. 294, -an- is not omitted by the tablet.

³³ Contra Kramer, “Sumerian Literature” 303 -ga- is clear.

³⁴ Kramer, “Sumerian Literature” ad l. 26.

³⁵ ušbar (URxNUN) is clear on the tablet. See Sladek, “Inanna’s Descent” 141, l. 305; Kramer, “Sumerian Literature” 303 ad l. 27; correctly read ušbar-na, contra Sladek.

³⁶ See provisionally, Sladek, “Inanna’s Descent” 139–41, critical apparatus ad ll. 290a and b; Alster, *Dumuzi’s Dream. Aspects of Oral Poetry in Sumerian Myth* (Mesopotamia 1; Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1972) 64–7, ll. 110–8 and his comments on 104–6.

³⁷ Professor Aaron Shaffer kindly provided me with a copy of his autograph in advance of

5. Mention of Larsa as the Place Where Dumuzi was Apprehended by the Deputy Band, obv. 64–5

- 64 [...] larsam^{ki}-r^{ma}¹
65 giš^hbaš^hur [gul-l]a [eden] r^{larsam}^{ki}-m[a-šè ga-an]-ši-re⁷-dè-en (347–8)

6. Inanna's Charge to the Deputy Band, rev. 7–10

- 7 [kù d^{inanna}-ke⁴ g]al⁵-lá-e-ne mu-un-na-[ni]-ib-gi⁴-gi⁴
8 [lú me]-r^e¹ mu-un-ši-re⁷-eš-àm
9 [d^{dumu}-zi díb-bé-en-zé-en] šu nu-bar-re-zé-en
10 [gal⁵-lá-e-ne d^{dumu}-zi ba-ar]-díb-bé-eš

7. Abbreviated Description of the Deputy Band that Apprehended Dumuzi, rev. 11–12

- 11 lú nin-e [mu-u]n-ši-r^e⁷-eš-àm
12 d^{dumu}-zi-[da mu-un]-ši-re⁷-eš-<àm >

8. Dumuzi's Prayer to Utu, rev. 17–24³⁸

- 17 [guruš-e d^{utu}-ra] an-šè šu-<ni> ba-ši-in-zi (369)
18 [dam-dingir-ra]-me-en lú nu-me-en
19 [é-ama-z]u-šè i gùr-ru-me-en (371)
20 [é-nin-gal-š]è ga gùr-ru-me-en
21 r^e¹-[an-na]-šè [ú] r^{gùr}¹-[ru]-me-en³⁹
22 unu^{ki}-[šè nì-mí-ús-sa]-ak-a-me-en
23 r^{nundum}¹-[kù-ga] ne šu-[ub-ba-me-en]
24 d[u¹⁰-kù-ga du¹⁰ -d^{inanna}-ke⁴ e]-ne-di r^{du}¹¹¹-[ga-me-en]

its publication in UET 6/3 for which I express my thanks. His copy is accurate and the tablet is legible at this point. Collation shows that after d^{am}-ki at midline, the balance of the line is destroyed except for illegible traces. Specific mention of Enki is unattested by any other text witness. See Sladek, “Inanna's Descent” 143–4, ll. 325–6 (the second half of the line = 326). All other exemplars read e-ne. Sladek's translation should be corrected to “he,” referring to Enki and not Ninšubur. The balance of the line, -li-na-am is read with Kramer, “Sumerian Literature” 303, l. 42.

³⁸ See Sladek, “Inanna's Descent” 148, ll. 368 ff.; Alster, *Dumuzi's Dream* 114–6. A detailed analysis of the prayer's structure, line count, and variations will be provided in my forthcoming critical edition.

³⁹ Cf. Kramer, “Sumerian Literature” 304 ad l. 89. gùr is partially preserved and depicted in Shaffer's copy. Cf. further, Alster, *Dumuzi's Dream* 115; and Alster, “Inanna Repenting” 5 ad l. 87. This line was inadvertently omitted in my review of Yitschak Sefati, *Love Songs in Sumerian Literature*, JNES 61 (2002) 133.

If, as I have attempted to demonstrate, what remains preserved of UET 6/1 10 as reconstructed constitutes an Ur “version” sufficiently differentiated from Nippur text exemplars to warrant application of the term, then the textual evidence from Ur prompts the question of what the contents of the additional hundred or so lines might have been.

In some respects, we are in no better position than were Kramer or Sladek to judge the size of ID. However, we are at least in a better position to refine what we mean when we speak of different versions and how these may relate to the problem of size. We still have no complete, definitive, and provenienced master text against which to judge what are still at base stochastic procedures available to ascertain size. The prospects of one turning up are, as always, subject to chance. But some of the lacunae that have bedeviled past attempts to answer the question of size and that gave rise to the incorporation of topically similar materials to “fill in the gaps,” are now largely non-existent. Notwithstanding the apparent high degree of variation reflected by the text exemplars for that latter part of the story which deals with Dumuzi’s passion, the Nippur im-gíd-da “series,” now rehabilitated thanks to complete or nearly complete tablets, affords a much better picture of at least one tradition’s redaction of this composition. The reconstruction of UET 6/1 10, although not without lacunae, permits inferences regarding a model of the other two tablets mentioned in its colophon.⁴⁰ This model alone points to a considerably larger number of lines for at least one exemplar from Ur. When viewed in conjunction with the shadow exemplar presumed by the colophon, the impression expressed by Kramer years ago concerning a larger composition indigenous to Ur is reinforced. Just as significant are the textual discoveries subsequent to Sladek’s dissertation, which clearly illustrate the shortcomings of “guesstimates” that employ as a benchmark a given text edition or its presentation format—the so-called editor’s standard text and the operative assumptions which this can prompt. In some instances the editor has no choice but to cobble together by way of textual bricolage a text edition comprised of disparate, fragmentary, and occasionally contradictory sources.⁴¹

It is with a profound sense of pleasure and a recollection of pleasant memories both in and out of the various museums we have frequented that I dedicate this study in text tinkering to Erle Leichty, teacher, friend, and colleague of many years.

⁴⁰ I have been able to reconstruct tablet II of the series or one very similar to it from unpublished fragments in the British Museum which will appear in UET 6/3. Five fragments belong to the obverse and preserve 33 lines. Two fragments belong to the reverse and preserve 15 lines.

⁴¹ For a succinct statement of the problems associated with an editor’s standard text, see M. Powell, “Ukubi to Mother ... The Situation is Desperate,” *ZA* 68 (1978) 163–4; Black, *Sumerian Poetry* 29, 37.

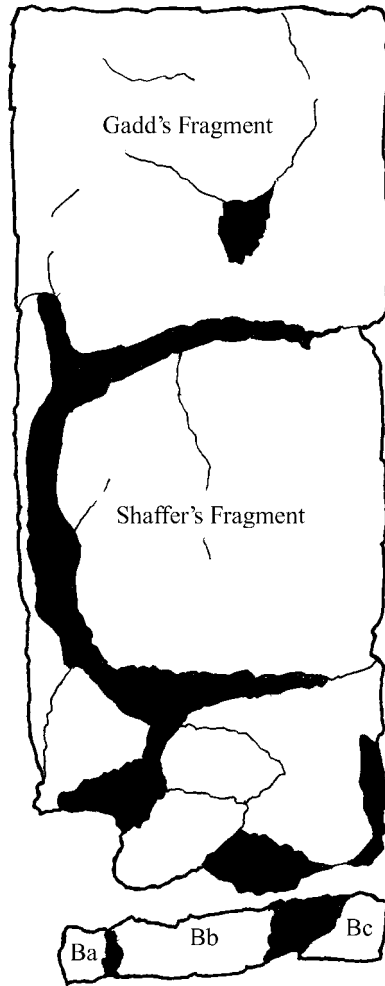


Fig. 1. Inanna's Descent, UET 6/1 10 obv. The deformity of UET 6/1 10 makes problematic the join of the edges constituted by the fragments Ba, Bb, and Bc for the obverse and Ca, Cb, and D for the reverse to the main tablet. In UET 6/III the fragments will be presented as joined to each other but separately from the main tablet as indicated in a written communication from C.B.F. Walker, May 24, 2004. In any event, the relative position of the lines that remain preserved by the joined fragments will not be affected in the editor's standard edition.

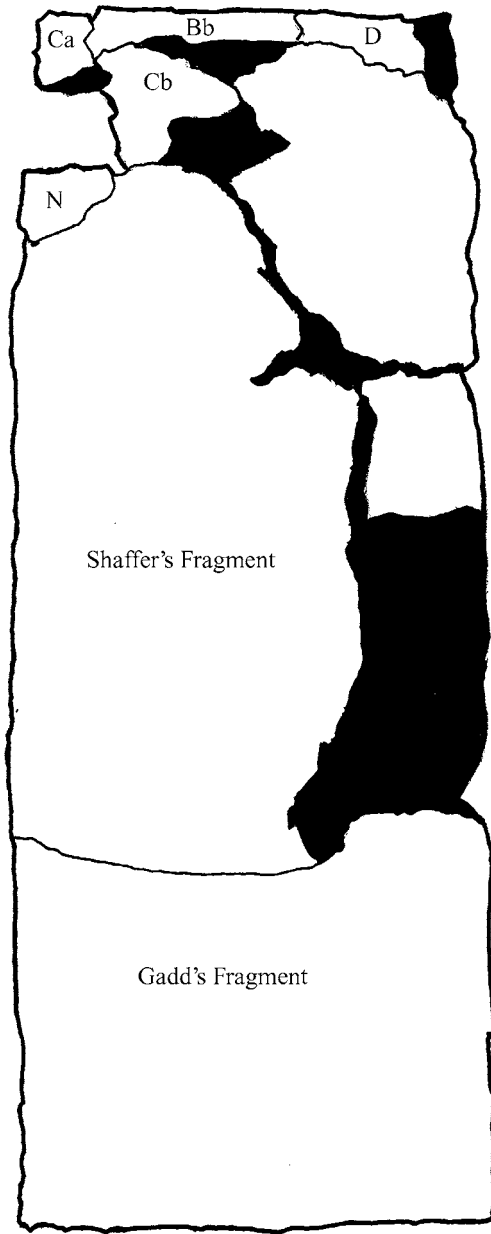


Fig. 2. Inanna's Descent, UET 6/1 10 rev.

ON AN IZBU VII COMMENTARY

I. L. Finkel

The particular Late Babylonian tablet published in this article could well have been written for Erle Leichty personally. It is a learned textual commentary—a genre long a Leichty preoccupation—and it treats a chapter of *Šumma izbu*, the omen series long close to his heart. It presents us with some new entries and insights, and is, to boot, virtually perfectly preserved. It seems likely that he will read it with pleasure.

As is explicit in the colophon, the tablet belonged to, or was written by, Iqīša, the well-known Uruk scholar, and there can be no doubt that the tablet originated at that site,¹ especially when Iqīša's commentary on Izbu XVII in E. von Weiher, *SpTU* 2 no. 38 is compared.² The omens underlying the new commentary have been only partly available in Leichty's classic edition, but the Warka version of Izbu VII given in *SpTU* 4 no. 142, quoted below as *Uruk*, now adds some very helpful material.

The colophon reads:

- 35 *šātu*-commentary, oral explanations and scholarly questions from
36 “If an anomalous foetus has a lion's head;” eighth(sic) (tablet); reading from
(the series) *Šumma izbu*; incomplete;
37 “If an anomalous foetus has two heads but one neck.” Collated.
38 Tablet of Iqīša, son of Ištar-šum-ēreš, descendant of
39 Ekur-zakir, the exorcist and Urukæan.

The colophon shows a clear numeral VIII here, but this is probably an error for VII in view of all the other consistent evidence for Izbu tablet numeration; see TCS 4 100–1, where line 37 here is the incipit to Tablet VII, and the catchline, line 38, is the incipit to Tablet VIII. The fact that both

¹ This stray Uruk tablet has been published here after due consultation with Professor E. von Weiher, who has strongly recommended that the text be made available. The tablet, which had been in the collection of one Monsieur Pierre M. since the mid-1970s, was sold in an auction entitled “Archéologie” as item 210 at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, on 7 November 1997. The small photograph of the reverse published in the catalogue was shortly thereafter made available to the present writer by the auctioneers through the kind help of Béatrice André-Salvini. The tablet was subsequently sold at Christie's New York Antiquities sale on Friday, 5 June 1998, where it was lot 14. It has since been brought for examination to the British Museum by the purchaser, and the opportunity has here been taken to make this text known. I am most grateful to Matthew Rutz for helpful discussion of textual points.

² According to J. Oelsner, “Von Iqīša und einigen anderen spätgeborenen Babyloniern,” in *Studies Cagni* 2 802–3, the expression IM PN means “tablet owned by PN.” There are frequent erasures to be noticed in this tablet.

lines 19 and 20 end ^{he-pi} reveals that the contents of this tablet were not original to this scribe, and that the manuscript from which he was working was damaged.

The text of this commentary is mostly far from esoteric, and, as shown in the notes, runs to some extent in parallel with the entries in the principle Izbu Commentary and Commentary V edited in TCS 4. The commentator quotes twice from *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, once from Erimḫuš, and once from the series of Sidu.

Transliteration

Note: A copy of this tablet is given as Figs. 1 and 2. Entries that represent omens, or parts of Tablet VII omens, have been rendered in bold type for clarity. The scribe is not fully consistent in the use of *Winkelhaken*, but none has been added here.

Obv.

- 1 **BAD** *iz-bu* SAG.DU UR.MAḪ GAR NUN LUGAL-tú ŠŪ-tú DIB-bat
- 2 *meṭ-lu-tú* DU-ak mé-eṭ-lu-tú : ši-bu-ú-tú : MIN lit-tu-tú
- 3 **KUR** *ina ṭe-em ra-ma-ni-šú i-tak-kal* : it-ku-lu : ḫa-ra-ṣu
- 4 **KUR** È : KUR ṭar-du-tu : KUR : kab-tu : ṭar-du : ra-ad-du
- 5 SAR : ṭa-ra-du : SAR : ra-da-du : **BAD** *iz-bu* SAG.DU-su NU GÁL-ma
- 6 *ina* MAŠ.GÁN SAG.DU-šú UZU *ul-lu-ṣu* GAR : ul-lu-ṣu ra-bu-ú
- 7 *eš-re-e-tú* : É.MEŠ : **GIM** *as-suk-ku kup-pu-ut-ma* GAR
- 8 *as-suk-ku ze-er-pi* : as-suk-ku : ṭi-iṭ kup-pu-ut
- 9 IM.DUGUD : as-suk-ku : IM : ṭi-iṭ : ṭi-iṭ¹ : DUGUD : kab-tú
- 10 šá-niš as-suk-ku : kur-ban-nu : as-suk-ku : ab-nu as-pi
- 11 lib-bu-u i-kim-šú as-pa-šú as-suk-ka-šú ú-saḫ-ḫi-ir
- 12 **UZU** GIM ^{giš}KIB ZI-iḫ : na-si-iḫ : šá-kin : MA : na-sa-ḫu MA šá-ka-nu
- 13 AL.GÁ.GÁ AL.GÁ.GÁ ŠÀ.BA.NI NU.ŠED₇.DA
- 14 i-na-as-sa-aḫ i-šak-kan lib-bi-šú ul i-na-ḫu <ina> LUGAL NITA-ú-tú qa-bi
- 15 *da-kiš* : da-ka-šú : du-uk-ku-uš : da-ga-šú : ra-bu-u
- 16 *ši-pir ṭuḫ-du* DU : ši-pi-ir ṭu-uḫ-du il-lak : šal-ṭiš
- 17 lib-bu-u šá-ad-dī-ḫu <a>ḫa-a-a ku-ta-at-tu-mu i-ta-ḫa-az
- 18 šá e-ti-li-iš at-tal-la-ku ḫa-la-liš al-ma-du
- 19 *ina* lud-lul EN <É> né-me-qa qa-bi *ana bu-ul* ^{he-pi}
- 20 **IM.ŠÈG** *ana* **KUR** *re-še-e-ti* LÁ-a : KUR re-še-e-tú ^{he-pi}
- 21 šá-niš *ina* re-eš šat-ti šá-a-ri u zu-un-nu i-ma-aṭ-ṭu E
- 22 *na-mur-ra-as-su* GABA.RI NU TUKU-ši : na-mur-ra-as-su :

Rev.

- 23 IMⁿⁱ : NÍ.GAL : SU.LIM ME[!].LÁM.MA : pu-luḫ-tú nam-ri-ir-ri
- 24 šá-lum-ma-tú : me-lam-mu *ina* ERIM.ḪUŠ qa-bi

On an Izbu VII Commentary

- 25 *bur-ru-um : bu-ur-ru-um : bur-ru-mu : pa-ri-im*
 26 BUR-ru-MU : *su-up-pu-ḥu : mar-ši-it KUR* ^uUTU-ši : *mar-ši-it : bu-šu-u*
 27 NÍG.GÁL.LA : *bu-šu-ú : NÍG.GÁL.LA : mar-ši-tu₄*
 28 *qé-e-el : ḥe-bu-ú : kud-du : qé-e-el : kud-du : ḥe-bu-u*
 29 *lib-bu-ú ṣu-uḥ-ḥu-tú kur-ban-né-e su-un-šú ma-li šá i-qer-ru-ba-am-ma*
 30 *i-ni ši-qa-an-ni a-ki-il-šú šá ina ÉŠ.GÀR* ^{msi}-dù E-ú
 31 *ku-up-pu-ut : li-ip-tú nu-šur-ru-ú ki-ma PÚ.MEŠ ḥur-ru-šú*
 32 **BAD iz-bu UZU GIM su-ru-um-mi am-ma-at ina SAG.KI-šú GÍD.DA GÁL**
 33 SAG.GAR : *su-ru-um-mi su-ru-um-mi ir-ru : KUR su-un-qam IGI-ma*
 34 **EGIR EN Á.KAL DU-ku** : *su-un-qam : su-un-qu šá-niš sun₇(KAL)-qu : dan-na-tú : šá-niš su-un-qa*

-
- 35 UL.LA *šu-ut KA u maš-a-a-al-ti šá KA um-man-nu šá ŠÀ*
 36 BAD iz-bu SAG.DU UR.MAḤ GAR 8-ú *mál-su-ut BAD iz-bu NU AL.TIL*
 37 BAD iz-bu 2 SAG.DU.MEŠ-šú GÚ-su 1-ma IGI.TAB
 38 IM ^mBA-šá-a bu-kúr ^{md}INNIN-MU-KAM ŠÀ.BAL.BAL
 39 ^{mé}-kur-za-kir ^{lu}MAŠ.MAŠ UNUG^{ki}-ú

Notes

1. This first line, quoted without explanation, conforms to the incipit as attested in the extant sources for Izbu and the colophon here, line 37.

2. Treating Izbu VII: 3. The ambiguity of the spelling *meṭ-lu-tú* (*meṭlūtu*, “mature age”) with BAD, which earlier led to the incorrect reading as *tīl-lu-tam* (“work gang”) in TCS 4 91 3, is now clarified by the writing *mé-eṭ-lu-tú*, here equated with *šibūtu* and *littūtu*, both terms for “old age.”

3. The commented apodosis has been missing in TCS 4, but the omen is now preserved in *Uruk* 21 (= Izbu VII: 31): [BAD iz-b]u SAG TI₈.MUŠEN GAR KUR *ina ṭe-em NÍ-šá-ma i-tak-kal*, “If an anomalous foetus has the head of an eagle, the land will consume itself.” The same phrase is treated in Izbu Comm. 254b–c, where the broken text which had been available to the ancient commentators can now be restored: *ḥe-pí eš-šú IM^{ra}-ma-ni-šá-ma i-tak-kal* being KUR *ina KA.ḤI NÍ-šá-ma i-tak-kal*, and *ḥe-pí eš-šú -lu ḥa-ra-šu* likewise *it-ku-lu ḥa-ra-šu*. The verb *harāšu* here, equated with *itkūlu*, perhaps has the nuance “to diminish.”

4. KUR È must be the end of an unidentified apodosis, where KUR is explained as *ṭardūtu*, *ṭarīdūtu*, “condition of a fugitive,” and the roots *ṭarādu*, “to send away,” and *radādu*, “to pursue,” are shown to share the equivalents KUR and SAR; cf. Izbu Comm. 254d–e: *ṭar(!)-du = ra-ad-du*, SAR [=] *ṭa-ra-*

du, SAR [=] *ra-da-du*; the equivalent KUR = *kabtu* is, however, unexplained and not paralleled.

5–6. Here an otherwise unattested omen is quoted in full: BAD *iz-bu* SAG.DU-*su* NU GÁL-*ma* ina MAŠ.GÁN SAG.DU-*šú* UZU *ul-lu-šu* GAR, “If an anomalous foetus has no head, but has a lump of flesh (lit. swollen flesh) instead of his head.” The same omen is commented on in *Izbu* Comm. 261–2: *ul-lu-šu* = *ra-bu-u*, *ul-lu-‘šu’* = [...], and more fully in *Izbu* Comm. V 254f–g: MAŠ.GÁN (*maškanu*) = *ig-ru* (unexplained), *ul-lu-šu* = *ra-bu-ú*, *ul-lu-‘šu’* = [x]-*ra*-[x].

7–10. *ešrētu*, “shrines,” is explained by *bītāti*, “temples;” cf. *eš-re-e-tú* = É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ in *Izbu* Comm. 89, treating the extant omen *Izbu* II 19. The commented omen that follows is also unrecovered, but can be reconstructed as BAD *iz-bu* SAG.DU-*su* GIM *as-suk-ku* *kup-pu-ut-ma*, “If the head of an anomalous foetus is compacted like a sling-stone,” which attracts several explanations. The first is *assukku*, “sling-stone” = *ze-er-pi*, the latter word unexplained.³ Anticipating the equation IM.DUGUD = *assukku* that follows, he explains *assukku* as *ṭiṭtu kuppūt*, “compacted clay,” and plays with the roots *kupputu*, “to be compacted,” and *kabātu*, “to be heavy.” Then secondly, *assukku* (sling-stone) = *kurbannu*, “lump;” *assukku*, “sling-stone” = *abnu aspu*, “sling-shot.” Compare *Izbu* Comm. 264–6: *as-suk-[ku]* = [*a*]-*bat-ti as-pu*, [*u*]-*zu-qu*, [*kir*]-*ban-nu*; and *Izbu* Comm. V 264: *as-[suk-ku]* = *a-bat-ti as-pu*. This material stimulates quotation of a line from *Ludlul*, where the received text (i.e., *BWL* 56, with its own ancient explanation) reads *Marduk šá mu-kaš-ši-di-ia i-kim as-pa-šú as-suk-ka-šú ú-saḥ-ḥir*, “Marduk took away my destroyer’s sling and set aside his sling-stone;” note how the *Uruk* commentator very informally reduces “Marduk” and “my destroyer” to “he” and “his.”

12. The commentary gives the end of an unplaced protasis: UZU GIM ^{giš}KIB ZI-*iḥ*, i.e., *šīru kīma šallūri nasiḥ*, “the flesh is torn out like a plum(?),” but only touches on the reading of *nasāḥu*; the image is somehow explained in *Izbu* Comm. V 264a: *lib-bu-ú* SÍG UDU *raq-qa*, “it means the sheep’s wool is fine.” A related *Izbu* omen quoted in *Izbu* Comm. Z 6’ reads: *šumma izbu ina muḥḥi qaqqadišu šīru kīma šallūru naši*, “If an anomaly has a piece of flesh on top of its head like a plum,” the same imagery occurs in liver omens in Schroeder, KUB 4 66 ii 4–5 and Labat, *Suse* 4 rev. 22, quoted in CAD Š/1 254.

³ Compare perhaps *zirbu* (or *zirpu*), CAD Z 134, which is also only known from a commentary: K 4159, published by Morris Jastrow, Jr., “Assyrian Vocabularies,” *ZA* 4 (1889) 157 no 5:6.

13–14. This bilingual line follows the juxtaposition of *nasāḥu* and *šakānu*, equated with MA and thence GÁ: “He removes (...) and sets (it) down, but he finds no rest.” The final words appear to involve the name of the composition, apparently *šarru zikrūtu*, “King, heroism.”

15. Compare here Izbu Comm. 267–9: *da-ka-šu* = [x]-gu-u, [...], *ra-bu-[ú]*, and note the alternative spelling of this root as *da-ga-šu*, explained as *ra-bu-u*, confirming Izbu Comm. V 269a: *da-kiš* = *ra-bi*.

16–19. An otherwise unattested apodosis, quoted as *ši-pir tuḥ-du* DU, which the Uruk commentator writes in full as *ši-pi-ir tu-uḥ-du il-lak*, and glosses *šaltiš*, “triumphantly.” The expression *šipir tuḥdi alāku* does not seem to occur elsewhere, and one suspects that there might be, in fact, a textual misunderstanding, stemming from *ši-pir* GABA DU.DU. At any rate, the known commentaries Izbu Comm. 270–1 and Comm. V 271 understand *ši-pir* GABA as *šipir irti*. There follow two lines quoted from Ludlul I 76–7, in which the spelling *ku-ta-at-tu-mu* further confirms the new reading of this line given in A. R. George and F. N. H. Al-Rawi, “Tablets from the Sippar Library VII. Three Wisdom Texts,” *Iraq* 60 (1998) 200, note on 76. The writing *almadu* with unneeded subjunctive here is just a careless hypercorrection. The É or KID sign in the writing of the incipit, *lud-lul* EN «É/LÍL» *né-me-qa*, is a scribal error (perhaps conditioned by the frequent writing of ^dEN.LÍL?) and should not be counted among the legitimate variants of the line, for which see W. Horowitz and W. G. Lambert, “A New Exemplar of *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* Tablet I from Birmingham,” *Iraq* 64 (2002) 238–40.

19–21. In line 19 the missing signs after *ana bu-ul* were probably ^dŠakkan. If this is, as it seems, the beginning of the omen that continues in line 20 a lengthy apodosis is involved. The commentator understands IM ŠĒG as *šá-a-ri u zu-un-nu*, “wind and rain,” and then considers the expression *ana* KUR *re-še-e-ti*, which looks like “land of heads.” The first explanation was unfortunately broken, but the second seems to imply that the expression stands for, or is a misrepresentation of, *ina re-eš šat-ti*. In Izbu Comm. V 271a–b, *ana* KUR *re-še-e-ti* is likewise explained as *ina re-eš šat-tum*, perhaps suggesting that KUR is to be read *šat*. In the latter passage IM.ŠĒG is taken as one unit meaning “rain,” *zunnu*. At the end, E stands for *qabi*.

22–24. The occurrence in this unattested apodosis of the word *namurratu*, “splendour,” leads to the quotation of four semantically-related entries from an unplaced section of Erimḫuš. In a conventional series tablet this passage would be written out as follows:

IM ⁿⁱ	<i>pu-luḥ-tú</i>
ní-gal	<i>nam-ri-ir-ri</i>
su-lim	<i>ša-lum-ma-tú</i>
me-lám-ma	<i>me-lam-mu</i>

The commentator here has adopted the same “vertical” style of quotation (that is S₁ S₂ S₃ S₄, A₁ A₂ A₃ A₄) that occurs in the short commentary ROM 991 on Izbu XIV (TCS 4 232–3, Commentary O). As A. Cavigneaux has pointed out in MSL 17 3, this arrangement reveals that “for the commentator it is the relationships of the Akkadian entries within a section, not the bilingual equations per se, that are important.”

With *puluḥtu* = *namrirrū* compare Izbu Comm. 272, and Comm. V 272: *na-mur-ra-tú* = *pu-luḥ-tu*₄. Note that *šisītu*, which receives so much attention in Izbu Comm. 274–8 and Comm. V 274–7, must have occurred in *Uruk* between rev. 5 and 9.

26–7. This line is TCS 4 100 line 154' = *Uruk* rev. 10. Compare Izbu Comm. 237 (on this passage): *pur-rù-rum*, “to release,” = *su-up-pu-[lu]*, “to scatter,” hence BUR-*ru*-MU here must be dittography from line 25, and emended accordingly. The apodosis *maršīt māt šamsī*, “goods from the east,” confirms the writing in *Uruk* rev. 10, earlier emended to GÁL-*ši* by von Weiher. According to Iqīša, *maršītu* here has the meaning “(moveable) property,” explained as *būšū*, although in Izbu Comm. 280, on the same passage, *maršītu* is explained as *būlum*, “cattle.” Note that, as elsewhere, an equation such as Akk₁ = Akk₂, *maršītu* = *būšū*, gives rise to a Sumerian complex, NÍG.GÁL.LA that equates both words. This represents the didactic side of such commentaries, where the teacher is expounding on items of information that will be useful in the future for the reading of omens.

28. This line is TCS 4 100 line 154' or 156' = *Uruk* rev. 10 or 12. The clear writing shows that the beginnings of these omens must be read BAD *iz-bu* UGU-*šú qé-e-el*, “If the cranium of an anomalous foetus is solid (or the like).” The verb *qé-e-el* is taken CAD Q 72 s.v. *qālu* (*qēlu*), to be “solid(?)”, on the basis of Izbu Comm. 281 which equates it with *šuppu*, “solid,” “massive” (of metals); “thick,” “compacted” (of textiles)—according to CAD § 248, and Izbu Comm. V, where *e-pi-iq* (*epēqu*, “to be solid”) is equated with *šu-u-pi* and *qa-a-lu*; see also Izbu Comm. V 281. In view of this, *he-bu-ú* is here taken to reflect **habū*, “thick,” itemised at CAD H 18 and *ebū*, “(to be) thick,” CAD E 16. The sequence *kud-du* is interpreted as an Akkadian word (CAD K 493 s.v.) after Ea I 25a–j (MSL 14 196) and A I/2 1–23 (MSL 14 208), and Ea I 25a–j reads: (ku-ur) LAGAB *pu-un-gu-lu*, *qa-a-lu*, *e-bu-ú*, KI.MIN *ša* [NINDA], *kab-tu*, *ku-uB-[B]u-tu*, *ku-ú-ru*, *ku-ud-du* (A I/2 21: *kud-du*), *kis-ki-bir-ru*, *gīt-ma-lu*.

29–30. These two lines are quoted from the series of Sidu, for which see the present writer in “On the Series of Sidu,” *ZA* 76 (1986) 250–3. As shown there, the series is at least in part devoted to proverbs and wisdom literature, and attention was drawn to a comparable double quotation from the series in the Late Babylonian commentary MMA 86.11.109,⁴ of which one line is known from K 4347+, the bilingual proverb collection *BWL* 244. A similar situation prevails with the extract in the present commentary, which is evidently a proverb, and reads: *šu-uh-ḥu-tú kur-ban-né-e su-un-šú ma-li šá i-ger-ru-ba-am-ma i-ni ši-qa-an-ni a-ki-il-šú*, which may be tentatively translated, “The cross-eyed(?)’s lap is full of clods; (he says) ‘he who would approach me, a ... will devour him.’” It is unclear what has given rise to the quotation, unless the verb could be *a-qé-él-šú*, stimulated by *qé-e-el* in line 28 above; however, the morphology and meaning of *a-qé-él-šú* cause further difficulties. For *ṣuḥḥutu* see most recently J.C. Fincke, *Augenleiden nach keilschriftlichen Quellen: Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Medizin* (WmF 70; Würzburg: Verlag Königshausen & Neumann, 2000) 161–2, 193–5. The sequence *i-ni ši-qa-an-ni* is clear on the tablet.

31. *kupput*, “is compacted,” belongs in a protasis somewhere in *Uruk* between rev. 12 and 20. The following gloss, “affliction and loss on founding(?) wells,” is, in contrast, unusual, but if *ḥurrušu* derives from *ḥarāšu* A, and is not meant to be *ḥurrû*, “to dig,” the meaning of the verb is unclear. If the end of this line is correctly understood as an apodosis, there is no commentary attached to it.

32. This line is TCS 4 100 line 164 = *Uruk* rev. 20. The clear writing of this line shows that the omen itself in *Uruk* rev. 20 reads as follows: BAD *iz-bu* UZU GIM *su-ru-um-ma* KÜŠ *ina* SAG.KI-šú [GÍD.DA GÁL], “If the flesh of an anomalous foetus is like a small colon(?), and the elbow is stretched(?) to his temple.”

33. The tablet quotes a clear SAG.GAR as equivalent to *surummu*, “small colon(?),” in contrast to the documented *uzu-ša-gar-gar-ra*. With *surummu* = *irru*, here, compare Izbu Comm. 282 (on this passage): *su-ru-um-mu* = *ir-ri ri-qi-tú*.

33–5. This unplaced omen apodosis could, but may not, follow on directly from the end of line 32, and reads, “the land will experience famine, and will follow a strong man;” for comparable apodoses, including examples in Izbu, see CAD E 161 s.v. *bēl emūqi*.

⁴ See now the present writer’s edition of this commentary in I. Spar and W.G. Lambert, eds., *Literary and Scholastic Texts of the First Millennium B.C.* (CTMMA 2; New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005) 279–83, no. 69.

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The remainder of this entry serves to establish the correct interpretation of *su-un-qam*, and, in addition to discussing meaning, explains an unusual spelling of the word where KAL has the rare value sun_7 . Again, this is expository classroom work and perhaps reflects consideration of the equation $\text{KI.KAL} = \text{dannatu}$.

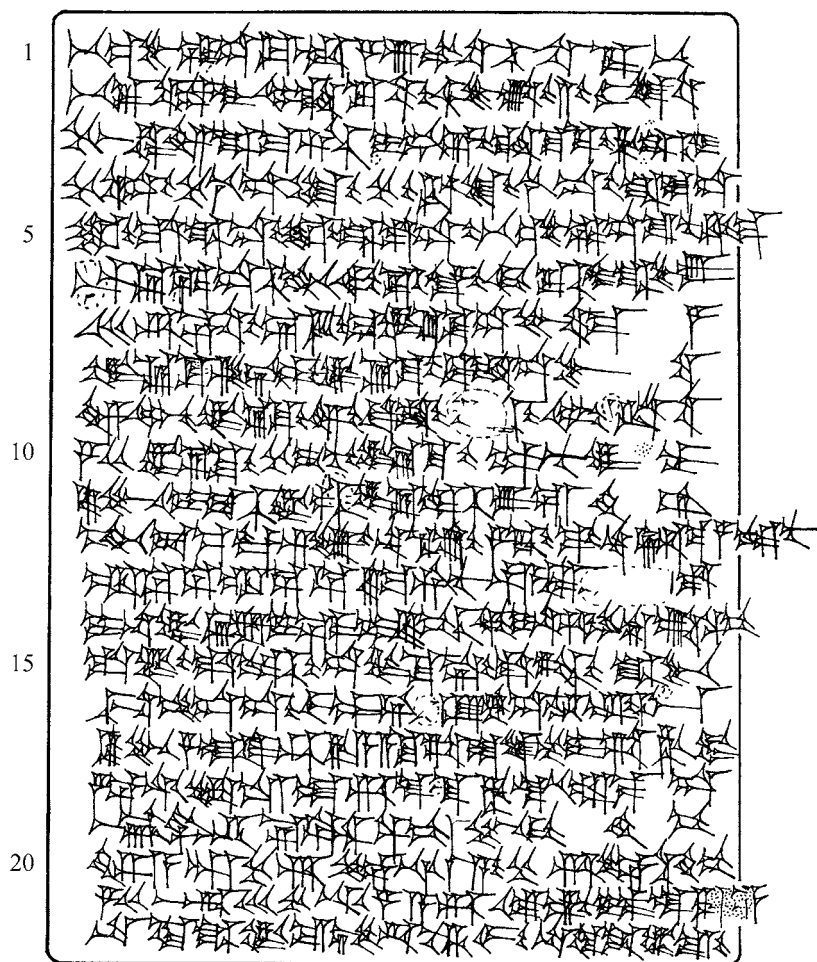


Fig. 1. Commentary on Izbu VII obv.

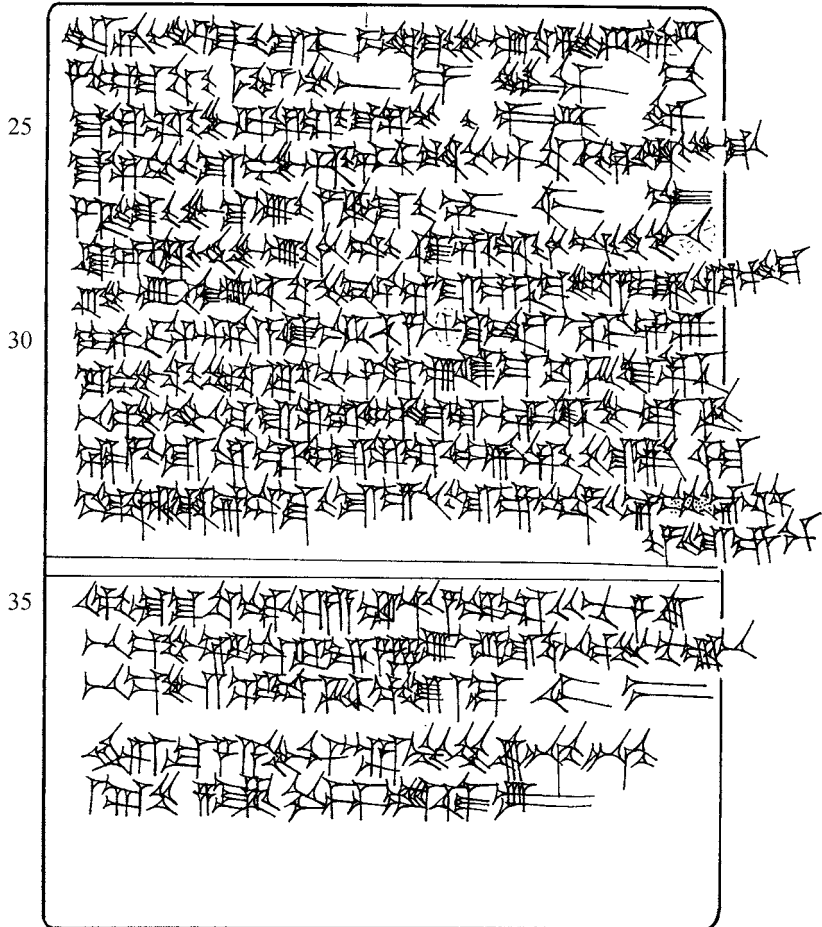


Fig. 2. Commentary on Izbu VII rev.

BM 129092: A COMMENTARY ON SNAKE OMENS

Sally M. Freedman

This small tablet (Figs. 1 and 2) in Babylonian script provides commentary to Tablets 22 and 23 of the omen series *Šumma Alu*. Measuring about four inches by three, it was purchased by the British Museum from a private individual; no provenience is known.

The text was originally brought to my attention by C. B. F. Walker of the British Museum during the initial stages of the project to publish *Šumma Alu* that originated with Erle in the early 1970s. Irving Finkel has also studied it, and Erle made a working transliteration of it in 2001. I thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish it. I would also like to thank Irving for making careful collations of the copies and solving a number of problems and Mark Geller for several helpful suggestions.

The publication of the omen series *Šumma Alu* has been a goal of Erle's for many years. It was he who suggested the idea to Ann Guinan and me when we were graduate students, and he has been tireless in supporting and encouraging the work. He made preliminary transliterations of hundreds of tablets in the British Museum and ordered dozens of photographs for this project and used his wide acquaintance in the field to secure the generous cooperation of senior scholars (such as W. G. Lambert, who made available to us his own considerable research on *Šumma Alu* texts in the British Museum). As I continued to work on *Šumma Alu* over two decades while making a living in another field, Erle remained unflagging in his help, always ready to answer questions or make collations or offer suggestions. Finally he read the proofs of volume 1 of *If a City Is Set on a Height* (OPSNKF 17; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1998).

Tablets 22 and 23 are the first of at least five tablets of snake omens in *Šumma Alu*. They are well preserved, with seven texts and five excerpt texts of Tablet 22 known, and five texts and one excerpt text of Tablet 23 (to be published in the forthcoming vol. 2 of Freedman, *If a City*). Together these two tablets included about 205 omens, of which about 40 are referred to in the commentary BM 129092. Only a few of the commentary entries cannot be correlated with known omens; the omens associated with each commentary entry are indicated in the notes below, with the relevant words or passages in boldface.

The extensive correlation with known omens makes this commentary more comprehensible than many, but the elliptical style is not easy to translate. I have used several forms of punctuation to clarify the meaning. Quotation marks indicate words cited verbatim from the omens. Periods

indicate the start of a new topic. In the notes, line numbers a, b, c refer to line segments that relate to different commentary topics.

There is conflicting evidence for the numbering of Tablets 22 and 23 within the *Šumma Alu* series (see for instance KAR 386 r.43, which gives a number 24 for the Tablet here called 23, and KAR 389 iii 13, which gives the number 21 for a duplicate of the same text), but the numbers 22 and 23 indicated on BM 129092 are consistent with the numbering of the Aššur Catalog (KAR 407 ii 28–30; see Freedman, *If a City* 322).

obv.

- 1 SAG.DU-su ú-*ḥar-ra-ár* : x [...]

“he should ... his head” [...]
- 2 [TE].MEŠ-*šú ú-gal-lab* : TE.A-*šú* ki [...] *l*]e-e-tu [...] x : x x [M]EŠ²

uš-x [...]

“his cheek[s] he should shave.” “His cheek” [...] cheeks [...]
- 3 x x MEŠ x x x [...] x x ma *pu-uš-qí* im x [...]

[...] suffering [...]
- 4 x x x [...] *ru šá it-ti* MUŠ.SAG [...] x ŠÀ an [...]

[...] which with a snake head [...]
- 5 [...] x IGI x T[A] ^{gi}ŠNÁ : *ina* ^{gi}ŠNÁ [...] MURUB₄ [DAM u DAM ŠUB]

[...] x [...] fr[om] bed [...] middle [of husband and wife]
- 6 MURUB₄ [...] TATTAB].MEŠ NU TI.MEŠ : *ib*-[*ru-ti* ...] *ul i-bal-lu-tu*

middle [...] “Companion[s] will not live” : com[rades ...] they will [not] live.
- 7 UKKIN *ú*-[...] x-*ma* : GAZ : *ḥe-pu-ú* : *šum₄-ma* GIG *šum₄-ma is-sal-la-a’*

“Assembly [...] and” : kill = to break. “If he is ill, if he becomes infected”
- 8 GI[G : *sa-la-ú* : ...]-*ú* : *is-sal-la-a’* : *i-mar-ru-uš* : DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA TA

UD.1.KÁM

il[l = to be infected ...]; he becomes infected = he becomes ill. “If, in Nisannu, between the first
- 9 [EN UD.30.KÁM M]UŠ *ina* SILA TA ZAG LÚ *ana* GÙB LÚ *is-ḥur* LÚ BI

ina KUR KÚR-*šú du-lu₄* GIG TÙM

[and 30th, a s]nake in the street turns from a man’s right to the man’s left, harsh misery will carry that man into the land of his enemy.”
- 10 [...] GIŠ.ḪU]R : e-*še-ri šá-niš i-ti¹-iq šal-šiš il-lik* : GIŠ^{gi-iš} *ḥa-áš* ne² :

Ḥa-ḥa²-šú : a la [...]

[... draw]ing = to draw; alternatively, crosses; thirdly, goes. ... = ... = [...]
- 11 [...] *bi-ki-tu₄* : MUŠ *ina* SILA *uš-te-eš-bi-šú* : *šá* LÚ *ú-man-du* IGI-*ma* MUŠ

la ig-lu-ut

[...] = weeping. “A snake distracts him in the street”: which (means) a man stands and looks and the snake does not become restless.

- 12 *šu* TĒŠ.BI KAR-šú : TĒŠ.BI : *bal-tu₄* : *bal-tu₄* : *bu-nu* : KAR : *e-zeb šá-niš*
šu TĒŠ.BI KAR-šú
 “Deprives that one of his dignity”: dignity = dignity; dignity = good looks;
 deprives = deprives, alternatively, “it deprives that one of his dignity,”
- 13 *šá* E-ú *ina* *ṭup-pi ul šá-lim* : *ik-tap-pi-lu* GÚ.2 AK.A : *kit-pu-lu* : *šá* GÚ
it-ti-qu
 as they say, it is not complete on the tablet. “They coil” doing 2 necks = they
 are coiled; which (means) they cross neck(s);
- 14 *šá-niš* 2 MUŠ.MEŠ *aš-šum ša-al-tu₄* : 3 ITI *šú-nu-ti uš-ta-pa-šaq-ma* : *ina*
 ITI *šá ana d[a-... t]a-a-bi*
 alternatively, two snakes refers to a fight. “He will be suffering for those three
 months, but”: in the month which [...] good
- 15 *šá i-bir-ru-ú u i-ša-am-mu-ú šu-ú šup-šu-qu* : *ú-še-di-ma* : *ú-šá-am-di[-i-m]a*
 which (means) he will hunger and thirst; that one will be distressed. “He
 should make it known and”: he should make it known [and].
- 16 *ú-še-e'-ú-ma* : KIN.KIN : *ši-te-e'-ú* : *bu-u'-ú* : *ina qí-rib* EN.TE.NA :
dan-na-tú : *ku-šu*
 “He should seek out (Marduk) and”: to seek = to seek all over = to look for.
 “In the middle of winter” : hardship = cold.
- 17 *ik-let nam-rat* : *a-na muš-ke-ni qa-bi* : *šá-lum-mat* : *bal-tu₄* : *du-ú-tu₄* : *bal-tu₄*
 “Darkness becomes bright”: said of a commoner; radiance = dignity; virility
 = dignity;
- 18 [*d*]*u-ú-tu₄* : *bu-nu* : *nam-ḥa-ra* DIR-ma : *ki-ma* DUG.A.GÚB.BA *tu-ka-ni-ma*
 virility = good looks. “Fill a *namḥaru* vessel and”: you set it up like a vessel
 of holy water.
- 19 [DIŠ x] x MUŠ GAZ-ma TI-ma ana ŠÀ DU₆ TU : *šá* MUŠ *i-du-ku-ma*
iš-šu-ú iq-bi-ri : TI *la-qu-u*
 [“If ...] kills a snake and carries it and goes inside a mound”: which killed the
 snake and carried (it and) buried (it)(?); to take = to take.
- 20 [x x i]*b-luṭ-ma ana ŠÀ* DU₆ TU : TI : *ba-la-ṭu* : NÍG.ŠU-šu DÙ-šú KIMIN
 DUMU-šú KÚ : NÍG.ŠU-šú DÙ-šú :
 [“x x i]lives and goes inside a mound”: to live = to live. “He will ‘do’
 valuables for himself; alternatively, he will eat his young”: will ‘do’ valuables
 for himself =
- 21 [NÍG.Š]U-šú *iz-zib-šú* : DÙ : *e-ze-bu* : DUMU-šú KÚ : *bu-šu-šú ik-kal* :
 DUMU : *bu-šu-ú*
 [His valua]bles will leave him; to do = to leave. “Will eat his young”: will
 consume his valuables; young = valuables.
- 22 [x x x] *ši rim* : *lem-nu* : *uš-ta-ḥa-ma* : *ú-ši-iḥ-ma* : *ḤAR-ta* : *šu-a-tú* : *ina*
qí-rib GABA-šú
 [x x x] ... = bad; ... = ...; that = that. “In the middle of his chest”

- 23 [x x] *ša ma-diš ina muḫ-ḫi-šú i-ku-šú : im-šur : im-šur : il-lik : i-tak-kal : DU.DU : it-ku-lu*
[x x] which (means) it moves a lot in front of him. Dithers = drags = goes.
“Eats itself”: goes about = to eat itself;
- 24 [DU.DJU] *mit-ḫu-šu : DIŠ MUŠ ana bu-di NA ŠUB-ut mu-kil ku-tál-li NA UG₇ : bu-di : ku-tal-la*
[x] to go about = to grapple. “If a snake falls onto a man’s shoulders, the man’s supporter will die”: shoulder = back;
- 25 [*mu-k*] *il ku-tál-li NA : ku-tal : MUŠ.^dMUŠ : ni-ra-ḫu : MUŠ ŠU.II NU GAR ma-gal ár-ki* a man’s [sup]porter = back. “Snake-god snake”: little snake; a snake with no hands; much after(?)
- 26 22 DIŠ URU *ina* SUKUD GAR-*in* NU AL.TIL
22 of If a City Is Set on a Height, not complete
- 27 [DIŠ MU]Š *ana* UGU NA *ša di-na gi-ru-ú ŠUB-ut di-in-šu GÍD.DA GÁL : iṣ-bur-ma : is-si-ma*
“[If a snake] falls on top of a man who is engaged in a lawsuit, his lawsuit will be long.” “Chatters and”: cries out and;
- 28 [MUŠEN] ZI.ZI : *ša-bar šá iṣ-šur : MUŠEN ZI.ZI : ši-si-tú šá iṣ-šur : u₄-mi ri-qí : UD.29.KÁM*
[bird] chatter = chattering of a bird; bird chatter = call of a bird. Distant day = the 29th day (of the month)
- 29 [*ša ...*] ¹x¹ ^d30 *la ú-šu-uz-zu : DIŠ MUŠ NA IGI-ma GAZ-šú NA BI a-di-ra-tu-šú NU TE.MEŠ-šú*
[which (means) ...] Šîn, he does not stand. “If a snake sees a man and he kills it, misfortunes will not approach that man”:
- 30 [...]-*na-a-ku ta-a-bu* IGI-*ma i-duk : aš-šum* UD.20.KÁM *ša* ^{iti}GU₄
[...] sees a good [...] and kills (it), refers to the 20th day of the month Ayaru
- rev.
- 1 [...] : *ši-gu-ú DUG₄-si-ma* NAM.TAR x [...] x x
[...] = recites a lamentation and destiny [...]
- 2 [... *gi-na*]-*a* DÛ.A.BI : *u₄-mu ma-la* ^dUTU *nap-ḫi*
[...] “Constant[ly] and everywhere”: (all) day as long as the sun is visible.
- 3 [... *ú-ḫab*]-*ba-ab : ḫa-ba-bu : ḫa-ša-nu : ḫa-ba-bu : na-ša-qa*
[...] “Ca[resses]”: to caress = to protect; to caress = to kiss;
- 4 [x] x x *mi na-áš-kun ri-gim : MUŠ rit-ti* GAR-*ma* GIM UR.MAḪ *i-ram-mu-um*
[...] a sound is established. “Snake has a paw and roars like a lion”:
- 5 *ri-gim : šá-kin-ma : ri-iṭ-ṭu : ri-gim : ana ŠÀ DÚR TU : a-na ŠÀ mi-iḫ-ṣi šá-niš* (erasure)

sound = is established and; ... = sound. “He will go inside the residence” = inside a ...; alternatively,

- 6 [a]-šar ši-si-ti šak-na-ti¹ : EN.DIB.BI SAG.TUK *ba-lá-ti* TUK-ši : *mu-kil re-eš ba-la-tu* TUK-ši : *ha-ti-ti*
where cries are established. “He will have a life-giving spirit”: he will have a life-giving spirit. “Wickedness”:
- 7 [I]e-mut-tú : HUL UZU.MEŠ *ha-tu-tu₄ pá-r-du-tú* HUL.MEŠ NU DÜG.GA.MEŠ : GUB.GUB-az : šá ú-šu-uz-zu-ma *la zak-ku-ú*
evil = evil of omens (that are) wrong, confused, evil, not good. “He will repeatedly stand”: which (means) he will stand but will not be cleared.
- 8 [DIŠ] MUŠ *ina É LÚ ŠUB-ma* DU.DU-ak : šá a-na DU₆.MEŠ u É.MEŠ *la ir-ru-bu : e-zib iš-tak-na* :
[“If] a snake falls into a man’s house and goes around”: which (means) it does not enter mounds or houses; otherwise, is stationary,
- 9 [š]á *ina É LÚ ul-la-du* : BÚN.BÚN-aḥ : *ú-ṇap-pa-aḥ : i-ziz-eš : e-zi-zi-iš*
[whi]ch (means) gives birth in a man’s house. “Hisses”: hisses. “Like an angry one” (?) = like an angry one,
- 10 [š]á *ez-zi-iš i-šá-as-su-ú šá-niš šá šá-qí-iš i-šá-as-su-ú : ana kiš-šá-tu₄ : ana sa-ár-tú*
which (means) it cries out angrily; alternatively, it cries out aloud. “As payment of a debt” = as compensation.
- 11 [u]p-ta-nar-rad : šá lúÉRIN.MEŠ *ina bi-ri a-ḥa-meš ú-par-ra-du aš-šum ga-la-tu₄ šá lúÉRIN.MEŠ*
“It persistently causes fear”: which (means) workers are causing fear among themselves; refers to the fright of workers;
- 12 [x u]p-ta-nar-rad : *up-ta-na-al-làḥ* : DIŠ MUŠ *ina É NA* ^{giš}IG ^{giš}SAG.KUL NIGIN-ma
persistently causes fear = persistently causes fright. “If a snake circles the door (or) latch in a man’s house and
- 13 [a-n]a BAD-e NU SUM-in É BI DAGAL-iš KIMIN ŠUB-di : *ana kab-tu dum-qí ana MAŠ.EN.KAK lum-nu*
does not allow it [to] open, that house will expand; alternatively, it will be abandoned”: (that is,) for a noble, (it is) good; for a commoner, bad;
- 14 [aš-š]um *šu-tuk-ku dan-nu-tu₄ šá* ^dNIN.GÍR.ZI.DA : *šu-tuk-ku : šik-kat* : DIŠ MUŠ.MEŠ GIL.MEŠ : [it]-gu-ru-tú
[ref]ers to the strong reed huts of Ningišzida; reed hut = peg. “If snakes are crosswise”: [en]twined.
- 15 *dul-lam* : ḥu si ri : DIŠ MUŠ *ina É LÚ bu-’u-ra DÜ-uš : šá mim-ma šá kap-pi sag [...]-ru*
Misery = “If a snake makes a hole in a man’s house”: which (means) something of the wing [...]

- 16 *i-dam-mu-um : šá ši-si-ti : ma-a-du : dul-la : bi-ki-tu₄ : dul-la : ta-né-ḫi*
“Is murmuring” : which (means) a cry. Much = misery; crying = misery, anguish
- 17 *gi-nam-ma : ka-a-a-ni-iš : DIŠ MUŠ ina É LÚ IGI : šá ĠİR.MEŠ-šú ú-še-eš-ša-a*
Constantly = continually. “If a snake is seen in a man’s house”: which (means) it makes his feet go out.
- 18 *sa-da-ru : ka-a-a-nu : AN.TA : tap-pu-ú : DIŠ MUŠ MUNUS ina a-sur-re-e ina la e-de-e*
“To be regular “: to be continual. “Friend”: companion. “If a woman catches a snake unaware in the base course of masonry
- 19 *DIB-su-ma BAR-šú MUNUS BI DINGIR TUK-ši šá E-ú aš-šum MUŠ u*
MUNUS ud tim šú-nu
and cuts it in two, that woman will be lucky”: as they say, refers to the snake and the woman, their ...
- 20 *DIŠ MUŠ ana É LÚ KU₄ šá ina UKKIN UN.MEŠ ana É LÚ i-ru-bu : MUD-su : ú-gal-lit-su*
“If a snake enters a man’s house,” which (means) entered a man’s house during an assembly of people. Frightens him = frightens him.
- 21 *DIŠ MUŠ ina UGU ġišNÁ LÚ NÁ-iš : šá ir-bi-šu-ma la it-bu-ú : KU-su-nu : áš x [x]*
“If a snake lies on top of a man’s bed”: which (means) lies down and does not get up; their ... = [...]
-
- 22 *ša-a-tú šu-ut pi-i u maš-a-a-al-tú šá KA um-man-nu šá ŠÀ <DIŠ> ina*
ⁱⁱⁱ*BÁRA UD.1.KÁM la-a[m]*
Citations, commentary and queries from scholars, relating to the content of “If, on the first of Nisannu, before
- 23 *LÚ ĠİR-šú ana KI GAR-nu ù DIŠ MUŠ ana UGU NA šá di-na ge-ru-ú ŠU[B-ut]*
a man has put his foot onto the ground” and “If a snake fal[ls] onto a man who is engaged in a lawsuit”
- 24 *23 mál-su-ut DIŠ URU ina SUKUD GAR-in NU AL.TIL DIŠ MUŠ ina UGU ġiš?.NA? [NA NÁ-iš]*
23rd reading of If a City is Set on a Height, not complete. “If a snake [lies] on a man’s bed.”
- 25 *IM.ĠÍD.DA ^mI-^dEN.LÍL A-šú ^{md}UTU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU A ^mDIR.U SA[R]*
Tablet written by Na’id-Enlil, son of Šamaš-aḫḫē-iddin, son of ...

Notes

obv.

1–4. See Tablet 22 omen 1:

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA UD.1.KÁM NA *la-am* TA ^{giš}NÁ GÌR-šú *ana* KI GAR-nu
MUŠ TA ḪABRUD.DA È-ma *la-am ma-am-man* IGI LÚ IGI *ina* ŠÀ MU BI
UG₇ *šum₄-ma* LÚ BI TI.LA ḫa-šiḫ SAG.DU ú-ḫar-ra-ár TE.MEŠ-šú ú-gal-lab
ITI.3.KÁM *us-ta-pa-áš-šaḡ-ma* TI-ut

If on the first of Nisannu, before a man has put his foot out of bed onto the ground, a snake comes out of a hole and, before anyone sees it, it sees the man, he will die during that year; if that man wishes to live, he should ... his head, shave his cheeks, (and) he will be suffering for three months but he will live.

It is not certain whether it is the snake who sees the man or the man who sees the snake in this omen and other omens where the main verb is IGI. I have chosen to assume that the snake is the subject, following the most common word order of subject-object-verb, unless there is a compelling reason to translate otherwise (as in lines 29b–30 below, for instance).

The meaning of *ḫarāru* is not known; citing this passage CAD Ḫ 91 says the term refers “to some expression or act of mortification.” Finkel suggests “scarify”(?).

There are traces in the upper right corner of the tablet that I have not been able to read, and I have not tried to indicate them all with x’s in the transliteration. Finkel’s collations show traces of SAG.DU (perhaps twice) in the middle of line 1.

2. Collation confirms TE.A for TE.MEŠ.

5a. See Tablet 22 omen 11:

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA TA UD.1.KÁM EN UD.30.KÁM MUŠ *ana* ZAG LÚ ŠUB-ut
NA BI GIZKIM ^{giš}NÁ DIB-su-ma É BI BIR-aḫ

If, between the first and 30th of Nisannu, a snake falls to a man’s right, an omen of bed will afflict that man, and his house will be dispersed.

5b–6. See Tablet 22 omen 13:

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA TA UD.1.KÁM EN UD.30.KÁM MUŠ *ana* MURUB₄ DAM u
DAM ŠUB TATTAB.MEŠ NU TI.MEŠ É BI GAZ

If, between the first and 30th of Nisannu, a snake falls between husband and wife, companions will not survive; that house will be destroyed.

Finkel says collation shows 'ib-ru-ti'.

7a. See Tablet 22 omen 14:

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA TA UD.1.KÁ EN UD.30.KÁM MUŠ *ana* MURUB₄ UKKIN
ŠUB UKKIN AL.GAZ NU SI.SÁ

If, between the first and 30th of Nisannu, a snake falls in the middle of an assembly, the assembly will be destroyed; it will not prosper.

7b–8a. See Tablet 22 omen 16:

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA TA UD.1.KÁM EN UD.30.KÁM MUŠ *ina* SILA LÚ IGI
šum₄-ma GIG šum₄-ma is-sal-la-a'-ma UG₇

If, between the first and 30th of Nisannu, a snake sees a man in the street, if he becomes ill (or) infected, he will die.

8b–9. See Tablet 22 omen 17:

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA TA UD.1.KÁM EN UD.30.KAM₂ MUŠ *ina* SILA TA ZAG
LÚ *ana* GÜB LÚ is-hur LÚ BI *ina* KUR KÚR-šú du-lu₄ GIG TÙM

If, between the first and 30th of Nisannu, a snake in the street turns from a man's right to the man's left, harsh misery will carry that man off in the land of his enemy.

It is probable that *salā'u* should be restored after GIG; there is room in the break for a repetition of this word or a synonym.

10. I cannot read the end of this line. Finkel is uncertain of the second 𒀠A at the end of the line and suggests *ha-ma-šu*, noting the lexical equivalence (*ha-aš*). KUD = *ha-ma-šu* cited in CAD H 61; the meaning of this word is unknown.

11–13a. See Tablet 22 omen 19:

DIS *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA TA UD.1.KÁM EN UD.30.KÁM MUŠ *ina* SILA uš-te-eš-bi-
šú-ma TÉŠ.BI KAR-šú SIG₅-ti

If, between the first and 30th of Nisannu, a snake distracts him in the street and deprives him of his dignity, it is favorable.

CAD B 144 states, “The word *baštu* [or *baltu*] does not denote sexual parts or sexual power” and asserts that TĒŠ.BI in this context should be read *dūssu*, from *dūtu*, “virility,” but this commentary clearly equates *baltu* and *dūtu* (see also lines 17–18 below).

12. While *šaniš*, “alternatively,” is used here to indicate another alternative, *ezib* is used in r. 8.

13b–14a. See Tablet 22 omen 20:

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA TA UD.1.KÁM EN UD.30.KÁM MUŠ.MEŠ *ina* É LÚ *ik-tap-pi-lu* EN É BI UG₇

If, between the first and 30th of Nisannu, snakes coil around each other in a man’s house, the owner of that house will die.

14b–16a. See Tablet 22 omen 21:

DIŠ *ina* ZAG.MUK *ina* ^{iti}BÁRA UD.1.KÁM *lu* *ina* ^{iti}GU₄ UD.1.KÁM *lu* *ina* *kal u₄-mi lu* *ina* *kal* GI₆ MUŠ NA IGI LÚ BI *ina* ŠÀ MU BI UG₇ *šum₄-ma* NA BI TIL.LA *ḥa-šiḥ* SAG.DU *ú-har-ra-ár* TE.MEŠ-šú *ú-gal-lab* 3 ITI.MEŠ *šú-nu-ti uš-ta-pa-šaq-ma* TI-u₇ KIMIN *ti-bu kaš-da* NA BI *ina* Á.GÚ.ZI.GA *ana* ^dAMAR.UTU *ú-še-di-ma* SIG₅ KIMIN KI.ŠÚ GIG IGI NA BI ^dAMAR.UTU *ú-še-e’-ú-ma* ḤUL-šú DU₈ LÚ BI *ina* PAP.ḤAL *u* KI.KAL È

If, at the New Year on the first of Nisannu or on the first of Ayaru or all day or all night, a snake sees a man, that man will die in that year; if that man wishes to live, he should ... his head, shave his cheeks; he will be suffering for those three months, but he will live; alternatively, a successful uprising; that man should make it known to Marduk in the morning and it will be favorable; alternatively, he will experience harsh detention; that man should seek out Marduk and the evil for him will be dispelled; that man will escape from straits and hardship.

16b. See Tablet 22 omen 33:

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}ZÍZ *ina* qí-rib EN.TE.NA NA MUŠ *ina* SILA.DAGAL.LA IGI UN.ME DUMU.ME-ši-na NÍG.ŠU-ši^l-na *ana* KI.LAM È-a

If in Šabaṭu, in the middle of winter, a man sees a snake in the city square, the people will send away their children (or) their property for a price.

17a. See Tablet 22 omen 34:

DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}ŠE NA MUŠ IGI [... *i*]k-let nam-rat

If a man sees a snake in Addaru, darkness will become light.

For the phrase *ana x qabi*, “said of x” or “referring to x,” used in explicating omens, see CAD Q 29.

17b–18b. See Tablet 22 omen 36:

DIŠ NA MUŠ IGI-*ma* GA[Z-šú ...] šá SÚ-a[p ...] x id [...] x šá SIG₄ LÚ *i-tab-bal*
A PÚ šá É^d AMAR.UTU DUG.*nam-ḥa-ra DIR-ma* KÙ.BABBAR x x [...] A PÚ
GIŠ.ŠINIG Ú.IN.NU.UŠ^{giš} GIŠIMMAR.TUR.TUR GI.ŠUL.ḪI [...] *-li* NAGA.SI
ana ŠĀ ŠUB-*ma* [...] x BAD *ina* Ā.GŪ.ZI.GA TU₅-*ma* NAM.BŪR.BI

If a man sees a snake and kills [it ...] cover [...] the man should take a brick, fill a *namḥaru* vessel (with) well water from the temple of Marduk and [...] silver, [...] well water, tamarisk, *maštaka*-plant, datepalm shoots, *šalalu*-reed, [...], saltwort, throw into (it), and [...] wash in the morning, and its evil will be dispelled [*literally*: its dispelling (will be accomplished)].

19–21. These lines probably refer to Tablet 22 omen 43 or 44, of which only a sign or two is preserved.

22–23a. These lines probably refer to Tablet 22 omen 46 ([DIŠ MUŠ ...^{giš}N]Á NA [...]) or possibly 47 ([DIŠ MUŠ ...] *ina muḥ-ḫi* SAG.DU N[A ...G]AZ-šú NA BI [...]).

It is not clear what the verb is. CAD cites a *šāḫu* A, “to grow” and a *šāḫu* B, “to blow(?)” (the latter equated with *alāku* in lexical texts), but neither is attested in the relevant forms.

Finkel notes that *šu-a-tú* is written over an erasure.

23b. See Tablet 22 omen 55:

[DIŠ MU]Š *ana* IGI NA *im-ṣur* *te-šu-ú*

[If a sn]ake wriggles in front of a man—confusion.

23b–24a. See Tablet 22 omen 58:

[DIŠ MUŠ] *ana* IGI NA *i-tak-kal* ZI-*bu* *kaš-du*

[If a snake] eats itself in front of a man—a successful uprising.

24b–25a. See Tablet 22 omen 70:

DIŠ MUŠ *ana bu-di* NA ŠUB-*ut mu-kil ku-tal* LÚ BA.UG₇

If a snake falls onto a man’s shoulders, the man’s supporter will die.

25b. Extant texts of T.22 preserve nineteen more omens, complete to the colophon, but none refers to a MUŠ.^dMUŠ.

This line curves around the tablet so that the last sign is obscured by the last sign of r.7; however, it seems to be KI. It is not clear how to read the end of this line. Perhaps it is an elliptical reference to more that was written on the original tablet after this omen.

26. There is a long blank space before the number 22 and no KAM following. See r.24 for the number 23 without DUB before or KAM afterward.

27a. See Tablet 23 omen 1:

[DIŠ MUŠ *ana* UGU N]A šá di-na gi-ru-ú ŠUB-ut di-in-šú GÍD.DA GÁL

[If a snake] falls [on top of a m]an who is engaged in a lawsuit, his lawsuit will be long.

Since there is no commentary on this line, it is probably just cited as the incipit of the relevant Tablet.

27b–28a. See Tablet 23 omen 6:

DIŠ MUŠ *iš-bur-ma* LÚ šá di-na gi-ru-ú x [...] GÁL-šú

If a snake “chatters” and [...] a man who is engaged in a lawsuit, [...]; there will be [...] for him.

Also Tablet 23 omen 7:

DIŠ MUŠ *iš-bur-ma* NA ú-gal-lit GIG DIB-s[u ...]

If a snake “chatters” and frightens a man, illness will afflict him; there will be [...] for him.

CAD § 3 translates *išbur* as “sways,” when referring to a snake, but this commentary understands it as a sound.

This line is cited in CAD Š/3 123, lexical section, as BM 129092:29.

28b–29a. See Tablet 23 omen 8:

DIŠ MUŠ NA *ina u₄-mi ri-qí* IGI na-za-qu NU DÙG.GA NA BI ŠU KUR-su

If a snake sees a man on a distant day—trouble; it will not be happy; [...] for the man; the hand (of a god) will affect that man.

The restoration of *ša* at the beginning of the line is suggested by *ušuzzu*, which may be subjunctive.

29b–30. See Tablet 23 omen 9:

DIŠ MUŠ NA IGI-*ma* GAZ-*šu* NA BI *a-di-ra-tu-šu* NU TE.MEŠ-*šu* MUŠ BI
HUL-[...] x

If a snake sees a man and he kills it, misfortunes will not approach that man; that snake, evil [...]

Word order would imply that the snake is the subject of GAZ, but this would not make much sense, as the man would no longer be alive to experience the prediction.

rev.

2. See Tablet 23 omen 12:

DIŠ MUŠ *gi-na-a* DÙ.A.BI *ana* IGI NA *ip-ta-na-rik* x KA-*šu* LÁ-*ti*

If a snake constantly and everywhere is lying crosswise in front of a man, [...] he will be humiliated.

For the idiom *pāšu muttû* (literally, “to make his mouth small”), see Leichty, *Izbu* 59 n.51 and CAD M/1 434.

2–3. There are five or six signs missing at the beginning of these lines.

3–4a. See Tablet 23 omen 14:

DIŠ MUŠ NA *ú-ḫab-ba-ab* s[i? ...] SÁ.SÁ

If a snake caresses a man, [...] will affect [...]

4b–5a. See Tablet 23 omen 27:

DIŠ MUŠ *rit-ti* GAR-*ma* GIM UR.MAḪ *i-ram-mu-u[m]* DIB x *ti* x [...] *e-nu-ti*
TA[R?...]

If a snake has a paw and roars like a lion, [...] a]ngry [...]

The sign GIM is clear in three places, but the reading *rigmu*, “sound” is difficult to understand in this context. Perhaps this sign should be read differently. The word *riṭtu* in the commentary is otherwise unknown.

5b–6a. See Tablet 23 omen 40:

[DIŠ] MUŠ *ana* UGU SAL.UŠ NA ŠUB-ut *ana* ŠÀ DÚR šú-a-tu₄ TU *ana* ITI
BI ŠÀ.BI DÙG.GA

[If] a snake falls onto a man's *sekertu*, he will go inside that residence; for that month he will be happy.

The SAL.UŠ, *sekertu*, is a high-ranking female of the court or a rich man's harem (see discussion CAD S 217). The reading DÚR, *šubtu*, "residence," is not certain but may plausibly refer to the quarter where the *sekertu* lives. The commentary, however, seems to be reading KU as something else. Context implies that *miḥṣu* is a building—or at least a location. Perhaps it is related to the nuance of "plowed land" cited in CAD M/2 62 or the *bīt miḥṣi* cited on the same page.

6b. See Tablet 23 omen 41:

[DIŠ] MUŠ *ana* UGU giš[GU].ZA NA *be-ri-šú-nu* ŠUB-ma NÁ-iš EN.DIB
SAG.TUK *ba-lá-ti* [TUK-ši]

[If] a snake falls onto a chair between them and lies down, [he will have] a life-giving spirit.

Unlike the *mukīl rēš damiqti* and *mukīl rēš lemutti*, which often occur in omen apodoses and magical texts, the *mukīl rēš balāti* is unknown to me. Geller says that EN.DIB is used for *mukīlu* in magical texts.

6c and 7a. This entry probably refers to one of the broken apodoses of Tablet 23 omens 42 through 45.

8–9a. Though É LÚ is clear on the tablet, compare Tablet 23 omen 49:

[DIŠ] MUŠ *ina* É BÁRA ŠUB-ma DU.DU-ak [...] BI UG₇

[If] a snake falls into the dais in a house and goes around, that [...] will die.

Ezib, "besides, otherwise," indicates an alternative explanation (see line 12, where *šaniš* is used).

9a probably continues the explanation of omen 49, since it cannot be correlated with any of the omens on Tablet 23 between 49 and 53. The restoration *šá* at the beginning of the line is suggested by *ulladu*, which appears to be subjunctive.

9b. See Tablet 23 omen 53:

DIŠ MUŠ *ina* É LÚ GÙ.GÙ-*si* : **BÚN-*uḫ*** ÚŠ *ina* É LÚ UG₇ É BI BIR-*aḫ*

If a snake repeatedly cries out / hisses in a man's house, someone mortally ill will die in the man's house; that house will be dispersed.

One text of this omen, Si 732:7 (unpublished), is broken after BÚN; it may have included a second BÚN, like the commentary. The other text, KAR 386:51, has only one BÚN.

9c–10a. See Tablet 23 omen 54:

DIŠ MUŠ *ina* É LÚ ***ib-be-eš*** GÙ.GÙ-*si* ŠUB-*e* É

If a snake persistently cries out ... in a man's house—abandonment of the house.

It is not clear how the omen should be read. The explanation in the commentary reflects an exotic spelling *i-ziz*(BE)-*eš*, but this spelling is not found on either extant text of Tablet 23 (KAR 386:52 has *ib-be-eš* and Si 732:8 (unpublished) has *i-bi-eš*). There is probably an error here.

10b. See Tablet 23 omen 56:

DIŠ MUŠ *ina* É LÚ *u₄-me-šam* GÙ.GÙ-*si* É BI ***ana kiš-šá-ti*** KÚR ŠID-*nu*

If a snake persistently cries out in a man's house every day, that house will be handed over as a payment of a debt to an enemy.

11–12a. See Tablet 23 omen 57:

DIŠ MUŠ *ina* É LÚ ***up-ta-nar-rad*** É BI ŠUB-*di lu in-na-qar*

If a snake persistently causes fear in a man's house, that house will be abandoned or demolished.

Although the context of the omen is not military, ^{lu}ÉRIN.MEŠ in the commentary might refer to soldiers.

12b–14a. See Tablet 23 omen 59:

DIŠ MUŠ *ina* É LÚ ^{giš}IG ^{giš}SAG.KUL NIGIN-*ma ana* BAD-*e* NU SUM-*in* É
BI DAGAL-*iš* KIMIN ŠUB-*di*

If a snake circles the door (or) latch in a man's house and does not allow it to open, that house will expand; alternatively, it will be abandoned.

14b–15a. This line probably refers to an omen in the broken section of Tablet 23 omens 75–77, but not enough of these omens is preserved to be sure. The signs 𒄩 𒀠 𒀠 𒀠 are clear, but I do not know the word. The spelling of the deity's name might represent a confusion of Ningirsu and Ningišzida, but the expression *šutukkū dannūtu ša Ningišzida* occurs in other contexts; see CAD Š/3 412. The writing 𒀠NIN.GÍR.ZI.DA appears in TCL 6 47:14, J. Nougayrol, “Textes et documents figurés,” *RA* 41 (1947) 35:10, and George, *Topographical Texts* 158 v 16 (= *SpTU* 2 29 ii 16); F.A.M. Wiggermann, “Nin-ĝišzida,” *RIA* 9 368, suggests that 𒀠NIN.GÍR.ZI.DA is probably a hypercorrection.

15b. See Tablet 23 omen 81:

DIŠ MUŠ *ina* É NA *bu-ú-ra* DÙ-*u*š ŠUB-*e* É

If a snake makes a hole in a man's house, downfall of the house.

16. See Tablet 23 omen 84:

DIŠ MUŠ [*ina* É N]A *i-dam-mu-um* NA BI *ki-la i-ma-al-la*

If a snake is murmuring [in a man's house], that man will go to prison.

17a. See Tablet 23 omen 83:

DIŠ MUŠ *ina* É NA [*gi-n*]am-*ma* KÁ É [DÙ].A.BI *i-tab-bal šum₄-ma* EN É BI UG₇

If a snake is constantly in a man's house and takes everything out the door of the house, if it is the owner of that house, he will die.

17b–18a. See Tablet 23 omen 88:

[DIŠ MUŠ *ina*] É NA IGI [...] *sa-da-ru*

[If a snake] is seen [in] a man's [ho]use, [...] will be regular.

18b. See Tablet 23 omens 98–100.

[DIŠ MUŠ *ina*] É NA AN.TA-*šú i-lu-ut* É BI BIR-*aḥ šu-bat-su* É.GAL ŠUB-*di*

[If a snake in] a man's house swallows its companion, that house will be dispersed; the palace will abandon its residential area.

[DIS MUS *ina*] É NA AN.TA-*šú* GAZ KUR-*ád Á.Áš*

[If a snake in] a man's house kills its companion—attainment of a wish.

DIS MUS *ina* É NA AN.TA-šú KÚ ŠUB-at EN KA-šú IGI-mar

If a snake in a man's house eats its companion, he will see the downfall of his adversary.

18c–19. See Tablet 23 omen 105:

DIŠ MUŠ MUNUS *ina a-sur-ri-e ina la mu-di-e* DIB-su-ma BAR-šú MUNUS
BI DINGIR TUK-ši

If a woman catches a snake unaware in the base course of masonry and cuts it in two, that woman will be lucky.

The signs UD TIM at the end of the line are clear, but the UD seems to be written over an erasure. Noting the small wedge before UD, Finkel says the sign is “not NA, but maybe something has got lost.”

20. See Tablet 23 omen 106:

[DIŠ] MUŠ *ana* É NA TU-ma ú-gal-lit-su-ma iš-šuk-šú É BI AL.BIR *šum₄-ma*
UKÚ TUK

[If] a snake enters a man's house and frightens him and bites him, that house will be dispersed; if it is a poor man, he will acquire (goods).

21. See Tablet 23 omen 111:

DIŠ MUŠ *ina* UGU ^{giš}NA NA NÁ-iš NA BI DINGIR-šú MU TUK-šú

If a snake lies on top of a man's bed, that man's god will make him famous.

24. The signs at the end of this line are abraded, but they probably refer to the incipit of Tablet 24: DIŠ MUŠ *ina* UGU ^{giš}NA NA NÁ-iš DAM NA IGI.MEŠ-šá GUR.MEŠ-ma DUMU.MEŠ-šá *ana* KÙ.BABBAR SUM, “If a snake lies on top of a man's bed, the man's wife will be distracted and sell her children for money.” See Freedman, *If a City* 1 330.

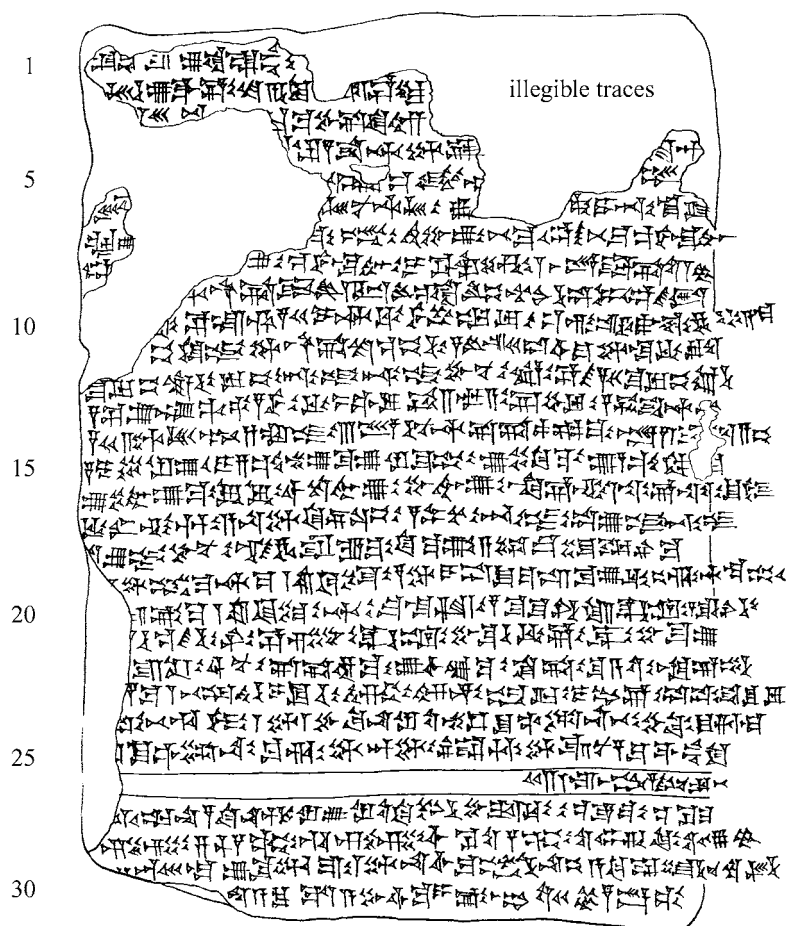


Fig. 1. BM 129092 obv.

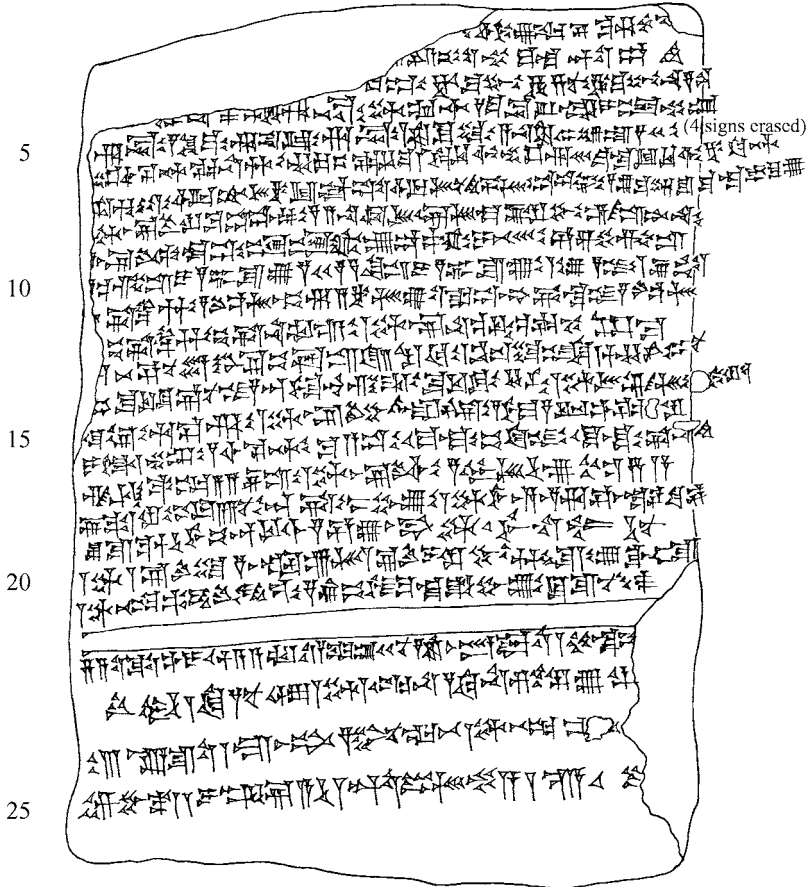


Fig. 2. BM 129092 rev.

PRACTICE OR PRAXIS

M.J. Geller

When I first began reading tablets in the Students' Room of the British Museum, I met Erle during the summers when he was engaged in the monumental task of cataloguing the Sippar collection. When Erle learned that I was interested in incantations, he kindly gave me his hand-list with numbers of all incantations and related texts that he had identified. This single act of generosity made a great difference, enabling me to work on unpublished tablets in the British Museum, since at that time one could only request tablets by tablet number. Erle's kindness and helpfulness was known to everyone who worked in the Students' Room, and the publication of the Sippar catalogues has transformed the field of Assyriology in recent years. I am pleased to offer a small contribution to honour an esteemed colleague.¹

During a research visit to Philadelphia in 1988, I came across the following two interesting tablets for which I have not found any duplicates in the intervening years. The problem with small tablets of this kind, containing only a single recipe or incantation, is that without much context it is often difficult to determine whether the tablets are school texts for practice or prescriptions for praxis.

CBS 8680 (Fig. 1)

- 1 [... šimL]I gišEREN SUMUN šimGIG [...]
- 2 [... giš]LAGAB.MUN? Ġ.UDU [...]
- 3 [x Ú.MEŠ a]n-nu-tu, na-aš-mat-ti MURUB₄-[šú GIG ...]
- (blank line)
- 4 [DIŠ NA DI]B?-it sili'tu(LÍL) is-li-it-su giš[...]
- 5 [x] x GAZI^{sar} úKUR.RA šimLI úNU.LU.H[A ...]
- 6 [...]^rQA?^r úa-ši-i šimqàd-diš(?) úBABBAR 11 ^rÚ^r. [MEŠ ŠEŠ.MEŠ ina-eš]

rev. uninscribed

Translation

- 1 [... jun]iper, old cedar, *kanaktu* [...],
- 2 [...] lumps of salt(?), fat;

¹ I would also like to thank I. L. Finkel and F. A. M. Wiggermann for suggesting readings, and Tzvi Abusch and Daniel Schwemer for supplying a duplicate that improves the readings of CBS 1720.

- 3 apply these [(x number of) drugs] as a bandage for [his sick] loins [...]
- 4 [If a man is stri]cken and *sili'tu* has “split” him, ... [...]
- 5 [...], ..., *kasû*, *nîmû*, juniper, *nuḫurtu*, [...],
- 6 [...], ..., *ašû*, ..., “white” plant, [apply these] 11 drugs [and he will improve].

Notes

The reverse of this tablet is uninscribed, which probably indicates that it is a school exercise tablet rather than an actual medical prescription. For similar such texts, cf. I. L. Finkel, “On Late-Babylonian Medical Training,” in *Studies Lambert* 137–223.

Line 1. The recipe probably begins with a plant name, without the usual DÍŠ NA heading with a symptom, since there is only room for two or three signs at the beginning of the line. Many examples of such recipes can be found in the medical corpus, e.g. *BAM* 95 rev. 31–3.

Line 4. This line is difficult since, if correctly understood, it appears to be a pun on the disease *sili'tu* and the verb *salātu*, “to split,” although no etymological relationship has yet been established between the disease name and this verb. The logogram LÍL for *sili'tu* is attested in medical literature (see CAD S 263), although not with the verb *salātu*.

Line 6. Cleaning and collation (courtesy M. T. Rutz) have resulted in improved readings. Three well-formed wedges are preserved at the beginning of the line; however, the reading 'QA?' remains tentative due to the break. The Ú of *ú-a-ši-i* is no longer in doubt. The reading ^{sim}*qad-diš* is speculative, since no such plant name is attested, although the word *qaddiṣ*, “bowed, bent,” appears as a symptom in one medical text (AMT 86, 1 ii 16); see CAD Q 47. The fact that the form of the GADA sign more closely resembles its OB / MB form might reflect the *Vorlage* if this tablet is indeed a school exercise tablet. Alternatively, one might read ^{sim}HAB¹ (= *tūru*), although the sign in line 6 is much different from the HAB sign that appears in line 2 (as LAGAB).

CBS 1720 (Fig. 2)

- 1 [*šiptu*(ÉN) *at-t*]a *úimḫur*(IGI)-*lim šam-mu šá ina maḫ-ri ašû*(È-u)
- 2 [*mu-p*]a-*áš-ši-ru ka-la'-ma e-li<nu> qim-mat-su*
- 3 [*ina šamê*(AN-e) *ba-n*]a-*at šap-la-na šur-šú-šú qaq-[qa-r]*a *malû*(DIRI.GA)
- 4 [*i-mur-ka*] *kaš-šap-tu, i-^rsa-am pa-nu¹-šá*
- 5 [...] *ú-[x] x iṣ-li-ma šaptā*(NUNDUN^{II})-*šá*
- 6 [...] *x x x-a-te ḫe-ep-pi x x x*
- 7 [...] *ina pāni*(IGI) *amāri*(IGI)-*šá ana šá-ki-ni-šu ip-šá [bar-ta]*

- 8 [amat(INIM)] 'lemutti(ḪUL) zêra(ḪUL.GIG) di-pal-a ZI.[KUR.RU.DA]
 9 [KA.DIB.BÉ.DA] šinīt tēmi(DIMA KÚR.RA) la' ú- x [...]
 10 [ina qí-bit ⁴é-a] ⁴šamaš(UTU) u ⁴marduk(AMAR.UTU) u ru-ba-a-t[i ⁴bēlet
 ilī]
 11 [... mukīl(D)AB) rēš(SAG) lemutti(MÍ.ḪUL-ti) e-^rli x x'
 12 [... kaššapti(M)I.UŠ₁₁.ZU)-ia₅

13 [KA-INIM-MA] UŠ₁₁.[BÚ]R.RU.DA.KAM

Colophon

- 14 [DÙ.DÙ.BI ina šalmi(AL)AN) turri(DUR) pušikki(SÍG.^rGA.ZUM^r.AK.A)
 taṭammi(NU.NU) 7 rikse(KÉŠ-KÉŠ)
 15 [pušikki(SÍG.GA.ZUM. A)K.A) kirissi(^{gš}KIRID)
 pušikki(^rSÍG^r.GA.ZUM.AK.A) talammi(NIGIN) šipta(ÉN) šá UDUG.ḪUL
 16 [tamannu(ŠID-nu) ...] x kiš-pi NU TE.MEŠ-šú

Translation

- 1 [Incantation.] You, O *imḫurlīm*-plant!—a plant that appeared first—
 resolve everything. Its crown
 is beautiful [in heaven] above, and its roots below fill the earth.
 the witch [looked at you]: her face has become flushed,
 5 [...] her lips have turned black.
 [...] ...
 [...] in her (i.e., the witch) looking personally at one who wears it (the
imḫurlīm-plant), witchcraft, [rebellion],
 slander, hatred, corruption, “cutting off of breath,”
 [seizure of the mouth], (or) deranged thoughts should not [(affect him)].
 10 [At the command of Ea], Šamaš, and Marduk and divine consort [Bēlet-ilī,
 [...] and Supporter of Evil over ...
 [...] my witch.

[Incantation] for breaking a spell.

- [Its ritual: on] a figurine, spin a binding of combed wool, wrap (it) with 7
 knots
 15 of [combed wool] (and) a needle for the combed wool, [recite] the incantation
 of Udug-ḫul
 [...] so that the spells will not continually approach him.

Notes

In keeping with normative conventions for editing incantations, normalized Akkadian is given for the logograms employed in CBS 1720.

Line 1. The first word is restored after K 8122+K 9666 (courtesy T. Abusch and D. Schwemer). For the use of plants in ušburruda incantations, see T. Abusch, *Mesopotamian Witchcraft* (AMD 5; Leiden: Brill/Styx, 2002) 85–6,² where he argues that *šammu* as “plant” or “drug” can refer to the magic employed by the witch as well as to curative drugs, so that *šammu* was actually synonymous with witchcraft. In the present text, however, the *imhurlīm*-plant is purely therapeutic, used against witchcraft.

Line 2. The first word is restored after K 8122+K 9666. “Resolving everything” refers to being able to counteract aggressive magic. For similar passages referring to the “crown” of a tree, cf. CAD Š/3 363 and CAD Q 253. The LA-sign in this line resembles the same sign in l. 9

Line 3. For similar imagery, cf. CAD Š/3 364.

Line 4. Restored after K 8122+K 9666.

Line 7. For restoration, cf. Maqlû IV 13–4. The translation of *ina* IGI IGI is uncertain, since one could also consider reading *ina maḥar*(IGI) *pāni*(IGI)-*šá*; the sign before IGI IGI does not appear to be Ú. The translation of *šá-ki-ni-šu* is based upon the use of *šakānu* in reference to one who wears an object (such as a cylinder seal) around his neck or places an amulet or an object on his body, see CAD Š/1 123–4. Examples of this usage come from the medical corpus, such as the MA tablet *BAM* 194, in which each section of vol. vii begins NA₄ GAR-*šú*, “(if) he wears an (amulet) stone.” The supposition here is that the *šu*-suffix on the participle *šākinu* refers to the *imhurlīm*-plant, and that wearing this plant offers protection from the witch.

Line 10. For the restoration, cf. Maqlû V 10 and 138, a common doxology.

Line 15. The reference to an “incantation of Udug-ḥul” would presumably refer to a specific Udug-ḥul incantation (from the series) that was to be used with ušburruda incantations. Alternatively, the incipit of the incantation could be ÉN *šá* UDUG.ḤUL, although such an incipit is unknown to me.

² [Editors’ note: see also T. Abusch in the present volume.]

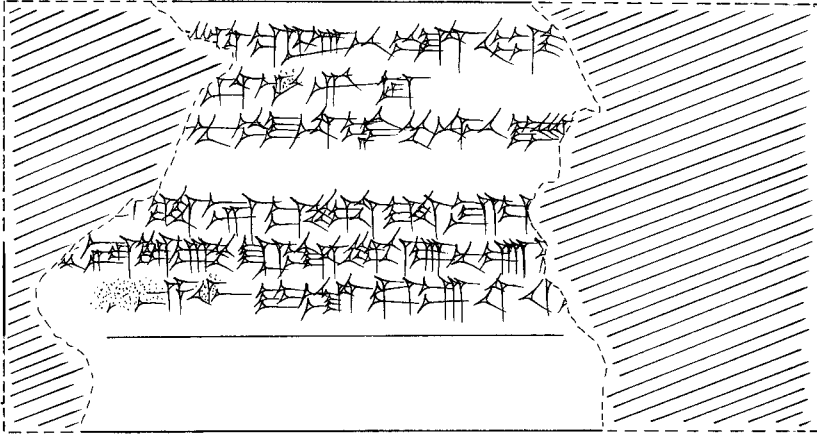


Fig. 1. CBS 8680 obv.

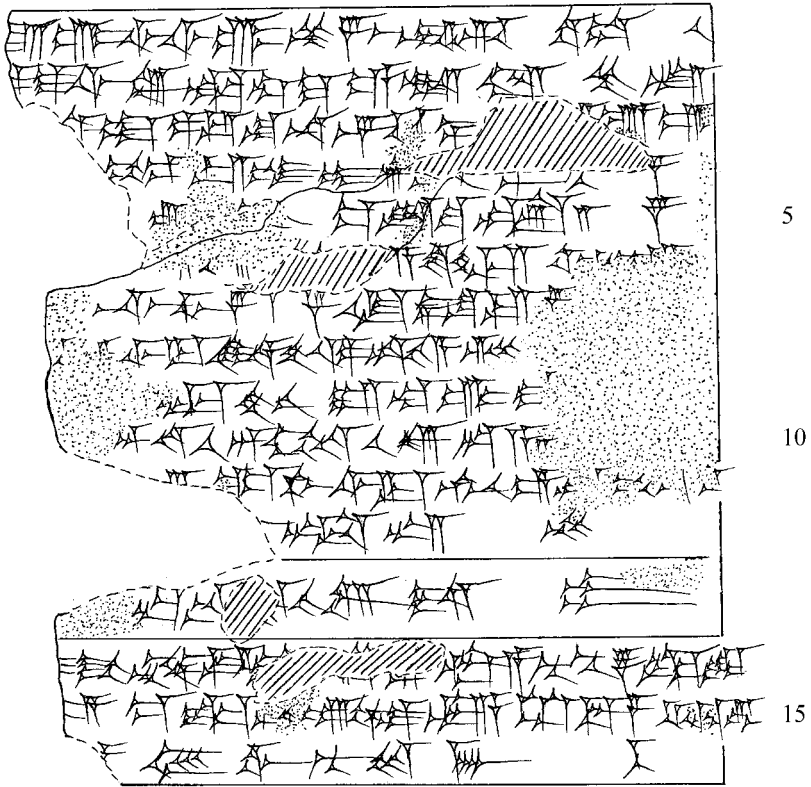


Fig. 2. CBS 1720 rev.

**BABYLONIAN TEXTS FROM THE FOLIOS OF
SIDNEY SMITH, PART THREE: A COMMENTARY
ON A RITUAL OF THE MONTH NISAN**

A. R. George

This study continues the series of articles that make available cuneiform texts in previously unpublished hand-copies left by the late Sidney Smith.¹ The fragment presented here now rests in the British Museum's Sippar collections.² As such it was listed by Erle Leichty in the first of his three monumental volumes of catalogue.³ It is accordingly a great pleasure to place the *editio princeps* of this piece in a volume honouring him.

The tablet BM 54312 (Fig. 1) is Neo- or Late Babylonian. It is part of a consignment that contained tablets from Babylon, as well as Sippar (82-5-22). To judge from the superscript, a standard invocation of Marduk and his consort expressing the hope that the tablet will be successfully completed, the provenance was indeed Babylon.

The tablet is certainly one of the most intriguing fragments found in Smith's folios of cuneiform copies, though only the obverse is preserved. According to format and style the text belongs to one of the classes of documents that are known in Assyriology as commentaries.⁴ There are essentially two types of commentary. The first type comprises fixed texts handed down as part of the scribal canon; good examples are the commentaries on *Šumma izbu* edited by Erle Leichty and other lexical commentaries that survive in multiple and duplicate manuscripts.⁵ The second type of commentary is that in which typically a phrase of text is cited and philological notes mixed with quotations and other comments are appended by way of elucidation. Where several tablets of this kind of commentary are extant for a given text of the

¹ See earlier, "Babylonian Texts from the Folios of Sidney Smith, Part One," *RA* 82 (1988) 139–62; "Babylonian Texts from the Folios of Sidney Smith. Part Two: Prognostic and Diagnostic Omens, Tablet I," *RA* 85 (1991) 137–67; "Royal Inscriptions from the Folios of Sidney Smith," in *Studies Grayson* 137–44. The remaining copies of Babylonian tablets in the folios are either incomplete or have been superseded by the efforts of other scholars, published and unpublished. Some Old and Neo-Assyrian documents remain to be published, however.

² BM 54312 is published by the good grace of Sidney Smith's son, Professor H. F. Smith, and with the permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. The tablet has been collated and a few minor alterations and additions have been made to Smith's copy in consequence.

³ E. Leichty, *Catalogue of Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum 6. Tablets from Sippar 1* (London: British Museum, 1986) 138.

⁴ See generally J. Krecher, "Kommentare," *RIA* 6 188–91.

⁵ For the *Šumma izbu* commentaries see E. Leichty, *The Omen Series Šumma Izbu* (TCS 4; Locust Valley: Augustin, 1970) 211–31. [Editors' note: see also I. L. Finkel in the present volume.]

scribal tradition, as for example with *Sakikku* I, they are not true duplicates but read like individual records of traditional interpretations and customary explanations that were evidently attached to the text under comment by generations of Babylonian scholars and teachers.⁶ The presence in some of them of scribal notations such as *hepi* “break” shows that they came to be copied for their own sake. These scholia were not originally part of the written scribal tradition itself; they are better understood as witnesses to how students engaged with that tradition during their education. What is set down on BM 54312, however, cannot yet be proved to be a learned exposition of any text of the written tradition, for no extant text tallies with what is written on it; it may be that it comprises a learned exposition of what was never written down. Oral lore, as well as written, was discussed by scholar-teachers with their apprentices.

The surviving text sets down comments chiefly on the apparel worn by an unidentified subject during the period of 5–11 Nisan (*Nisannu*), the month of the New Year. These seven days were the time of a great festival at Babylon, for this was the crucial period when Nabû arrived from Borsippa, his father Marduk hosted the divine assembly in his temple E-sagil, and the gods accompanied them in procession to the *Akītu*-temple outside the city. There the gods witnessed Marduk’s symbolic defeat of Ti’amat, the Sea, before saluting his triumphal re-entry into the city.⁷ Other cities held similar festivals at one time or other but the superscribed prayer typical of tablets from Babylon and the presence of Marduk in the text itself makes it likely that the context of this commentary is the *Akītu*-festival of this god at Babylon.

The question of the main participant’s identity is important for a proper understanding of what is going on. In the first line a sequence of damaged signs, x-x-ú, can hardly be other than a human subject who is in attendance

⁶ See George, “Babylonian Texts from the Folios of Sidney Smith. Part Two: Prognostic and Diagnostic Omens” 139–40. The observation made there, that though the three commentaries on *Sakikku* I “sometimes agree word for word, more often than not they treat the same subject in slightly different ways,” is borne out by a newly published fourth exemplar, von Weiher, *SpTU* V 256. This is very close to Commentary A but not an exact duplicate.

⁷ The standard edition of the rituals of Nisan at Babylon, specifically of E-sagil, the temple of Marduk, is still F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens* (Paris: Lérout, 1921) 127–54: “Le rituel des fêtes du Nouvel An à Babylone.” In the interval since then other sources of the ritual and texts related to it have been published, notably the texts edited or re-edited by B. Pongratz-Leisten, *Ina Šulmi Īrub. Die kulttopographische und ideologische Programmatik der akītu-Prozession in Babylonien und Assyrien im 1. Jahrtausend v.Chr.* (BaF 16; Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1994) 228–46; W.G. Lambert, “Processions to the Akītu House,” *RA* 91 (1997) 49–80; A. R. George, “Four Temple Rituals from Babylon,” in *Studies Lambert* 259–99, esp. 260–70 (“1. Nisannu?”). Another very probable source is that published by F. Köcher, “Ein mittelassyrisches Ritualfragment zum Neujahrstfest,” *ZA* 50 (1952) 192–202; for this, previously held to describe a festival imported to Assyria, see George, “Four Temple Rituals” 262–3 n. 17.

on a deity in some capacity for the seven days of the period in question. The reason for his participation is explained in a broken clause of commentary, “[because of the ... that] the great lord Marduk did to him.” Clearly the traces exclude both the human beings known to have been attendant on Marduk at this time, the priest-cum-valet who looked after him in his cult-chamber (the *šešgallu*) and the king.

One possibility is that the damaged signs in line 1 should be read *ku-lu¹-ú⁸* and taken as an unusual rendering of *kulu’u*, an effeminate or feminized (probably castrato) cultic performer. The same spelling is also found at least once elsewhere, in a Late Babylonian letter.⁹ In a synonym list *kulu’u* explains *kurgarrû* and *assinnu*, as well as various other more obscure persons.¹⁰ The functions and proclivities of the *kurgarrû* and the *assinnu* are well known. They were cultic performers and included in their ranks transvestites, homosexual prostitutes, catamites, castrati, hermaphrodites and the like.¹¹ Accordingly they occupied a lowly but special position in Babylonian society. In another lexical list the word *kulu’u* occurs as an alternative reading of the logogram *lu.ur.SAL* “female man, hermaphrodite,” otherwise commonly read as *assinnu*.¹² The two words are also variants in literature, both describing Ašûšu-namir, whom Ea made in order to amuse Ereškigal.¹³ Unlike an ordinary being Ašûšu-namir could enter and leave the Netherworld at will, probably because, being neither male nor female, he was set apart from the mass of humankind and not governed by the usual regulations.¹⁴ Proof that the *kulu’u* was of special gender comes from a Middle Babylonian diplomatic letter in which the addressee is accused of insulting an exiled Assyrian prince by calling him “a *kulu’u*, not a man.”¹⁵

⁸ The traces do not permit a reading *k[a-l]u-ú*, “cult-singer.”

⁹ CT 22 183, 9: *lu¹ku-lu-ú^{meš}*, ed. E. Ebeling, *Neubabylonische Briefe* (ABAW 30; Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1949) 99.

¹⁰ CT 18 5 K 4193 rev. 9–11 restored from *LTBA* 2 1 vi 45–9 // 2 380–3: *i-sin-nu-u, a-pi-lu-u, kur-gar-ru-u, a-ra-ru-u, šu-da-ra-ru-u = ku-lu-’*; cf. CAD K 529.

¹¹ They are the subject of a large bibliography; see most recently Stefan M. Maul, “*kurgarrû* und *assinnu* und ihr Stand in der babylonischen Gesellschaft,” in *Außenseiter und Randgruppen. Beiträge zu einer Sozialgeschichte des Alten Orients* (ed. Volkert Haas; XENIA 32; Constance: Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 1992) 159–71; W.G. Lambert, “Prostitution,” in *Außenseiter und Randgruppen* 127–61, esp. 147–52; George, “Four Temple Rituals” 270–1 n. 21. A study from a more anthropological perspective is that by Gwendolyn Leick, *Sex and Eroticism in Mesopotamian Literature* (London: Routledge, 1994) chapter 14, “Liminal Sexuality: Eunuchs, Homosexuals and the Common Prostitute.”

¹² B. Landsberger and O.R. Gurney, “*igi-duš-a = tāmartu*, Short Version,” *AfO* 18 (1957–58) 84, 265–6: *lu¹.ur.SAL = ku-lu-’*, *lu¹.ur.SAL = as-sin-nu*.

¹³ Ištar’s Descent: KAR 1 rev. 6’: *aš-na-me-er ku-lu-’[a]* // CT 15 46 rev. 12: *mašû(è)-šu na-mir lu¹as-sin-nu*, ed. Borger, *BAL* I 101 Nin. 92 // Ass. Rs. 7.

¹⁴ So already Lambert, “Prostitution” 151.

¹⁵ IV R² 34 no. 2 rev. 21: *ku-lu-’ú la zi-ka-ru šu-ú*, ed. J. Llop and A.R. George, “Die babylonisch-assyrischen Beziehungen und die innere Lage Assyriens in der Zeit der Auseinandersetzung zwischen Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur und Mutakkil-Nusku nach neuen keilschriftlichen

The insult becomes sharper when one considers that a *kulu'u*, if he was like an *assinnu*, took the female role in homosexual intercourse.

The presence of a *kulu'u* in Marduk's entourage is not without parallel. There is a tablet that specifically collects the Akkadian chants to be recited by a ^{lú}ur.SAL (*assinnu* or *kulu'u*) during the progress of Marduk's procession to the *Akītu*-temple on 8 Nisan.¹⁶ It may be that this person is identical with the subject of our text. One of the chants tells us that among those who took part in the procession were *assinnus* and *kurgarrûs* of Ištar, Lady of Babylon.¹⁷

The commentary states that a member of the *kulu'u* personnel (if correctly read) was obliged to attend Marduk during the ritual of the *Akītu*-festival, evidently because of something Marduk did to him. The following phrases of commentary refer to something—surely, whatever Marduk did to the x-x-ú—as a “curse” that “cannot be undone.” I suspect that what Marduk did was to determine the peculiar status of this class of person (by decreeing their castration?). Curse by a deity as an aetiology of the degraded status of cultic performers in Babylonian society occurs in the Descent of Ištar, where the *assinnu* (or *kulu'u*) Ašûšu-namir and his kind are cursed by Ereškigal for thwarting her plans; according to one source her curse is similarly irrevocable, a “destiny not to be forgotten for all time.”¹⁸ Given the rarity of the spelling *ku-lu-ú*, this reading in the present text remains questionable. However, it is a reading that fits not only the traces but also the ancient exegesis set down in the opening lines, at least as I understand it.

If the first few lines of the text are to be interpreted as commentary relating to the *kulu'u*'s status, the rest of it is commentary on ritual actions. It seems these ritual actions are in some way part of the cultic rites conducted from the fifth to eleventh days, but specifically the procedures of cult of a deity ^da-[...]. Clearly this cannot be Marduk. Since in line 5 a feminine possessive pronoun is at issue, I assume the deity is a goddess, and at Babylon a goddess ^da-[...] is likely to be Anunnītum, who had a sanctuary in the temple complex of Marduk and is well known in the religious life of the city.¹⁹ She recurs in lines 5 and 6. Now Anunnītum is a form of Ištar and it is with Ištar's cult especially that cultic performers like the *kurgarrû* and the *assinnu* were most often associated.

Quellen,” *AfO* 48–9 (2001–02) 1–23. The prince in question was the unfortunate Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur.

¹⁶ K 9876 + 19534 obv. 1: [*an-nu-ú*] ^{šá} ^{lú}ur.SAL *imannû*(šid), ed. Pongratz-Leisten, *Ina Šulmi Īrub* 228. Singing also accompanied Marduk's return to E-sagil, though on that occasion it was a senior professional cult-singer (*kalamāhu*) chanting in Sumerian: see Jerrold S. Cooper, “A Sumerian šu-il-la with a prayer for Sin-šar-iškun,” *Iraq* 32 (1970) 51–67.

¹⁷ K 9876 + 19534 obv. 11.

¹⁸ KAR I rev. 19': *šim-ti la ma-še-e ana ša-a-ti*, ed. Borger, *BAL* I 101 Ass. Rs. 20.

¹⁹ For Anunnītum and her cult at Babylon see the temple list *Tintir* IV 10, ed. A. R. George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts* (OLA 40; Leuven: Peeters, 1992) 58–9 and commentary on 310.

The *kulu'u* (if that is what he is) who must attend Marduk during his festival is thus revealed as an hermaphrodite attached to the cult of Anunnîtum. The first ritual action that he performs (lines 4–5) is to sprinkle holy water, probably on her (i.e., the goddess's statue), an action that recalls how in mythology the *kurgarra* and *galatur*—in Babylonian Namtar, but implicitly compelled by the *assinnu/kulu'u* Ašûšu-namir—sprinkle Inanna/Ištar's dead body with the water of life in order to enable her return from the Netherworld. The ancient commentary, however, is silent on this point, remarking only that the sprinkling signifies the purification of the world.

The remainder of the text is devoted to the exposition of a second ritual action, namely an elaborate ceremony of dressing. Ritual attire was important in the Babylonian cult, not only for deities but also for their human attendants, as we know from a Late Babylonian tablet from Uruk that prescribes the garments and headgear to be worn by various participants in the cult, including the king.²⁰ The subject in BM 54312 is no doubt the mysterious personage of line 1, *kulu'u* or no, and the assumption adopted here is that this ceremony is to make him suitably splendid for his role in Marduk's *Akîtu*-festival. His basic dress is given by the text as “apparel of Anunnîtum.” As well as serving to remind us that the activities of the subject are bound up with the “rites of Anunnîtum” (as restored here), this is further evidence of his identity as a cultic performer. Other references exist to such personnel wearing the accoutrements of a goddess: a ritual from Uruk describes a *kurgarrû* and an *assinnu* as wearing the *tillû*-sash of the goddess Narudu while accompanying Ištar to the *Akîtu*-temple,²¹ and a commentary on a tablet of diagnostic omens quotes in the context of cultic ecstasies a lexical entry *lû.gis.kéš.da nin nun.gal.e.ne* “one (sporting) the knot of the mistress of the Igigi” = *ri-kis ʿna-ru-du* “(one sporting) the knot of Narudu.”²² It is suspected that some of the cultic personnel of Ištar wore female attire; some certainly carried spindles as a mark of their vocation or gender.²³ The present attestation of the subject dressing in the garments of Anunnîtum appears to be a further example of transvestism.

After donning the apparel of Anunnîtum the subject of the ritual must adorn himself with the following items:

²⁰ A. Falkenstein, “Zwei Rituale aus seleukidischer Zeit,” *UVB* 15 (1959) 40–4 no. 2.

²¹ *RAcc.* 115, 7, ed. S. Lackenbacher, “Un nouveau fragment de la ‘fête d’Ištar’,” *RA* 71 (1977) 46, 25': *ša til-le-e ʿna-ru-du rak-su*. The *tillû* of this goddess is a distinctive attribute, used elsewhere to identify an apotropaic figurine as her representative: see *BBR* no. 45 iii 1, ed. F. A. M. Wiggermann, *Mesopotamian Protective Spirits: The Ritual Texts* (CM 1; Groningen: Styx, 1992) 12, 138–9.

²² Commentary a on *Sakikku* I 30, ed. George, “Babylonian Texts from the Folios of Sidney Smith, Part Two” 150–1 // von Weiher, *SpTU* V 256 rev. 6'.

²³ See the lexical text *Lú = ša* I 217 (ed. MSL 12 103), where *lû.gisbal.šu.du₇ = na-áš pi-laq-qi*, “spindle bearer,” follows entries for *kurgarrû* and *assinnu*.

- (a) seven waistbands
- (b) fourteen writing styli of reed, seven strapped at his right side, seven at his left
- (c) two more styli, two at the front and two at the back
- (d) two upper overgarments and two lower overgarments
- (e) belts, evidently two in number
- (f) an unidentified item (text damaged) worn behind the waist
- (g) fourteen twists of coloured wool, seven on the right and seven on the left
- (h) another unidentified item, made of linen
- (i) headgear?

The interest of the text in listing this elaborate costume is again expository, for each item is subject to phrases of commentary. The sole aim of the commentary on this passage is equation of the individual items of clothing and regalia with members of the pantheon. In the Seleucid tablet from Uruk the garments of the temple personnel (*ērib bīti*) are adorned with representations of seven minor guardian deities.²⁴ The technique used in the present text, however, is to maintain that the items worn actually bear the names of gods. This makes for a specific identification between object and god. The seven styli worn on the right (b) are identified by name as the great triad of Anu, Enlil, and Ea, the three celestial deities of sun, moon, and Venus, and the Mother Goddess. Those on the left (also b) bear the names of a group of seven Babylonian gods known in antiquity as the “seven Ninurtas”: Uraš of Dilbat, Ninurta of Nippur, Zababa of Kiš, Nabû of Borsippa, Nergal of Cutha, Madānu of Babylon, and Pabilsag of Isin. The styli of front and rear (c) are called after the Mother Goddess and the goddess Gula in her title of Nintinugga, Lady who Quickens the Dead. The seven waistbands (a) are named Ištar and Ea; the presence of two deities only, and out of sequence, may mean that the writer of the commentary misunderstood something.²⁵

The twin sets of two overgarments (d) are called after the chthonic twins Lugalirra and Meslamtaea and two apotropaic monsters, Lion-Demon and Dragon. The belts (e) are named as the vizier Papsukkal and his master, Anu. The unidentified item worn behind the waist (f) is the Mother Goddess. The seven twists of coloured wool on the right (g) are identified as the Pleiades, the seven on the left (also g) are a heptad of waterways, not all of them identifiable. We are reminded that in ancient Mesopotamia the pantheon contained not just the anthropomorphic figures of mythology; stars and rivers were held divine also. As the text fails us it seems that a linen item (h) and headgear are at issue (i), and the Moon God is mentioned, appropriately in the context, for he is often addressed as *bēl agê* “lord of the crown.”

²⁴ Falkenstein, “Zwei Rituale” 40 rev. 13’–15’.

²⁵ See below, the note on the text.

The principle according to which inanimate or mundane objects can be equated with prominent deities of the pantheon was well established in Babylonian scholarship. The ancient texts that articulate such equations most clearly are those studied and elucidated by Alasdair Livingstone, particularly the lists that explain as deities ritual equipment and materials used in temple and exorcistic rituals.²⁶ In these lists simple equations are made so that everyday objects in use in a ritual signify deities. Sometimes there is a clear rationale, as in the classic example when gypsum and bitumen are identified respectively as Ninurta and the Asakku demon, famous opponents in mythology.²⁷ In the mythological narrative *Lugale* Ninurta is champion of the established and familiar order, while the Asakku represents the ungovernable and foreign chaos that threatens that order. In the equations of the lists, the white substance is naturally the good Ninurta, the black material is the evil Asakku. In practice these two substances, washes of gypsum and bitumen, are daubed by the medicine man (*āšipu*, “exorcist”) on the doorway of the house where his patient lies sick. According to the symbolism of the list they signify the presence of Ninurta and the Asakku, in the expectation that just as Ninurta won in the primeval combat of mythology, so he will again when battle is rejoined in the doorway. With the Asakku vanquished, the demonic influences that have caused the patient’s illness will be banished.

As Livingstone points out, the rationale behind the equations of his texts cannot always be identified as easily, and many of the identifications remain a matter of mystery. What seems certain, nevertheless, is that the interpretations of ritual equipment and other objects may be informed by mythology, so that individual items evoke individual episodes or mythologems that are appropriate, but the ensemble does not itself tell a myth. This is sure proof that the equation between object and deity was a secondary development. Just as learned pseudo-etymological texts manipulate the spelling of proper nouns—typically the names of gods, cities, and temples—in order to bring esoteric meanings to light that reveal hidden and mystical truths about the nature of the names’ bearers,²⁸ so the scholars who developed the technique of explaining ritual objects in terms of gods and goddesses sought to invest in those objects the numinous powers of the supernatural world and to bring those powers into play in the ritual.

²⁶ A. Livingstone, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986) esp. chapter 5; see in addition W. G. Lambert, “The Qualifications of Babylonian Diviners,” in *Studies Borger* 151.

²⁷ On this see already W. G. Lambert, “Myth and Ritual as Conceived by the Babylonians,” *JSS* 13 (1968) 104–12, esp. 110.

²⁸ For examples of these texts see J. Bottéro, “Les noms de Marduk, l’écriture et la ‘logique’ en Mésopotamie ancienne,” in *Studies Finkelstein* 5–28; Livingstone, *Mystical Works* 54–63; W. G. Lambert, “A Late Babylonian Copy of an Expository Text,” *JNES* 48 (1989) 215–21; George, *Topographical Texts* nos. 2–5, 18 § 6, 19, 20 § 4, 22–3, and 31.

Such was also the intent of whatever sources, written or memorized, informed the commentator of the present text. The equations are very evidently symbolic. The wearer of the garments and regalia is no longer himself but, by virtue of the identification of his apparel with deities great and small, he is the entire pantheon of heaven and earth, going to march alongside Marduk, the king of the universe, in his symbolic battle with the watery forces of chaos. This explains why Marduk does not appear among the gods chosen by the commentator. All the other great figures of the Babylonian pantheon are there, except Adad. I cannot find a reason for Adad's absence, but the context of the ritual itself explains the omission of Marduk. The suggestion is that a *kulu'u* from the personnel of Anunnîtum of Babylon is to accompany Marduk for the seven days of Nisan during which Marduk's statue is prepared for the journey to the *Akîtu*-temple and makes the procession there and back. The apparel that he wears very appropriately represents and symbolizes the assembly of the gods subservient to Marduk; it does not include in that number the king of the gods himself, for Marduk travels under his own identity.

BM 54312 (82-5-22, 464)

Superscript

[*ina a-mat* ^{dbē}]l(en) u ^{dbēlti}(gašan)-iā liš-lim

Text

- 1 [x x x] x[x ^{it}] ⁱnisan^{nu}(bar) i^{štu}(ta) ud 5.kam adi(en) ud 11.kam 7 ^u₄-mu x x-ú
ina pān(igi) ^rd[...]
- 2 [x x-r] u² ^{bēlu}(en) r[^{abū}(gal)] ^ri¹ ^dmarduk(amar.utu) ^ri¹-pu-šu-uš 7 kiš-šat
^{šamē}(an)^e u ^{er}seti(ki)^{tim} áš-šú x[...]
- 3 [x x] x-ri á[r-ra]t-su la ip-pa-ša-ri áš-šú i^{štu}(ta) ud 5.kam adi(en) ud 11.kam
^{par-šu} šá ^ra¹-[nu-ni-tum? ...]
- 4 [x x x] x-bu-^ruš¹ ^{mē}(a)^{meš} ^{nāri}(id) ^{mē}(a)^{meš} ^{būri}(pú) ^{mē}(a)^{meš} idⁱ-dⁱ-gi-lat
^{mē}(a)^{meš} id^{pu}-rat-tú [0?]
- 5 [ⁱ-na sa-r] a-^qi-šá ^{mātātu}(kur)^{meš} ú-tal-lal 3.ta ^{tú}gnahlapāt(gú.è) ^{kitē}(gada)
^{šu}-bat ^a-nu-ni-tum i^h-ha-l[ip]
- 6 [x x x]^{meš} ^{šu}-bat ^a-nu-ni-tum il-lab-bi^š 7 šá qab-lu ina qabli(murub₄)-šú
ⁱ-rak-k[as]
- 7 [7 ^qa-a] n-^{tu}p-pi ana imni(15) i-sa-an-ni-ib 7 ^qa-an-^{tu}p-pi ana ^{šumēli}(150)
KIMIN 2 ^qa-an-^{tu}p-pi
- 8 [ana ma-ha]r ana ku-t[a]l qabli(murub₄)-šú ú¹(I)-šá-aš-bat šu-mu ^qa-an-
^{tu}p-pi^{meš} šá im-nu ^a-num
- 9 [^den-lil ^de]a(idim) ^dšⁱⁿ(30) [^d]šamaš¹(30) ^diš-tar u ^dbe-let-ilī(dingir)^{meš}
^{šum-šú}-nu šu-mu KIMIN
- 10 [šá ^{šumēli}(150) ^dur]aš ^dnin-urta ^dza-ba₄-ba₄ ^dnabū(muati) ^dnergal(U.GUR)
^dmadānu(di.kud) u ^dpa-bil-sag ^{šum-šú}-nu

Babylonian Texts from the Folios of Sidney Smith

- 11 [š_u-mu š]á qabli(murub₄)-šú d_{iš}-tar u d_{ea}(idim) šum-šú-nu g_iqa-an-
tuppi(dub)^{meš} ma-har u ku-tal-l[a]
12 [d_{be}-let]-ili(dingir) u d_{nin}-tin-ug₃-ga šum-šú-nu 2 šu-bat e-lu-tú 2 šap-lu-tú šá
ištu(ta) muh_{hi}(ugu) kišādi(gú)-šú
13 [ad_i qab]li(murub₄)-šú up-ta-na-ar-ku-’ d_{lugal}-ir₉-ra u d_{mes}-lam-ta-è-a
šum-šú-nu
14 [d_u₄-gal]-lu u d_{muš}huššu(muš.ħuš) šum-šú-nu t_ug_nēbeħu(ib.lá) šá ina
qabli(murub₄)-šú i-lam-mu-ú d_{pap}-sukkal d_a-nu šum-šú-nu
15 [x x šá ina ku-tal qabli(murub₄)-šú ummu(ama) d_{be}-let-ilī(dingir)^{meš} šum-šú
s_{ik}pešātu(babbar) s_{ik}sāmātu(sas) s_{ik}uqnātu(za.gin.na) 7.ta.àm šá im-[n]u
16 [u šumēl]i(150) šá iš-tu qabli(murub₄)-šú uz-zu-nu šá im-nu ^{mul}zappu(mul)
šum-šú šá šumēli(150) 7 nārātu(id)^m[eš]
17 [d_{id}]iqlat(idigna) i[d_{pu}]-’rat-tú¹ d_{mud}-nu-nu būrtu(pú) palag(paš) šīt
šamši(dutu.è.a) palag(paš) ereb šamši(dutu.šú.a) šum-šú-n[u]
18 [x x x] x[x x x] GAN šá kitē(gada) šu-ú ši šam-ši den-lil-ú-tú ka-as-ka-s[i]
19 [.]-ig-ri d_{sîn}(30) ku-lu-lu qaqqadi(sag.du)-šú aššu(mu) ^{na₄}kunukku
(kišib) ^{na₄}aš-pú-u aban(na₄) šarru(lugal)-[ti ... (remainder lost)]

Translation

By the command of Bēl and Bēltīya let it be a success!

[...] from the fifth to the eleventh day of Nisannu, for seven days the ... [stands] before the god [DN, because of the ...] the great lord Marduk did to him. Seven = all heaven and underworld, because ... [...] ... His [curse] cannot be undone, because from the fifth to the eleventh day the rites of [Anunnitum ...] ... him. River water, well water, Tigris water, Euphrates water [(...) ⁵ as he] sprinkles on her²⁹ all the lands are purified. He wraps himself in three linen cloaks, the attire of Anunnitum. He puts on [x ...] ..., the attire of Anunnitum. He ties seven waistbands around his waist. He fastens [seven reed] styli to the right, ditto seven reed styli to the left. Two reed styli he positions [to the front] and to the rear of his waist. The names of the reed styli on the right: they are called Anu, [Enlil], Ea, Sîn, Šamaš(!), Ištar, and Bēlet-ilī. The names of ditto ¹⁰ [on the left]: they are called Uraš, Ninurta, Zababa, Nabû, Nergal, Madānu, and Pabilsag. [The names of] his waistbands: they are called Ištar and Ea. The reed styli front and rear: they are called [Bēlet]-ilī and Nintinugga. The two upper garments and two lower ones which they drape across from the top of his shoulder [to] his waist: (the two) are called Lugalirra and Meslamtaea; (the others) are called [Lion]-Demon and Dragon. The belts which they put around his waist: they are called Papsukkal (and) Anu. ¹⁵ [The ...] ... which is behind his waist: it is called Mother Bēlet-ilī. The (twists of) white, red and blue wool, seven each on right [and left], which ... from his waist: those of the right are called the Pleiades, those of the left are called the Seven Rivers: Tigris, Euphrates, Mudnunu(?), Well-spring(?), Eastern Canal, Western Canal. [...] ... it is a ... of linen, east = Enlil-ship, breastbone, [...] ... Sîn, the kerchief of his head, because a seal of jasper, the stone of kingship [...] (remainder lost)]

²⁹ Or, “as she sprinkles,” with reference to a feminine subject.

Notes

2. The mystic figure seven, which refers back to the number of days given in the previous line, is also equated with *kiš-ša-tu* in a group vocabulary (F. Thureau-Dangin, “Un vocabulaire de Kouyoundjik,” *RA* 16 [1919] 166 ii 24 // CT 18 29 ii 19). Compare also *lugal.ú-mu-na*⁷ = *šar-ru kiš-ša-ti* in *Lú* = *ša* I 52 (ed. MSL 12 94), and *7.àm dingir 7.àm.meš : se-bet ilī(dingir)*^{meš} *kiš-ša-ti* in *Udug-ḫul* V (CT 16 13 iii 18).

4. GI is written for IG(*iq*), as elsewhere in Neo- and Late Babylonian writing. The use of CV signs for VC is well documented for Neo-Assyrian orthography (see K. Deller, “Studien zur neuassyrischen Orthographie,” *Or* NS 31 [1962] 188–90), but not yet for Babylonian of the same period.

5. The antecedent of the pronominal suffix on *sarāqīša* is presumed to be the goddess as object; less likely it is the ritual’s protagonist as subject. Though in ancient Mesopotamia hermaphrodites had feminine gender as well as masculine, elsewhere in this text the person who is the ritual’s only human participant consistently attracts a masculine pronoun. The spelling *ú-tal-lal* stands for 3rd fem. pl. *ūtallālā*, CVC for CVCV.

6. The figure seven is probably a mistake for two, since it appears from line 11, as restored here, that the waistbands are equated with only two deities.

7. The styli are apparently attached to the waistband. A similar arrangement is found in relation to divine apparel in the fragment Rm 908, 4–5: [...]x-’ *qar-tup-pa-a-ti ri-kis qablī(murub₄)^{min-šú-nu} [...]x^{meš} ú-kin-nu ina bir-ki-ša qanuppāti(gi.dub.ba)^{meš} ri-kis qablī(murub₄)-ša* (Haupt, *Nimrodepos* no. 50, ed. A. Livingstone, *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea* [SAA 3; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1989] no. 49). These attestations of styli tied to clothing help explain the ^{tú}*glu-bar qa-an-tup-pu* worn by the king when taking the hands of the gods of Uruk (Falkenstein, “Zwei Rituale” 40 rev. 9’). Falkenstein thought this was a garment with a stylus pattern (“ein Kleid mit einem Schreibrohr-Muster”); a robe adorned with clutches of styli now seems more probable.

9. The second ^d30 is dittography, an obvious error for ^d20.

10. The seven gods of the left were known in antiquity as the “seven Ninurtas,” under which rubric they are listed in the Archive of Mystic Heptads (KAR 142 i 22–5, ed. Pongratz-Leisten, *Ina Šulmi Īrub* 221): ^d*uraš* ^d*nin-urta* ^d*za-ba₄-ba₄* ^d*na-bi-um* ^d*nè-eri₁₁-gal* ^d*madānu*(di.ku₅) ^d*pa-bíl-sag* 7 ^d*nin-urta*^{meš}. They also appear as a group in a expository text concerning the rituals for repairing

divine statues in the temple workshop (newly re-edited by C.B.F. Walker and M. Dick, *The Induction of the Cult Image in Ancient Mesopotamia: The Mesopotamian Mīs Pî Ritual* [SAALT 1; Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2001] 240, 30'–1'): ^duraš ^dnin-urta ^dza-ba₄-ba₄ ^dnabû(muati) ^dnergal(U.GUR) ^dmadānu(di.ku₅) u ^dpa-bil-sag.

13. The spelling *up-ta-na-ar-ku-*' stands for II/3 present *uptanarrakū*.

14. If the two deities equated with the second set of garments are to form a true pair, as did the first set, then an apotropaic monster comparable to the *mušhuššu* is needed at the beginning of the line. Accordingly a possible restoration might be [ku₆.lú.u₁₈].lu, but the *ugallu* is preferred here because it appears more often adjacent to the *mušhuššu* in lists of apotropaic monsters found in litanies of absolution and other texts, and the pairing may thus have been traditional (for these lists, given in tabulated form, see George, "Babylonian texts from the folios of Sidney Smith, part one" 151; Pongratz-Leisten, *Ina Šulmi Īrub* 23).

15. The adj. *sāmu* in the fem. pl. is given as the rendering for *sík.sa₅* by analogy with not only *sík.babbar* = *pešātu* and *sík.za.gin* = *uqnātu* but also other colours and varieties of wool (see Hh XIX 23–92, ed. MSL 10 128–30).

16. The verb *uz-zu-nu* is obscure to me; emend to *uz-zu-ḫu*, "which are girl"?

17. It does not seem possible to extract the expected seven rivers from this line: ^{id}mud-nu-nu is not a known watercourse, to my knowledge, and *būrtu* (or *būru*) is hardly a river. Corruption is suspected and the reading of the middle of the line is provisional. The "Eastern Canal" calls to mind the Lībil-ḫengalla canal at Babylon, which was often given this epithet (*Tintir* V 61, ed. George, *Topographical Texts* 66 with commentary on pp. 356–8). Another list of seven rivers occurs in a *lipšur*-litany, K 2096 (Craig, *ABRT* I 57 obv. 24–5): ^{id}idigna ^{id}buranun ^{id}me.kal.kal ^{id}dur.ùl i[^dx (x)] ^{id}IGI.NUMUN ^{id}a-ra-aḫ-tum na-ram-ti ^dmarduk(amar.utu).

18. The explanation of *šî šamši* "sunrise, east" as *ellilūtu* reports a well-entrenched belief that the east was Enlil's direction. This notion is found in scholarly lists that identify the four winds with the chief deities of the pantheon (see Livingstone, *Mystical Works* 75–6). The east wind is *šadû*, and the association with Enlil no doubt rests on the use of *šadû*, "mountain," and its synonyms as epithets of this god.

19. A seal of jasper "stone of kingship," with suitable inscription, is known to have been strung around the neck of Šîn's statue in E-ḫulḫul by Aššurbanipal,

as Nabonidus reports (L. Messerschmidt, “Die Inschrift der Stele Nabuna’ids, des Königs von Babylon,” *MVAG* 1896, 1: 81, col. x 32 ff.): ^{na4}*kunukki*(kišib) ^{na4}*aš-pú-u šu-qu-ru aban*(na4) *šarru*(lugal)-*tú*; recently re-edited by H. Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids von Babylon und Kyros’ des Großen samt den in ihrem Umfeld entstandenen Tendenzschriften: Textausgabe und Grammatik* (AOAT 256; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2001) 522 3.3 col. x 32’–4’ with n. 797.

ANOTHER ANCIENT ANTIQUARY

William W. Hallo

For his contribution to the Festschrift in honor of Erica Reiner (who often joined both of us in courses at the Oriental Institute in the 1950s), Erle Leichty chose to present “a legal text from the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III” that was unusual in at least two respects: it was preserved in two duplicate copies and, given the fingernail markings appearing on the edges of both tablets, these could be characterized as late copies. (He noted that all such texts known to him deal with real estate in one form or another.¹) Both aspects are deserving of further attention.

I. Duplicate Archival Texts

While tablets with fingernail markings are not uncommon in the first millennium,² duplicate exemplars of such texts, as of archival texts in most periods, are much rarer. The following random examples of ostensibly archival texts in duplicate form come to mind. An exceptional sale document from Umma in the Neo-Sumerian period—and with an unusual dating formula—was published by Steinkeller, who called it “the earliest Ur III sale document known so far;”³ in Snell’s opinion it should rather be regarded as a model contract that had entered the scribal curriculum, precisely because “this duplication is unique in this period.”⁴ From the succeeding Old Babylonian period, there are two pairs of duplicate divisions of inheritance from Nippur last dealt with by Prang.⁵ But according to Renger, it was only the Neo-Babylonian period that saw “the introduction of the duplicate tablet, that is, a contract was written in duplicate and a copy given to each of the two parties involved in a legal agreement.”⁶ Some texts now even occurred in triplicate.⁷

¹ Erle Leichty, “A Legal Text from the Reign of Tiglath-Pileser III,” in *Studies Reiner* 227–9.

² J. Renger, “Legal Aspects of Sealing in Ancient Mesopotamia,” in *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East* (ed. McGuire Gibson and Robert D. Biggs; BiMes 6; Malibu, Calif.: Undena Publications 1977) 75–88, esp. 78 and nn. 63 f.

³ Piotr Steinkeller, *Sale Documents of the Ur-III-Period* (FAOS 17; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1989) 275–8.

⁴ Daniel C. Snell, review of Steinkeller, *Sale Documents*, *JAOS* 112 (1992) 118–22, esp. 119 f.

⁵ Erwin Prang, “Das Archiv des Bitûa,” *ZA* 67 (1977) 217–34, esp. 218–20. Of course, envelopes duplicating the contracts contained within occurred frequently in Old Babylonian times.

⁶ Renger, “Legal Aspects” 78 and n. 68.

⁷ That is how I interpret Grant Frame, “Nabonidus, Nabû-šarra-ušur, and the Eanna Temple,” *ZA* 81 (1991) 37–86, esp. 59 and n. 43.

Perhaps, then, Leichty's duplicates, like Steinkeller's, may have to be reinterpreted as schooltexts, the more so as their subject—a dispute over inheritance—is a favorite topic of the scribal (or should we say legal) curriculum. They show a rather remarkable resemblance to “a model court case concerning inheritance” that I published in 2002.⁸ That case was in Sumerian and dated back to the 20th or 19th century, with the copy probably from the 18th, while Leichty's case dates to the eighth century, with the copies a century later. But both cases involved an inheritance divided between an older brother, who received the lion's share, and a younger brother or brothers who contested the disposition of the estate. Both cases were settled “out of court” by mutual agreements involving real estate including an orchard. It is thus tempting to see late examples of a model court case in Leichty's duplicates.

A third example, originally published by Langdon as OECT 1 20f., remains in dispute. It involves an original which dates, according to its colophon, to Nabû-apal-iddin (9th century). It is “a large tablet from the Eanna listing the daily offerings of meat to Ishtar and Nanaya and the categories of temple personel (*sic*) entitled to a prebendal share thereof,” to quote the description by Beaulieu who speculates that it may have been “recopied in the Neo-Babylonian period to serve as a source for the reinstatement of the old prebendal system after times of disruptions,” perhaps during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II in the sixth century.⁹ However, McEwan, who republished the text thinks that it was “probably no more than a literary exercise.”¹⁰

II. Late Copies

The subject of cuneiform copies of (significantly) earlier originals has not received much systematic attention. The *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* covers only the Hittites in its entry for “Kopien von Keilschrifttexten,” a situation partly corrected by the editor's own survey of copies of royal inscriptions in the same volume.¹¹

A fragmentary letter addressed to King Šulgi of Ur is known only from a late copy made, according to its colophon, in Babylon from an original found

⁸ William W. Hallo, “A Model Court Case Concerning Inheritance,” in *Studies Jacobsen* 141–54.

⁹ Paul-Alain Beaulieu, “Cuts of Meat for King Nebuchadnezzar,” *NABU* 1990/93.

¹⁰ Gilbert J. P. McEwan, “Distribution of Meat in Eanna,” *Iraq* 45 (1983) 187–98, esp. 194. For some of the anatomical terms in the text, see also Hallo, “Carcasses for the Capital,” in *Studies Veenhof* 161–71.

¹¹ Heinrich Otten, “Kopien von Keilschrifttexten (bei den Hethitern),” *RLA* 6 (1980–83) 211; Dietz O. Edzard, “Königsinschriften. 6. Abschriften,” *RLA* 6 64 f.; cf. Hallo, review of *RLA* 6/3–4 in *BiOr* 41 (1984) 124–6, esp. 125.

in Ur by the son of an exorcist.¹² It could represent the late copy of a genuine archival text or simply a late example of royal correspondence, which was routinely included in the canonical curriculum of the scribal schools in the second millennium.

The situation with indubitably canonical texts is similar: there are few late copies, that is, in the sense of copies made not by routine copying of relatively recent “Vorlagen” in the normal course of scribal activity but from originals retrieved after a long interval. A rare case of this type is represented by the Old Babylonian *t i g i* to Nintu(r), rededicated to Ninurta in a neo-Assyrian copy that I published in 1989.¹³ It includes a colophon that reads: “Copy of Nippur, written and collated according to its original.”

Examples of late copies of monumental inscriptions are considerably more common and will be surveyed here before illustrating them with one from the Morgan Library Collection at Yale. The survey is only illustrative and not intended to be exhaustive.

“A lost statue from Mari,” or what Sollberger called “as far as I am aware, the earliest text ever copied by a Neo-Babylonian scribe,” may well be the earliest text ever copied by any ancient Mesopotamian scribe to have come down to us; according to its colophon, it was found in antiquity in the Ebabbar temple of Sippar, and that is presumably its modern provenience as well. The scribe has carefully reproduced the “clearly pre-Sargonic script” of the original.¹⁴

Sargonic inscriptions in Old Babylonian copies from Ur, Nippur, and elsewhere occur in considerable numbers. They have been conveniently assembled by Gelb and Kienast.¹⁵ Neo-Babylonian copies of Sargonic inscriptions are less common, and the “cruciform monument of Maništušu” is in a category by itself, since the original of its Neo-Babylonian copies is a creation of the Old Babylonian period or later.¹⁶

The three inscriptions of the Gutian ruler Erridupizir are known from a single Old Babylonian *Sammeltafel*.¹⁷

Neo-Sumerian royal inscriptions are known in Old Babylonian copies both in standard format¹⁸ and in abbreviated form (i.e., with only the

¹² Hans Neumann, “Ein Brief an König Šulgi in einer späten Abschrift,” *AoF* 19 (1992) 29–39 and pl. i; new translation by Piotr Michalowski, *Letters from Early Mesopotamia* (SBLWAW 3; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1993) no. 242.

¹³ Hallo, “Nippur Originals,” in *Studies Sjöberg* 237–47; see 239 f. and nn. 30–45 for additional examples.

¹⁴ Edmond Sollberger, “Lost Inscriptions from Mari,” in *CIRAI* 15 (1967) 103–7 and pl. i, esp. 103.

¹⁵ I. J. Gelb and B. Kienast, *Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften des dritten Jahrtausends v. Chr.* (FAOS 7; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990) 129–292.

¹⁶ E. Sollberger, “The Cruciform Monument,” *JEOL* 20 (1967–68) 50–70.

¹⁷ Gelb and Kienast, *Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften* 300–16.

¹⁸ Note the following in Hallo, “The Royal Inscriptions of Ur: a Bibliography,” *HUCA* 33 (1962)

beginnings of each line given),¹⁹ a format better known from literary texts.²⁰ Occasionally, Old Babylonian copies will contain both Sargonic and Neo-Sumerian inscriptions. This is notably the case with the copy of the inscription on the disc of Enĥeduanna appended to a copy of two inscriptions of Ibĥi-Sîn at Ur, as first noted by Sollberger.²¹ It was possibly also true of the *Sammeltafel* containing at least two inscriptions of Šulgi.²²

Neo-Babylonian copies of originals of Neo-Sumerian date can be illustrated by “Šulgi 24” = CT 9 3a,²³ possibly by a much garbled version of “Amar-Sîn 3,”²⁴ and by the inscription of (N)itlal-Er-ra of Mari.²⁵ One may also note the Neo-Babylonian colophon on the copy of an inscription on what may have been an Ur III brick.²⁶

Isin Dynasty inscriptions began to be copied before the end of Old Babylonian times. By way of example, one may cite Iddin-Dagan 2,²⁷ Išme-Dagan 6,²⁸ Išme-Dagan 8,²⁹ Išme-Dagan 15,³⁰ Ur-Ninurta 2,³¹ Enlil-bani 2,³² Enlil-bani 8,³³ and Enlil-bani 11.³⁴

Neo-Babylonian copies of Old Babylonian royal inscriptions are scarcer but may be illustrated by a single clay tablet, probably from Borsippa, bearing a colophon and the familiar text of Sîn-kašid 8.³⁵

1–43: Ur-Nammu 27 ii. The status of Ur-Nammu 37 has been disputed by Esther Flückiger-Hawker, *Urnamma of Ur in Sumerian Literary Tradition* (OBO 166; Fribourg: University Press, 1999) 297 (Urnamma H), who thinks it is “mistakenly considered as a royal inscription.” Šulgi 4 ii; 54; Amar-Sîn 3 ii; Šu-Sîn 20. Add especially Douglas R. Frayne, *Ur III Period (2112–2004)* (RIME 3/2; Toronto: University of Toronto, 1997) 295–320 = Šu-Sîn 1–9.

¹⁹ Miguel Civil, “On Some Texts Mentioning Ur-Namma,” *OrNS* 54 (1985) 27–45, esp. 37–45.

²⁰ Hallo, “The Concept of Canonicity in Cuneiform and Biblical Literature: A Comparative Appraisal,” *SIC* 4 (1991) 1–19, esp. 9 and n. 94.

²¹ E. Sollberger, *RA* 63 (1969) 180 no. 16.

²² CT 44 2+ (BM 78681+). So according to Gelb and Kienast, *Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften* 132. Differently Frayne, *RIME* 3/2 133–5. For the dating of the copy cf. Piotr Michalowski, “The Earliest Hurrian Toponymy: a New Sargonic Inscription,” *ZA* 76 (1986) 4–11, esp. 8 and n. 9; previously Hallo, review of CT 44, *JCS* 19 (1965) 57 f.

²³ Frayne, *RIME* 3/2 132 f.; colophon: Hermann Hunger, *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone* (AOAT 2; Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon & Bercker, 1968) no. 442.

²⁴ Newly edited by Frayne, *RIME* 3/2 256 f. as Amar-Sîn 11. Colophon: Hunger, *Kolophone* no. 73.

²⁵ Sollberger, “Lost Inscriptions,” 105–7 = Frayne, *RIME* 3/2 448 f.

²⁶ Giorgio Buccellati and Robert D. Biggs, *Cuneiform Texts from Nippur: the Eighth and Ninth Seasons* (AS 17; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969) no. 32.

²⁷ Douglas R. Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 BC)* (RIMB 4; Toronto: University of Toronto, 1990) 23 f. For Iddin-Dagan 3 see below.

²⁸ Frayne, *RIMB* 4 33–5.

²⁹ Frayne, *RIMB* 4 36–8.

³⁰ Frayne, *RIMB* 4 45 f.

³¹ Frayne, *RIMB* 4 66–8.

³² TIM 9 37 (Frayne, *RIMB* 4 78 f.)

³³ Frayne, *RIMB* 4 84.

³⁴ Frayne, *RIMB* 4 86.

³⁵ CT 21 14 = Frayne, *RIMB* 4 453 f.; for colophon see also Hunger, *Kolophone* no. 419.

Kassite inscriptions are known in Neo-Babylonian copies³⁶ as well as in copies of uncertain date.³⁷ Even the Neo-Babylonian rulers are represented in the dossier, with copies of inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar³⁸ and Nabonidus.³⁹

III. Duplicate Late Copies

The latest originals to be cited here come from the Second Dynasty of Isin and the Tenth (last) Dynasty of Babylon (the Chaldaeans). They share both characteristics of Leichty's tablet (above): they are duplicates and late copies.

The votive inscription of Adad-apal-iddina first identified by Gadd from a bilingual Neo-Assyrian copy,⁴⁰ proved to have a duplicate; both duplicates were newly edited by Borger.⁴¹

Nabonidus, the last independent ruler of Babylonia, is represented by two duplicate late copies of one and the same inscription,⁴² although in at least one case Beaulieu thinks we may be dealing with what "may have been either a copy or a draft of the inscription."⁴³

IV. Explaining Late Copies

In his survey of late copies of royal inscriptions, Edzard suggested a variety of possible motives for their creation: reporting the find, intentional or otherwise, of an older inscription in the course of (re)building a monumental building and preserving the text of the inscription before the original was reinterred; inventorying monuments on public display or in storage; or, simply, scribal training.⁴⁴ More recently, Gerdien Jonker suggested that the copying of monuments had relatively less to do with these motives and more with focusing on those royal role models who served the copyists'

³⁶ E.g., CT 9 3b = Brinkman, *MSKH* (1976) 212:Q.2.11; colophon: Hunger, *Kolophone* no. 443, and see Paul-Alain Beaulieu, *The Reign of Nabonidus King of Babylon 556–539 B.C.* (YNER 10; New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989) 142 (Kurigalzu).

³⁷ E.g., Brinkman, *MSKH* 212:Q.2.12; 224:Q.2.66.2; 209:Q.2.1.1(?) and 2.

³⁸ UET 8 103; colophon: Hunger, *Kolophone* no. 73a.

³⁹ See below n. 42.

⁴⁰ C.J. Gadd, "On Two Babylonian Kings," *StOr* 1 (1925) 25–33, esp. 27–33.

⁴¹ Rykle Borger, *Ein Brief Sin-idinnams von Larsa an den Sonnengott sowie Bemerkungen über "Joins" und das "Joinen"* (Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen I. Phil.-hist. Klasse 1991/2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991) 29 f.

⁴² CT 34 23–25 = 26–37; colophons: Hunger, *Kolophone* no. 493 (Nabonidus).

⁴³ CT 34 23–25. See Beaulieu, *Nabonidus* 34 f. (Inscription 16).

⁴⁴ Edzard, "Königsinschriften" 64; on the last point see more recently Jacob Klein, "On Writing Monumental Inscriptions in Ur III Scribal Curriculum," *RA* 80 (1986) 1–7; Mamoru Yoshikawa, "m a š - d à r a and s a g - t a g," *ASJ* 11 (1989) 353–5.

“construction of the past.”⁴⁵ According to her, the same motivation still operated in first-millennium Babylonia, when both kings and commoners actively sought out Sargonic and Neo-Sumerian monuments as they reported in the colophons of their copies.⁴⁶ Some interesting examples are furnished by what appear to be Neo-Babylonian copies from Babylon of inscriptions commemorating the (re)construction of a temple to Ištar in Zabala by Narām-Sîn⁴⁷ and Šar-kali-šarrī respectively.⁴⁸

Some Old Babylonian copies, however, did have a more practical motive. Thus, for example, a clay tablet from Nippur records the fact that Enlil-bani of Isin had two statues of his predecessor Iddin-Dagan moved from Isin to Nippur, and then adds what appears to be the text of the inscription on these statues.⁴⁹ Similarly, a large clay tablet, presumably from Larsa, records the two letter-prayers to Utu, patron deity of Larsa and its dynasty, that Sîn-iddinam of Larsa entrusted to the statue of his father and immediate predecessor Nūr-Adad, together with what is presumably a copy of the texts inscribed on the statues.⁵⁰

But a further motivation should not be overlooked. By Neo-Babylonian times, the inhabitants of Mesopotamia had a keen appreciation of the antiquity of their civilization and, like modern-day Assyriologists, harbored a purely antiquarian interest in their past. This interest was indulged most notably by the Chaldaean kings, as long ago argued by Goossens and more recently by Beaulieu.⁵¹ But it was shared as well by scribes, priests, and private citizens to judge by the colophons. This was first shown by Clay, who called the Babylonian scribe Nabû-zēr-līšir “an ancient antiquary” for making a copy of a Šar-kali-šarrī inscription;⁵² the same scribe copied a Kurigalzu brick during the reign of Nabonidus.⁵³ It was confirmed by Gadd

⁴⁵ Gerdien Jonker, *The Topography of Remembrance: the Dead, Tradition and Collective Memory in Mesopotamia* (Studies in the History of Religions 68; Leiden: Brill, 1995) 109–32, esp. 110 and n. 2.

⁴⁶ Jonker, *Topography* 153 f.

⁴⁷ D. Frayne, *Sargonic and Gutian Periods (2334–2113)* (RIME 2; Toronto: University of Toronto, 1993) 139 f.

⁴⁸ E. Sollberger, “A New Inscription of Šar-kali-šarrī,” in *Studies Diakonoff* (1982) 345–8; D. Frayne, “Notes on a New Inscription of Šar-kali-šarrī,” *ARRIM* 2 (1984) 23–7; and Frayne, *RIME* 2 192–4.

⁴⁹ Iddin-Dagan 3 and Enlil-bani 11 = Frayne, *RIMB* 4 24 f. and 86; Douglas Frayne, “New Light on the Reign of Išme-Dagan,” *ZA* 88 (1998) 6–44, esp. 26.

⁵⁰ J. van Dijk, “Une insurrection générale au pays de Larša avant l’avènement de Nūr-Adad,” *JCS* 19 (1965) 1–25.

⁵¹ G. Goossens, “Les recherches historiques à l’époque néo-babylonienne” *RA* 42 (1948) 149–59; Beaulieu, *Nabonidus* 130 f., 138–43.

⁵² Albert T. Clay, “An Ancient Antiquary,” *MJ* 3 (1912) 23–5. Re-edited by Frayne, *RIME* 2 197 f. For the colophon, see also Beaulieu, *Nabonidus* 141 f.

⁵³ Beaulieu, *Nabonidus* 142; cf. above n. 35.

with his publication of the Adad-apal-iddina votive inscription copied by Arad-Gula the Assyrian exorcist,⁵⁴ and is demonstrated again by the tablet to be discussed below.

V. A Late Copy from the Morgan Library Collection

In 1962 I first called attention to MLC 2075, a late copy of Ur-Nammu's eight-line brick inscription from Uruk in the Morgan Library Collection at Yale, and in 1997 transliterated its colophon for Frayne's compendium.⁵⁵ It is here presented in copy (Figs. 1 and 2) and renewed transliteration.

ḏInanna / nin-a-ni / Ur-ḏNammu / nita kala-ga / lugal uri⁵ki-ma / lugal ki-en-gi
ki-uri-ke₄ // é-a-ni / mu-na-dù /// ki-i pi-i / SIG₄.^{*}AL'.ÛR.RA / LIBIR.RA šá
É.AN.NA / ḏAMAR.UD-ŠEŠ-ir / A' ¹Ib-ni-ḏIš-tar / uš-bal-kit

A few comments will suffice. The original inscription, found only on bricks, says "For Inanna his lady, Ur-Nammu the strong male, the king of Ur, the king of Sumer and Akkad, built her house." It commemorates the (re)building of the Eanna, the principal temple of Uruk, for Inanna, the principal deity of Uruk, by Ur-Nammu, the founder of the Third Dynasty of Ur. I listed four published duplicates of the original inscription in 1962, Frayne added fifteen more in 1997, and undoubtedly additional duplicates will come to light in the future.

Less common, though by no means unique, is the colophon of the late copy: "According to the text of an old baked brick of Eanna, Marduk-našir, son of Ibni-Ištar, copied (it)." Other examples of *šubalkutu* in the sense of "to copy (a text)," occur,⁵⁶ although Black takes the view that this sense is more commonly conveyed by *nasāḫu*.⁵⁷

The most intriguing aspect of the text may well be the drawing etched under the colophon. It should probably be looked at as oriented parallel to the lines of writing, not perpendicular to them, in keeping with the direction of writing in the time of the original (Ur III). On this assumption, the likeliest answer to the question of what it represents may be the side of a chair.

Long ago in a letter to Armas Salonen, I put the following suggestion to him: "it looks a little like the side view of a chair with its *gištû* as in the seated Gudea of the type illustrated on Plate X of your work [*Die Möbel des alten Mesopotamien* (1963)]. Although my inscription does not seem

⁵⁴ Cf. above nn. 37 f.

⁵⁵ Hallo, "The Royal Inscriptions of Ur" 25; Frayne, RIME 3/2 70.

⁵⁶ See CAD N/1 18d. For a related use of *šubalkutu* see Hans Hirsch, "*eliš ana šapliš ušbalkit*," *A/O* 21 (1966) 34.

⁵⁷ J. A. Black, "*Nasāḫu* 'to copy,'" *RA* 79 (1985) 92 f.

to come from the pedestal of a statue, I have been unable to come up with any other solution.”⁵⁸ In reply, Salonen said: “The design seems to me to be interpreted as you mentioned in your letter. If it would come from the pedestal of a statue, one would understand it. Now it seems to be a bit odd, since it has nothing to do with a pedestal.”⁵⁹

In forty years I have not been able to improve on my suggestion. Some support for it, however, occurs in the representation of chairs not or not fully illustrated in Salonen’s volume. One is found under a headless statue from the “Old Sumerian Palace” at Kiš and first published by Langdon; the rear view of the chair is incised with two designs quite similar in shape to the design on MLC 2075.⁶⁰ Another occurs on a seal from Pu-abi’s tomb-chamber in Pre-Sargonic Ur, this time with the curved lines disposed in a horizontal sense.⁶¹

For his contribution to the *Festschrift* in my honor, Erle Leichty chose to present “an unusual artifact from the University Museum collections” on the grounds that I have “been known to publish curiosities from the Yale Babylonian collections.”⁶² At the time I wrote him: “I can only hope that when you become a senior citizen like me, I can find something equally intriguing from the Babylonian Collection to tickle your fancy.”⁶³ It seems only fitting to do so with an addition to the roster of ancient antiquaries that was begun by the first curator of the Yale Babylonian Collection from a find made at the University Museum.

⁵⁸ My letter of 8-22-63.

⁵⁹ His letter of 8-30-63.

⁶⁰ See the photographs published by P.R.S. Moorey, “The ‘Plano-Convex Building’ at Kish and Early Mesopotamian Places,” *Iraq* 26 (1964) 83–98 and pls. xxi–xxv, esp. pl. xxiii.

⁶¹ Latest publication in Richard L. Zettler and Lee Horne, eds., *Treasures from the Royal Tombs of Ur* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1998) 77, fig. 17B, upper register; cf. Salonen, *Möbel* pl. xxiii 1 i.

⁶² Erle Leichty, “Sheep Lungs,” in *Studies Hallo* 132 f.

⁶³ My letter of 5-16-1993.

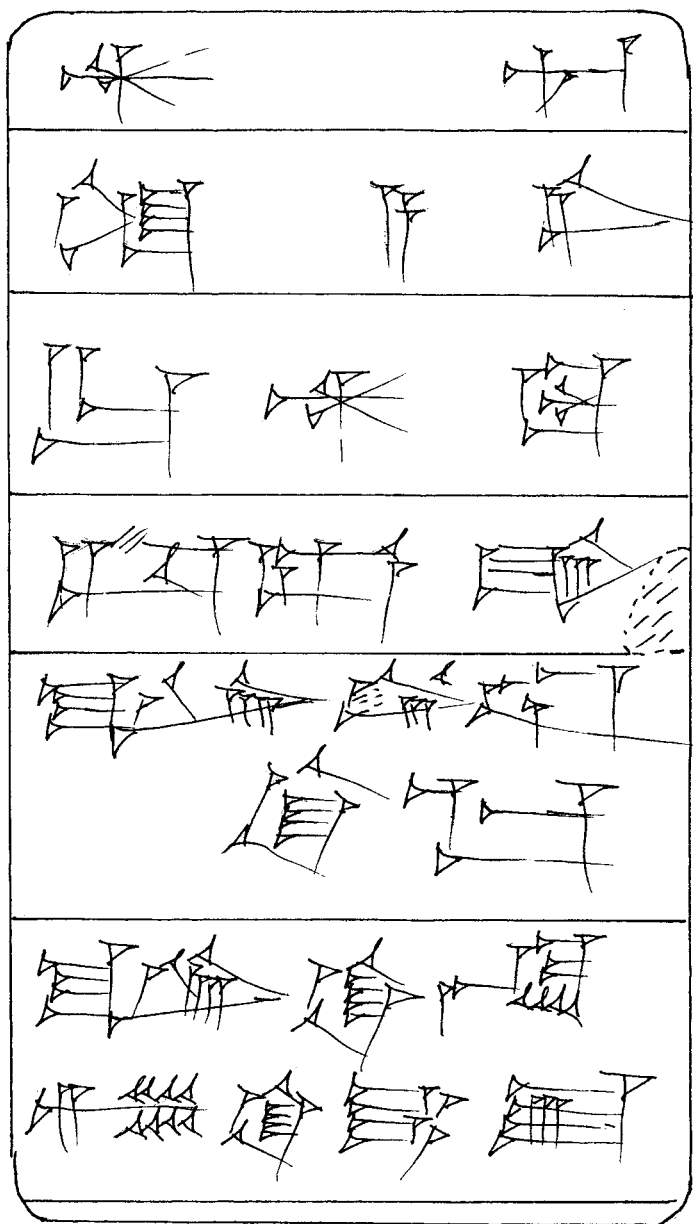


Fig. 1. MLC 2075 obv.

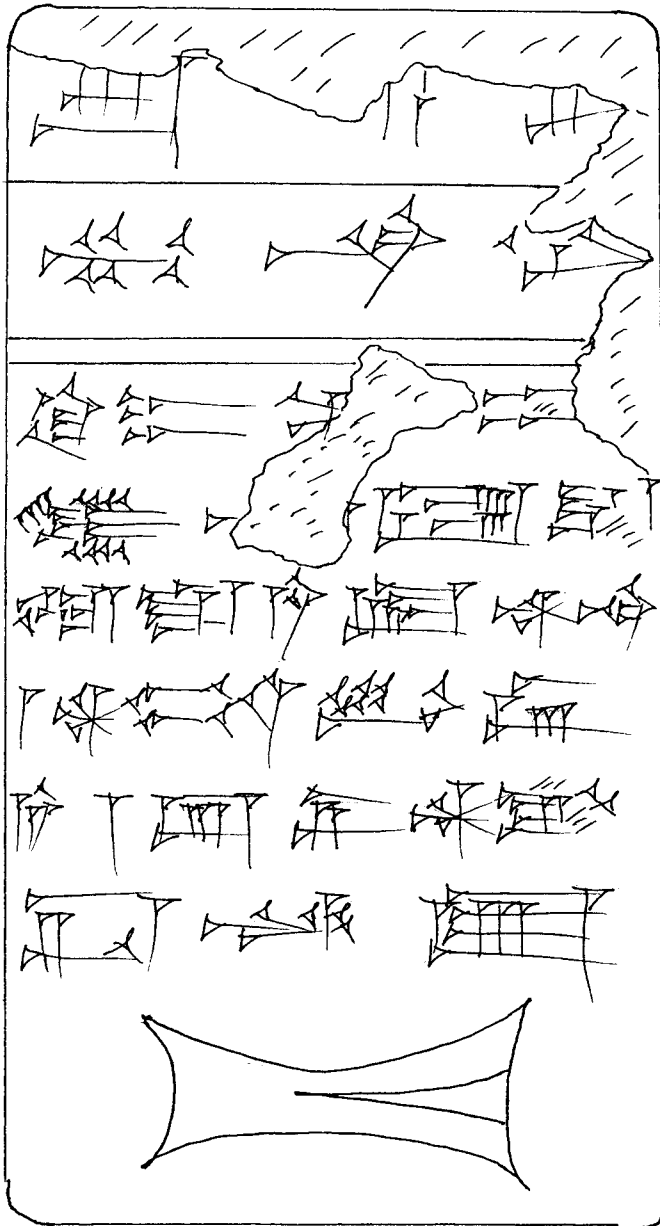


Fig. 2. MLC 2075 rev.

THE RETURN OF THE GOVERNOR

Atsuko Hattori

Introduction

Nippur, located about 180 kilometers south of modern Baghdad, is the site of the first American archaeological expedition to the Middle East. The site has a long history extending from the late Neolithic period (ca. 5000 BC) to the Islamic period (ca. 800) within the city wall.¹ In addition to providing a stratigraphical sequence that serves as the chronological scale for Mesopotamian sites, Nippur produced a wealth of cuneiform documents which are housed in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, the Ancient Orient Museum at Istanbul, the Iraq Museum, the Frau Professor Hilprecht Sammlung of the Friedrich Schiller Universität Jena, the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, and the Yale Babylonian Collection, to name the major collections. The dates of Nippur cuneiform texts range from the late Early Dynastic period to the Achaemenid period; they are exceptionally valuable for the Ur III period, since they were excavated by scientific expeditions rather than by clandestine diggers, which is the typical route of Ur III texts to modern museums.

Sumerian literary texts, both from Nippur and other sites, indicate that Nippur played an important role as the city of Enlil, the supreme god of the Sumerian pantheon. The ziggurat complex of Enlil, the temple of Inanna, and other large temple structures found on the site corroborate the textual evidence. Maintaining the temples was a major concern of ancient rulers of Sumer and Akkad, who claimed divine legitimacy to rule the land.² The concern for temples and their rituals in the Ur III period is easily observed in tens of thousands of administrative texts from Drehem, Lagaš, Nippur, Umma, and Ur that record the movement of large quantities of grain, animals, and workers to temples as well as a variety of legal and economic activities at both state and local levels.

¹ * I thank Professor R. L. Zettler for valuable advice, Dr. F. W. Knobloch for editorial help and Mr. K. Danti for photographic help.

See J. Klein, M. Gibson, D. P. Hansen, M. Stol, M. P. Streck, and R. L. Zettler "Nippur," *RIA* 9 532–65 for a recent study of the history and archaeology of Nippur and bibliographies.

² Already in the late Early Dynastic period, Lugal-zagesi of Uruk claimed the divine origin of his kingship. For a more comprehensive description and bibliography, see Klein, "Nippur" 534 f.

At the local level these activities were ultimately controlled by the ensi, usually translated “governor,” an office that is attested at Nippur from the late Early Dynastic period.³ In the Akkadian period, three ensis are securely attested: Uru-na-bād-bi, Lugal-ni-zu, and Nam-maḥ-abzu. Lugal-ni-zu is known to have been a rebel against Narām-Sîn. However, further references to the activities of Sargonic ensis are sporadic at best.

It is in the Ur III period that more substantial information about ensis’ activities becomes available. Research by W. W. Hallo and R. L. Zettler shows that the history of Ur III Nippur revolves around two main power centers, the royal family and a local elite family, the House of Ur-Me-me.⁴ The patriarch Ur-Me-me was the šabra(PA.É)-dInanna,⁵ “chief administrator of (the Temple of) Inanna,” in Nippur. He was the father of at least three brothers, Lugal-engar-du₁₀, who became the ensi of Nippur and whose offspring succeeded him in that position; dEn-líl-á-maḥ, who succeeded Ur-Me-me as the chief administrator of the Inanna Temple; and Lugal-á-zi-da, whose role has not yet been established. The governorship was controlled by the family line of Lugal-engar-du₁₀ (Table 1), possibly to the end of the Ur III control of Nippur,⁶ and the Inanna Temple was controlled by the line of dEn-líl-á-maḥ. Also, Ur-Me-me’s granddaughter, the daughter of dEn-líl-á-maḥ, dInanna-ka, was married to an en-priest of Enlil, Ka-kù-ga-ni, so the Ur-Me-me family made its way into the Temple of Enlil as well.⁷ Zettler has shown that the Ur-Me-me family controlled the Temple of Inanna from the reign of Šulgi at the latest to the early years of Ibī-Sîn, and possibly even into the Isin/Larsa period.⁸

³ For example, see Steible, *ABW* 2 223–7 for the Early Dynastic period. See also RIME 2 244–6 for the Akkadian period.

⁴ W. W. Hallo, “The House of Ur-Me-me,” *JNES* 31 (1972) 87–95; R. Zettler, “The House of Ur-Me-me: A Second Look,” *AfO* 31 (1984) 1–9.

⁵ For the reading šabra(PA.É) and references, see CAD Š /1 14. Translation here follows I. J. Gelb, “Household and Family in Early Mesopotamia,” in *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East I* (ed. E. Lipinski; OLA 5; Leuven: Department Oriëntalistiek, 1979) 16, followed by R. Zettler, *The Ur III Temple of Inanna at Nippur* (BBVO 11; Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1992) 177 n. 1.

⁶ The last ensi of Nippur, Da-da, who is a descendant of Ur-Me-me, is last attested in a dated Nippur text to IS/2/iv. See J.-M. Durand, “Une condamnation à mort à l’époque d’Ur III,” *RA* 71 (1977) 125–36 and the revision of the translation of the same text by M. T. Roth, “Appendix: A Reassessment of *RA* 71 (1977) 125 ff.,” *AfO* 31 (1981) 9–14. Da-da’s name still appears in a reverential seal of his subject used on a Nippur text (Ni 2109, published as NRVN 1 no. 118) dated to IS 8. See Zettler, “A Second Look” 5.

⁷ In addition, both her brother Lugal-engar-du₁₀ and her father dEn-líl-á-maḥ were also designated as nu-ēš-priests of Enlil in the seal of Išbi-Erra. If Na-bi-dEn-líl, known only through literary texts, actually succeeded Sag-dEn-líl-lá in the position, the House of Ur-Me-me lasted long into the Isin/Larsa period, seemingly unaffected by the fall of the Ur III Dynasty. See Zettler, “Second Look” 9 and n. 53.

⁸ The last securely attested chief administrator of the Inanna Temple, Sag-dEn-líl-lá, may have been active even early in the reign of Išbi-Erra. If Na-bi-dEn-líl, known only through literary texts, actually succeeded Sag-dEn-líl-lá in the position, the House of Ur-Me-me lasted long into the Isin/Larsa period, seemingly unaffected by the fall of the Ur III Dynasty. See Zettler, “Second Look” 9 and n. 53.

Table 1. Ur III Dynasts and Nippur Ensis

King	Chronological Range of Ensi	Nippur Ensi	Ur-Me-me Family
Ur-Namma	(unknown)	(unknown)	(unknown)
Šulgi		Lugal-engar-du ₁₀ son of Ur-Me-me	X
	Š 35 – Š 44 (or 45)	Ur-^dNanibgal son of Lugal-engar-du₁₀	X
Amar-Suen	AS 1/xi/3 – AS 9/xi/27	Lugal-me-lám	
Šu-Sîn	ŠŠ 2/v	Ur-^dNanibgal son of Lugal-engar-du₁₀	X
	(undated)	Nam-zi-tar-ra son of Ur- ^d Nanibgal	X
	ŠŠ 5/ix/2 –	Da-da son of Ur- ^d Nanibgal	X
Ibbi-Sîn	IS 2/iv (possibly IS 8)		

Although each generation of the Ur-Me-me family, starting from Lugal-engar-du₁₀, controlled Nippur's governorship, there was a time when the family seems to have been alienated from the control of Nippur, probably by an Ur III dynast. During the reign of Amar-Suen, a certain Lugal-me-lám, who has no known affiliation with the Ur-Me-me family, served as ensi-governor of Nippur. His tenure is attested from AS 1/XI/3⁹ to AS 9/XI/27.¹⁰ While individuals called Lugal-me-lám are attested in various cities, including Nippur, so far this Lugal-me-lám, the ensi of Nippur, has not been securely tied to any particular city, title, or family in the Ur III period before he took the office of ensi in Nippur.¹¹

Equally unclear is the exact succession of ensis. The existence of ensi Lugal-engar-du₁₀ is known only by the seal legend of Ur-^dNanibgal. He is placed any time before or in Šulgi 35, simply because that is the oldest mention of Ur-^dNanibgal.¹² There is a lacuna of three or four years between the last attested date of Ur-^dNanibgal's tenure (Š 44)¹³ and the earliest attested date of Lugal-me-lám's tenure (AS 1/xi/3), and of about five years between the last attested date of Lugal-me-lám (AS 9/xi/27) and the earliest attested date

⁹ YOS 4 68.

¹⁰ Fish, *Rylands Library* 400.

¹¹ However, the seal impression of Lugal-me-lám is found on HS 1334, a poorly preserved case fragment. According to the inscription, besides being the ensi of Nippur, he is titled as dub-sar-zà-ga and son of [...]En-líl who is a dub-sar-gi₆-[pàr] of N[ippur.] This may suggest that his family was located in Nippur for two generations at least. But if so, our evidence is strangely lacking for this important local elite family. See RIME 3/2 279f. for transliteration, translation, and bibliography. As far as I know, this is the only attestation of dub-sar-zà-ga in the Ur III text corpus.

¹² 6 NT 606+6 NT 648+6 NT 687+6 NT 688+6 NT 902 (IM 61716). See Zettler, *Ur III Temple* 292–4.

¹³ N. Schneider, “Das Drehem- und Djoħaarchiv, 2. Heft: Der Götterkult (1. Teil),” *OrSP* 18 (1925) no. 6.

of Da-da (ŠS 5/ix/2).¹⁴ Da-da's predecessor, Nam-zi-tar-ra, who apparently had a short tenure, did not leave any dated document, and it has been assumed that he took office almost as soon as Šu-Sîn came to the throne.¹⁵

A fragmentary text, CBS 11788, which is published below, adds some information about the order of ensi and insight into the possible power struggle between the House of Ur-Me-me and the royal family.¹⁶ It is a pleasure to dedicate this brief article to Professor Erle V. Leichty, who has long recognized the importance of open access to tablet collections. Without this policy this small fragment would not have come to my attention.

Text and Discussion

CBS 11788 (photo: Fig. 1; copy: Fig. 2) is the bottom half of a medium size single-column tablet, measuring $5.7 \times 3.9 \times 2.5$ cm. The obverse is completely destroyed. The reverse preserves a seal impression rolled vertically, that is, perpendicular to the direction of writing.¹⁷ The lines and text were added after the seal was applied. Traces of fringes of the worshipper's garment and other unidentifiable traces are preserved among the signs. Below the seal impression only three ruled lines of text are preserved, so it is understandable why this text remained unpublished.

The text reads:

Obv. destroyed.

Rev.

- 1' [lú i]nim-ma-¹bi¹-[me]
2' [iti¹gan-g]an-¹è¹
3' [mu má] ¹dàra¹-ab-zu / [...] x [...]

The seal legend reads:

(Column i broken away.)

¹⁴ YOS 4 77. T. Maeda cites an animal delivery receipt, AUCT 3 179, dated to ŠS 2/ii/11 (Dr) for the earliest attestation of Nippur ensi Da-da: T. Maeda, "Father of Akala and Dadaga, governor of Umma," *ASJ* 12 (1990) 71. However, the text simply calls him énsi and does not mention the city. If the name can be reconstructed as [d]a-da, quite possibly this is Da-da, ensi of A.ĜA^{ki}, attested in another Drehem text. It is also a receipt of delivery of animals and is published in Speleers, *Recueil* no. 112 (AS 8/iii/25).

¹⁵ Hallo, "Ur-Me-me" 94; Zettler, "Second Look" 4–5.

¹⁶ I thank Professors B. L. Eichler and S. Tinney for permission to publish CBS 11788.

¹⁷ For the terminology, see A. Hattori, "Sealing Practices of Ur III Nippur," in CRRAI 45/2 (2001) 79 f.

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Column ii:

- 1' [lu]gal-^rengar¹-[du₁₀]
- 2' éns[i]
- 3' nibru^{ki}-k[a[?]]
- 4' árad-z[u]

Date ŠS 2 (or possibly 3)/IX/NPS (Ni)

Notes

Ln. 3': Note the unorthodox spelling ab-zu instead of abzu (ZU.AB). The same spelling also appears in a sale document N 669 (ŠS 3/np/np).¹⁸ The unidentifiable sign x preserves two oblique lines that merge at the right end. About five short vertical lines seem to cross the lower oblique line on its left part, but this is not certain. The left part of the sign seems box-shaped, but it is badly effaced.

Date: ŠS 2 = mu ^dŠu-^dSin lugal uri₅^{ki}-ma-ke₄ má dára-abzu ^{den}-ki in-dím

It is possible that the phrase mu-ús-sa, “the year that follows,” follows the year name for ŠS 2 in the damaged area, changing it to ŠS 3, although this is unlikely judging from the position of the last illegible sign.

Seal: The size of the sealing is 3.3 cm (with caps) or 2.7 cm (without caps) × 1.97 (+) cm.

The seal legend can be fully reconstructed by using CBS 9540,¹⁹ CBS 11788, and Ni 1199²⁰ as follows:

- | | | | |
|------|----|---|---------------------------------------|
| (i) | 1 | ^d šul-gi | Šulgi, |
| | 2 | [n]íta kala-ga | mighty man, |
| | 3 | [lug]al uri ₅ ^[ki] -ma | King of Ur, |
| | 4 | ^r ugal ¹ [ki]-[e]n-g[i] ^r ki ¹ -[uri] | King of the lands of Sumer and Akkad, |
| (ii) | 5 | u[r]- ^r d ¹ nanibgal | Ur- ^d Nanibgal, |
| | 6 | énsi | ensi |
| | 7 | nibru ^[ki] | of Nippur, |
| | 8 | dumu lugal-engar-du ₁₀ | son of Lugal-engar-du ₁₀ , |
| | 9 | énsi | ensi |
| | 10 | nibru ^{ki} -k[a] | of Nippur, |
| | 11 | árad-zu | your servant. |

¹⁸ P. Steinkeller, *Sale Documents of the Ur-III-period* (FAOS 17; Stuttgart: F. Steiner Verlag, 1989) no. 23.

¹⁹ Hattori, “Sealing Practices” fig. 10.

²⁰ NRVN 1 no. 50, photo p. 115.

As suggested by the content and the use of a seal, this is a legal document, most likely recording a sale. Specifically, it is similar to some of the Nippur sale documents published by P. Steinkeller.²¹

Elsewhere I have discussed sealing practices on Ur III Nippur administrative texts.²² CBS 11788 presents a good case for the value of both text and sealing practices, which may enable the identification of fragmentary texts that tend to be ignored.

While sealing practices at Nippur are in general the same as on other Ur III administrative documents presented by Steinkeller,²³ there is a group of sale documents from Nippur that presents an interesting method of sealing. These texts record the transaction of valuable items, such as an orchard or a slave, and are sealed by an authorizer of high social status, such as a royal judge or ensi of Nippur.²⁴ The authorizer rolled his seal only once in the center of the reverse of the tablet, prominently showing its full iconography as well as the lengthy legend with a reverential phrase to the king. This sealing method is very different from that seen on ordinary Ur III administrative texts, which are usually sealed in two or three rows vertically, several times in each row, generally emphasizing the seal legend. On such tablets the iconography is usually preserved only in the area adjacent to the seal legend, if it is not shown on the edges and center of the reverse. CBS 11788 preserves the same sealing method as the one found on the special group of Nippur sale documents. In fact, three of them, like CBS 11788, are sealed by Ur-^dNanibgal.

Ur-^dNanibgal, who followed his father Lugal-engar-du₁₀, ensi of Nippur and son of Ur-Me-me, as chief administrator of the temple of Inanna in Nippur, is known to have been an ensi during the reign of Šulgi as early as

²¹ P. Steinkeller, *Sale Documents* nos. 66*, 66**, 66***. A similar sealing method is used also on CBS 5136 (BE 3/1 no. 14; Steinkeller, *Sale Documents* no. 1) and HS 1053 (TuM 1/2 53; Steinkeller, *Sale Documents* no. 20). HS 1053 seems to bear a seal of the son of the enigmatic ensi Lugal-me-lám. His function in the text cannot be determined. The text deals with a self-sale of an entire family, namely the couple and their three children, for 2/3 mina 3 sheqels of silver. Except for the names of each member of this family, no other personal names, including those of the buyer and witnesses, are preserved.

²² Hattori, "Sealing Practices."

²³ Steinkeller, "Seal Practice in the Ur III Period," in *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East* (ed. M. Gibson and R. D. Biggs; BiMes 6; Malibu, Calif.: Undena Publications, 1977) 41–53.

²⁴ CBS 5136 (Steinkeller, *Sale Documents* no. 1) is sealed by the royal judge Ur-^dDumu-zi-da. HS 1053 (Steinkeller, *Sale Documents* no. 20) is sealed by the son of the ensi, Lugal-me-lám, but his name is not preserved. IM 43456 (Steinkeller, *Sale Documents* no. 66) is sealed by ensi Da-da, and CBS 9540 (Steinkeller, *Sale Documents* no. 66*), HS 1346 (Steinkeller, *Sale Documents* no. 66**), and Ni 1199 (Steinkeller, *Sale Documents* no. 66***) are sealed by the ensi Ur-^dNanibgal. The sealing method of IM 43456 has not been confirmed since the publication of the fragmentary tablet did not show the reverse at all. The publication of Ni 1199 contains a copy of the obverse and a photograph of the reverse and seems to be the same style as the others. The sealing style of HS 1346 was confirmed by Professor M. Krebernik as being the same as that of CBS 5163, CBS 9450, and HS 1053.

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Š 35 and as late as Š 44.²⁵ We do not know the particulars of the transition, but his successor Lugal-me-lám was in the position for almost all of the reign of Amar-Suen (AS 1/IX/3 – AS 9/XI/27). The next datable mention of an identifiable ensi of Nippur is found in YOS 4 77:4 (ŠS 5/IX/2) recording an offering from Da-da. However, Nam-zi-tar-ra, Da-da's brother and another son of Ur-^dNanibgal, is known to have been an ensi of Nippur in the time of Šu-Sîn as evidenced by his seal impression on undated tablets.²⁶ Thus, his tenure is inserted between that of Lugal-me-lám and Da-da.

Our text, CBS 11788, suggests that Ur-^dNanibgal was back to his position in ŠS 2 after Lugal-me-lám had left, probably before his son Nam-zi-tar-ra took the office of ensi. There is other evidence that supports this theory. Nam-zi-tar-ra had at least two seals that appear on the undated texts mentioned above. One is applied to a letter-order, Ni 372, which was sent to a Ḫabalule.²⁷ Its seal inscription reads:

- | | | | |
|------|---|--|-----------------------------------|
| (i) | 1 | dšu- ^d sîn | Šu-Sîn, |
| | 2 | lugal kala-ga | mighty king, |
| | 3 | lugal uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma | King of Ur, |
| | 4 | lugal an-ub-da-limmu-ba | King of the Four Quarters, |
| (ii) | 5 | nam-zi-tar-ra | Nam-zi-tar-ra, |
| | 6 | dumu ur- ^d nanibgal | son of Ur- ^d Nanibgal, |
| | 7 | énsi | ensi |
| | 8 | nibru ^{ki} -ka | of Nippur, |
| | 9 | árad-[zu?] | [your?] servant. |

The other one also appears on a letter-order, CBS 9766,²⁸ and its seal inscription reads:

- | | | | |
|------|---|--|-----------------------------------|
| (i) | 1 | [^d]šu- ^d sîn | Šu-Sîn, |
| | 2 | ki-ág ^d en-líl-lá | beloved of Enlil, |
| | 3 | lugal kala-ga | mighty king, |
| | 4 | lugal uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma | King of Ur, |
| | 5 | lugal an-ub-da-limmu-ba | King of the Four Quarters |
| (ii) | 6 | nam-z[i-tar-ra] | Nam-zi-tar-ra |
| | 7 | énsi | ensi |
| | 8 | nibru ^{ki} | of Nippur |
| | 9 | dumu ur- ^d nanibgal | son of Ur- ^d Nanibgal, |

²⁵ See footnotes 11 and 12.

²⁶ See below.

²⁷ TCS 1 no. 73. The following transliteration and translation are adapted from those of E. Sollberger, which in turn were based on a transliteration by F. R. Kraus.

²⁸ D. Owen, "Miscellanea Neo-Sumerica, I–III," in *Studies Gordon* 131–4. The original of CBS 9766 (cast) belongs to the Istanbul Museum, but its museum number is unknown.

10	énsi	ensi
11	nibru ^{ki} -ka	of Nippur,
12	árad-[zu?]	[your?] servant.

The fact that only the latter identifies him as ensi seems to imply that Nam-zi-tar-ra was not ensi when the first seal was made. He probably became an ensi later, and then the second seal was made. He succeeded his father in the position at the latest by sometime in ŠS 5, before Da-da took office.

It is suspected that Lugal-me-lám was brought in by Amar-Suen, who tried to tighten royal control of Nippur.²⁹ Lugal-me-lám was associated with the royal family, especially the princess Šat-Sîn, a daughter of Šulgi.³⁰ The suggestion of a strong connection between Lugal-me-lám and Amar-Suen is also supported by the fact that he disappears from the record after the reign of Amar-Suen, his last mention dating to AS 9/XI/27.³¹ According to his seal inscription,³² he was also a dub-sar-zà-ga, a scribe of high rank known to have engaged in the assessment of taxes in the Old Babylonian period and to have been connected with the king in both the Middle Babylonian and Neo-Babylonian periods.³³ Perhaps, then, Lugal-me-lám was originally a high-ranking royal official in Nippur.

It is very likely that as Amar-Suen's power faded away, the old guard of Nippur came back. Ur-^dNanibgal apparently outlived the king and restored the control of Nippur to the House of Ur-Me-me.

Notes to the Seal (Fig. 3)

The seal drawing is a composite of impressions found on CBS 9540, CBS 11788, and Ni 1199. Ni 1199 was accessible only by its photograph, published in NRVN 1 115, no. 50.³⁴ While Ni 1199 seems to preserve a clear impression and to have been photographed well, some quality seems to have been lost in printing, making many details inaccessible to me. Two figures, namely the worshipper and the intermediary goddess on the right side of the legend, are preserved on Ni 1199. CBS 9540 bears the entire legend, the brimmed cap of the seated king, and the lower body of the intermediary goddess, but they are somewhat effaced. CBS 11788 preserves sharp traces of the impression,

²⁹ Hallo, "Ur-Me-me" 94; Zettler, "A Second Look" 4.

³⁰ See A. Hattori, "Texts and Impressions: A Holistic Approach to Ur III Cuneiform Tablets from the University of Pennsylvania Expeditions to Nippur" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2002) 220.

³¹ Fish, *Rylands Library* 400.

³² See note 11 above.

³³ See CAD Z s.v. *zazakku*.

³⁴ The text on the tablet is copied as no. 249 in NRVN 1 86.

The Return of the Governor

but only part of it is preserved. None of the impressions preserves what is between the seated king and the worshipper. Therefore, the figures are presented on either side of the legend in figure 3. Because of these limitations, the composite drawing should be used with some caution.

CBS 11788 shows a clearly and meticulously carved cartouche and signs. However, these traits are not clear in the other two impressions. The outlines of the two columns were apparently cut first, and each line divider was added as its signs were filled in. The traces of carving on CBS 9540 and Ni 1199 suggest the possibility of carving mistakes, recutting, or damage to the seal itself (e.g., extra lines in lines 2 and 10). But what is preserved on CBS 11788 shows a skilled hand, so it is not entirely clear if these are really carving mistakes. The traces, however, are included in the drawing because they look very much as if they originated from the cylinder seal, rather than from damage to the sealed clay surface.

Ur-^dNanibgal also had a votive seal³⁵ (AO 22312) made of white agate, dedicated to the god Nuska for the life of Šulgi. It has no caps but is similar in size (h: 3.4 cm, d: 2.2 cm) to our Ur-^dNanibgal seal. Like most ancient Near Eastern seals, this seal has not been attested on a clay tablet. While the design of the seal, which depicts the king followed by a goddess and pouring water into the date-palm altar in front of a standing god, is different from our seal, the style of carving of the legend shows a distinct similarity, especially in the shape of the engar sign in Lugal-engar-du₁₀ (ii 4).

³⁵ This seal was first published in Coll. de Clercq Coll. 1 86, but its photograph is more accessible in H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939) pl. 25j and B. André-Leicknam and C. Ziegler, *Naissance de l'écriture: cunéiformes et hiéroglyphes* (Paris: La Réunion des musées nationaux, 1982) 87 no. 46. For full bibliography of this seal, see RIME 3/2 210 (E3/2.1.2.2023).

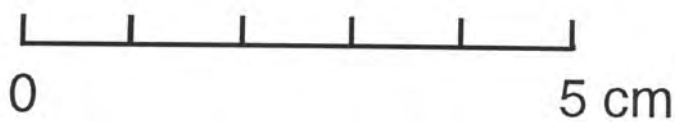


Fig. 1. CBS 11788 (photo)

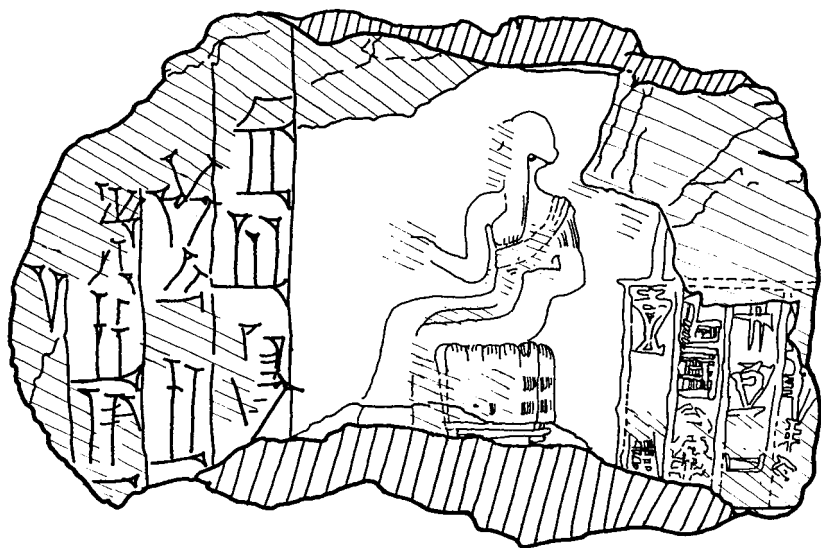


Fig. 2. CBS 11788 (copy)

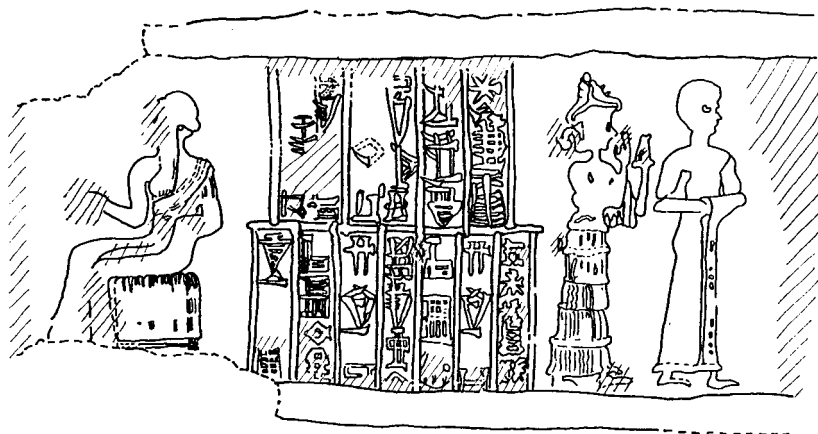


Fig. 3. Drawing of Ur-dNanibgal seal

VISUALIZING TEXT: SCHEMATIC PATTERNS IN AKKADIAN POETRY¹

Anne Draffkorn Kilmer

The investigation of this topic began several years ago during the course of a graduate seminar in Akkadian. We were reading the Babylonian “Creation Epic,” the *Enūma Eliš*. The epic consists of seven individual tablets that make up the whole composition, which was probably composed toward the end of the second millennium BC. The class was discussing a main event of tablet one, namely the birth of the god Marduk, destined, as the epic unfolds, to become the head of the pantheon.

The number of lines on a given tablet is sometimes provided at the end of literary texts, and some texts give us the total number of lines in the entire composition that contains several tablets. When a tablet is incomplete, the information about the number of lines is especially advantageous to the reconstruction of the text, to the placement of disconnected fragments, and so forth. Tablet I of *Enūma Eliš* is fully preserved and contains 162 lines. One of our graduate students, Dr. Allen Estes, noticed that the actual birth of Marduk occurred exactly in the middle of the tablet, in lines 80 and 81. This two-line birth announcement emphasizes the event: “Marduk was created in the midst of the Apsû; in the midst of the pure Apsû was Marduk created.” The second line, typical of repeated lines of poetry, is a slight variant of its mate. This observation led me to study carefully the placement of significant events in the storytelling in other tablets of *Enūma Eliš* as well as in other compositions such as the OB *Atraḥasīs* Epic, and in the *Gilgameš* Epic. I might also mention that, in the seven-tablet composition of *Enūma Eliš*, it is in the very center tablet, tablet IV, that a crucial and pivotal event of the whole story takes place—namely, the slaying of *Ti’āmat*.²

Over the past few years, having studied by now many individual Akkadian tablets, I can report that there seems little doubt that our ancient scribes and “tablet designers,” if you will, of these ancient compositions placed significant events at symmetrically spaced points in the texts, and actually in each tablet. These points, or junctures, are notably at what I may call “half-time,” “quarter time,” and “three-quarter-time.”

¹ This paper has been presented on several occasions with this title or as “Weaving Textual Patterns: Symmetry in Akkadian Poetic Texts”: University of California, Santa Barbara, March 1999; American Oriental Society, Portland, March 2000; and University of Arizona, Tucson, November 2002.

² On the “dead center” of the *Atraḥasīs* Epic, see William Moran, “Some Considerations of Form and Interpretation in *Atraḥasīs*,” in *Studies Reiner* 245.

Associated with these important lines are such devices as repetition that marks these points. The repetition may be what I will call a “doublet,” or two lines almost the same, or a “triplet” or a “quadruplet” for three and four line repeated segments, most often with some variation after the initial repeated words. Other forms of repetition may also take place. For example, a longer speech or descriptive passage may be repeated verbatim at several points in the story line, and these segments are likewise spaced quite symmetrically with respect to the beginning, middle, and end of a tablet. I might add that, so far, I have not encountered a “recitative” line such as “he opened his mouth to speak and said to PN” at these symmetrical junctures (with the possible exception of Ištar’s speech in the center of Gilgameš Tablet VI; see below). Of course, caution is required inasmuch as many of our text reconstructions are part guesswork when a tablet is not complete, and when it has been re-composed by modern scholars from many fragments, coming from several versions; this is even true for “canonical” texts. Nevertheless, the “system,” if I may call this a “system,” seems to work in general, even when we are uncertain as to the exact number of lines on a tablet.

It is also of interest that, thus far in my observations (which include all of Gilgameš, Atrahasis, Enūma Eliš, and Ištar’s Descent), no single tablet’s “pattern” is copied in another. All the patterns are different. Moreover, I have been led to think of the structural designs as textiles, where each tablet may, like textiles, commonly exhibit repetition and have a notable symmetry. Both tablets and textiles may, of course, also show asymmetry; for example, the first two-thirds of the tablet is symmetrical, but the remainder is not. Moreover, the texts use keywords repeatedly and symmetrically. Just as textiles may have repeated designs (e.g., rosettes), these keywords function to highlight the condition of a character (e.g., the word *nissatu*, “grief,” in Gilgameš X, illustrated by asterisks in Illustration B below) or may be a reflection of events or conditions in another tablet in the same series.³

The fact that many poetic texts were performed musically is known. They were probably sung to instrumental accompaniment. The further fact that each line of text most often has four musical “beats” to the line has led me to think of the lines as musical “measures.” The number of count-lines stated at the end of a tablet could amount, then, to a summation of the number of musical measures in the composition. The importance of counting in musical performance should be noted: if a piece is performed by one or more singers

³ Victor Avigdor Hurowitz, “Advice to a Prince: A Message from Ea,” *SAAB* 12 (1998) 44–6, discusses the correlation between the number of lines on a tablet and the divine number of the god closely associated with the text. For example, a hymn to Šamaš has 200 lines, that is, a multiple of his number twenty. I thank Erle Leichty for referring me to these recent observations.

plus musical accompaniment, then all the performers must count in order to know when they are to “come in,” and when they are to “rest.”

I have already mentioned this latter point about musical count lines in an article called “Fugal Features of Atrahāsīs: The Birth Theme,”⁴ in which I attempted to track the common and repeated “themes” or “thematic language” of the text. I speculated as to whether or not specific musical passages accompanied the thematic repetitions, thus my use of the term “fugal.” I also wondered whether the performance of these poetic epics might have been more colorful or “operatic” than ever we thought, for most of us have probably assumed some kind of monotonic intonation of the words accompanied by a dronish accompaniment by a single instrument like a harp or a drum.

The ramifications of these observations should prove to be of benefit: we could learn what the original ancient composers considered to be significant points in the story line; and we may be able to make more educated guesses about what should lie in fragmentary or broken passages at these junctures. A case in point is the first tablet of the Atrahāsīs Epic. That epic, in its OB version, has three tablets. According to my analysis of the entire composition, a major event occurs in each tablet. In tablet I it is the creation of humankind by the gods, the invention, if you will, by the god Enki/Ea, of the self-propagation of the human race, and the birth of the first baby from a human mother. In tablet II, Abūbu, the semi-personified Flood-as-monster, is created. In tablet III, the Ark is created to save what remains of earth’s creatures after the Flood.

In tablet I, the middle part is quite fragmentary. But very near what is the three-quarter point, or at line 307 on a tablet with approximately 416 lines, there are traces of a word that, as I have suggested, we could restore as the word for “baby”: [*š*]i-ir-«ri».⁵ Moreover, in that same tablet, a very significant thing takes place at half-time (at line 208 or half of 416): the decision to slay one of the gods in order to make the magic clay-with-divine-body and blood matrix from which the primordial humans were first fashioned, presumably at adult stature, by the teams of female birthing assistants.

The comparison with textile design is interesting from several other perspectives: the conceptual connection with prepared but still uninscribed tablets which, when incised only with the lineation lines before the words are written in with the stylus, are not unlike a loom set out with the warp but not the weft. Further, there is in many traditions, including Sumerian, the notion that stories are “woven” by their creators. In a Šulgi hymn (Šulgi X), for example, Inanna “wove a song” (Sumerian verb *ra*; or did she “strike up” the

⁴ In *Mesopotamian Poetic Language: Sumerian and Akkadian* (ed. M.E. Vogelzang and H.L.J. Vanstiphout; CM 6 [=Proceedings of the Groningen Group for the Study of Mesopotamian Literature 2]; Groningen: Styx, 1996) 127–39.

⁵ Kilmer, “Fugal Features of Atrahāsīs: The Birth Theme” 136 note 22.

song?) about the king,⁶ and in the Keš temple hymn the goddess Nisaba “with its [the hymn’s] words she wove it like a net,⁷ written on tablets it was held in her hand.”⁸ The goddess Nisaba, the grain goddess, is the patron of scribes because of the reed stylus, while the goddess Uttu is patron of weavers. Was the stylus connected metaphorically with the loom shuttle? SIG₇.ALAN = *Nabnītu* XXIII (+ Q) 5–6 (MSL 16 211) should be noted here:

[dun?]-d[u]n[?] = *šu-tu-u šá ma-ḥa-ši* “warp [or: “to string”?], of weaving”
[sa?]-dū = «MIN *šá pit[?]-nim[?]*» “DITTO, of the musical string”

Unfortunately line 8 is broken, for it has:

[]-«x» = MIN *šá ṭup-pi* “DITTO, of the tablet”

Finally, the term for a scribe in some late Akkadian texts is *kāšir kammi*, “knotter of a tablet/writing board” (see CAD K s.v. *kammu* C); one can easily envision a rug-knotter at a vertical loom.

Comparanda that deserve to be mentioned here are, for example, the classical Greek imagery of “weaving” songs on musical strings,⁹ where the set of strings on the wooden frame of a lyre was thought of as a loom; thus the unusual Greek word *kekolyra* meaning “to strike the lyre with a loom shuttle,” just as a shuttle passes across the warp strings of a loom. Another Greek term conveys the whole idea, namely the verb *chordaiosidiakrekein* (used by Sappho) meaning “to weave a song on the strings of an instrument.”¹⁰ One can also compare the general use of textile imagery in English expressions such as “to spin a yarn” which means “to tell a story,” or “to pick up the thread” (of a story), or “as the tale unfolds,” and the like. Further, as has recently been discussed in the doctoral dissertation of John Franklin of University College, London,¹¹ an over-riding philosophical or even metaphysical concept is that of a man-made

⁶ Jacob Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns. Sumerian Royal Hymns Glorifying King Šulgi of Ur* (Bar Ilan Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Cultures; Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1981) 136–7 ll. 12–3; 147 note to ll. 12–3.

⁷ Sum. *sa-gin₇*. For *sa* = *pitnu*, “a set of strings,” see Anne Draffkorn Kilmer, “The Strings of Musical Instruments: their Names, Number, and Significance,” in *Studies Landsberger* 262–4; AHW 869–70; Nigga 291 (MSL 13 104) and Nigga Biling. 243 (MSL 13 121).

⁸ Gene Gragg, *The Keš Temple Hymn*, in Åke W. Sjöberg and E. Bergmann, *The Collection of the Sumerian Temple Hymns* (TCS 3; Locust Valley, N.Y.: J. J. Augustin, 1969) 167 and 178, lines 11–2.

⁹ Jane Snyder, “The Web of Song: Weaving Imagery in Homer and the Lyric Poets,” *CJ* 76 (1981) 193–6; Martha Maas and Jane Snyder, *The Stringed Instruments of Ancient Greece* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989) 34.

¹⁰ Maas and Snyder, *The Stringed Instruments of Ancient Greece* 224 note 54.

¹¹ John Franklin, “Terpander: The Invention of Music in the Orientalizing Period” (Ph.D. diss., University College, London, 2002).

or concocted “construction,” or what Franklin calls a “balanced joining,” whether it be of wood or of musical systems, as in a “set” of strings. It is this concept, he argues, that underlies the classical concept of “harmonia,” not only for music but for philosophical thought, as harmony figures in the Platonic controlled social order.

The conceptual “warp and weft” of the geometrical and perhaps “cosmological” designs on early tablets from Fara, Abu Salabikh, and Ebla, as discussed a few years ago by Pietro Mander,¹² may also be germane to this discussion. Mander comments on the conceptual similarity between plowing furrows in a field in parallel lines and the lines on a tablet; he also notes the use of the Sumerian sign SAR as an ideogram for both horticultural activity and the verb “to write.”

One should also, I am sure, consider chiasm in general (as in the Hebrew Bible), or the amazing symmetrical constructions of Zoroastrian poetry as shown recently by my Berkeley colleague Martin Schwartz.¹³ It would be useful to explore the biblical Hebrew text for similar features. For example, in the Song of Songs, between the end of Songs 4:14 and the beginning of 4:15, which happens to be right in the middle of the Song, the former ends with the word *nērādīm*, “spikenards,” and the latter begins with the same word, but in the singular *nērd*, “spikenard.”¹⁴ The *center* is the most important point in both biblical chiasmic structures and in Zoroastrian ring compositions.

I have found it difficult to illustrate the textual patterns that I am discussing here. Plotting them on graph paper was not successful, but I have had better results with computer-generated line charts that represent the actual number of lines on a tablet; they attempt to display the features of repetition, key words, and main events in the storytelling. Because of the high number of lines, it is awkward to handle long pieces of paper; thus, for the purposes of this article I have reduced them in size in order to demonstrate the approximate symmetrical placement of the features under discussion. I have also tried using different colors to distinguish different scribal devices and features, and that has been moderately successful. It is very much as if the lines or the story on the tablet were a folded piece of cloth. When “unfolded” or “opened up,” the patterns are visually quite apparent. See illustrations A, B, and C below.¹⁵

¹² Pietro Mander, “Designs on the Fara, Abu-Salabikh and Ebla Tablets,” *AION* 55 (1995) 18–29.

¹³ M. Schwartz, “The Ties that Bind: on the Form and Content of Zarathushtra’s Mysticism,” in *New Approaches to the Interpretation of the Gathas* (ed. F. Vajifdar; Proceedings of the 1st International Gatha Colloquium, World Zoroastrian Organization, London; London: World Zoroastrian Organization, 1999) 127–97.

¹⁴ I thank Prof. Scott Noegel for this reference and for other useful conversations with him.

¹⁵ I thank our Near Eastern Studies Graduate Assistant, Judy Shattuck, for creating the original line charts for me, and Shawn Noel Simmons of the Academy Village staff in Tucson for executing Figs. A, B, and C below.

Three Examples: Ištar's Descent; Gilgameš X, and Gilgameš XI

These illustrations are provisional and need improvement and refinement, but they should demonstrate my observations. I have not found it easy to represent the different kinds of repetitions visually.

Illustration A, Ištar's Descent (138 lines)

Beginning	lines 1–3	went down, went down, went down.
1/8 time	lines 16–8	open gate.
1/4 time	lines 32–6	weep, open gate.
	lines 49–55	a seven-line block: Ištar's passage through the seven gates.
1/2 time	lines 67–72	a seven-line block: sixty diseases; Ištar's death.
	line 94	reference to the seven gates.
3/4 time	lines 104–7	Ereškigal's quadruple curse.
7/8 time	Ištar revives: lines 123–9	seven-line block: passage through seven gates.
End:	lines 136–8	come up, come up, come up.

Illustration B, Gilgamesh Tablet X (327 lines)

Asterisk = keyword *nissatu*, "grief."

X X = key theme "ax and sword" (= a reflection of Enkidu).

Small rectangles = triplet/quadruplet lines, themes: killing, death, nothingness.

Large rectangles = verbatim repeated passage: Gilgamesh's woeful condition.

_____ = main event

1/4 time	line 81	Gilgamesh vows to visit Utnapištim.
	lines 95–96	Gilgamesh takes up Ax and Sword to kill the Stone Things
1/2 time	line 163	Gilgamesh takes up Ax and Sword to cut punting poles.
3/4 time		Gilgamesh tells Utnapishtim what his plan was.

Illustration C, Gilgameš Tablet XI (320 lines)

The Whole Tablet XI (320 lines).

1/4 time	lines 80–3	quadruplet: "I loaded her."
1/2 time	lines 160–1	The end of the Flood. The sacrifice to the gods: doublet: gods smelled the incense.
3/4 time	240–1	doublet: death lurks.
7/8 time		the plant episode: "let me reveal to you" (see line 9: start of flood narrative).
End:		"Inspect the walls of Uruk" = Beginning of Tablet I, lines 16–21.

Visualizing Text: Schematic Patterns in Akkadian Poetry

Tablet XI may be described as a story within a story and envisioned as a textile upon a textile, each having its own remarkable symmetry.

The Flood Narrative, 195 lines = lines 9–204. Begins with “let me reveal to you.”

1/4 time	line 48	veiled announcement of the Flood to the populace.
1/2 time	line 97	the Flood storm begins.
3/4 time	line 146	the birds are released.
End of Flood narrative	line 204	

Since the first writing of this paper, I have found another good example of how Mesopotamian story telling placed significant events at the half-way point in the lineation: Gilgameš Tablet III established a formal relationship between Gilgameš and Enkidu before they set out to slay Huwawa. Tablet three had an estimated 250 lines. It is in line 125, at the half point, that the formal induction and investiture of Enkidu takes place.¹⁶ Without this important ceremony, Gilgameš and Enkidu would not have been permitted to pursue their adventures which needed sanction by the city elders and which received the prayers and blessings of Gilgameš’s mother, the goddess Ninsun.¹⁷

I should also mention that, of the twelve tablets of the Gilgameš Epic, it is only the 12th tablet that does not exhibit the kind of symmetry or other devices discussed in this paper. As a result, I am finally convinced that the 12th tablet was definitely an “add on” to the original eleven tablet composition. Moreover, the central tablet of the eleven-tablet composition is the sixth. In it, the significant speech of Ishtar is at the center (lines 90 ff. in the 182-line tablet), where she asks Anu for the Bull of Heaven, the Bull of Heaven being the central theme of Tablet VI. Moreover, at quarter-time, line 45, Gilgameš begins his history of Ištar’s ill-fated lovers. At three-quarter time, line 136, Enkidu advises Gilgameš on how to kill the Bull of Heaven.¹⁸

Let me stress that I am still exploring this subject. I believe that it has a bearing on discussions of oral composition as opposed to written composition. I am of the opinion now that we may use these “tablet designs” as an argument for scribal planning and execution. In so concluding, perhaps

¹⁶ See Andrew George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1999) 27 with Text Y added. Now A.R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic. Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts* (2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) 580–1.

¹⁷ Anne D. Kilmer, “The Investiture of Enkidu in the Epic of Gilgamesh Tablet III,” in CRRAT 47 (2002) 283–8.

¹⁸ Vanstiphout discusses the number of lines in standard Sumerian literary compositions and the “marked tendency toward multiples of 60/70,” see Hermann Vanstiphout, “Memory and Literacy in Ancient Western Asia,” *CANE* 4 2193. There he also notes that the most popular lengths were 120 to 140 and ca. 280 lines, adding that “some compositions show clear structural pivots regularly at around 60 [half of 120] and 70 [half of 140].”

prematurely, I am in the general good company of Karl Hecker who argued that the complex composition of much epic poetry, even lines that seem formulaic, must originate with the writing scribes in the tablet house, and need not be derived from oral tradition.¹⁹ Putting it differently, it may be that we have, in general, “underestimated the effect of scribal learning,”²⁰ not to mention the symmetrical layout on clay tablets as affecting literary composition.

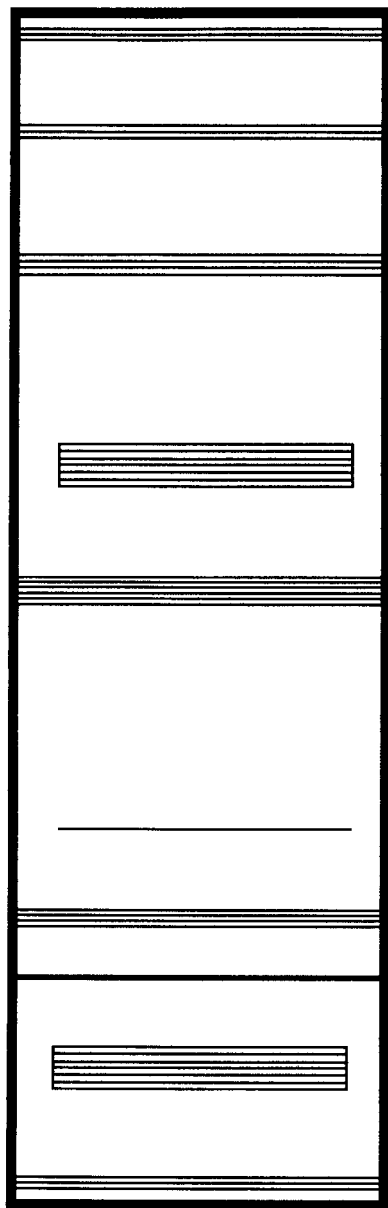
I have invented my own terms like doublet and quadruplet for lack of any better terms, though I realize that there may be well known and more appropriate terms used by the *literati* for such phenomena as “ring composition.” I am also fully aware that my few comparisons must only scratch the surface of literatures that are, if not entirely unknown to me, certainly areas in the larger arena of literary structure and design in which I feel entirely unschooled.

I conclude with drawings (Figs. 1 and 2 by this writer) intended to entertain the honoree of this volume, my valued friend and colleague, Erle Leichty.²¹

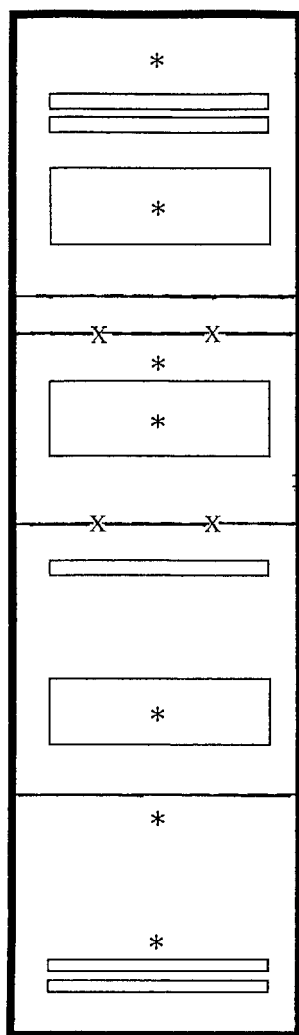
¹⁹ Karl Hecker, *Untersuchungen zur akkadischen Epik* (AOAT/S 8; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1974) 66–7.

²⁰ Johannes de Moor and Wilfred Watson, *Verses in Ancient Near Eastern Prose* (AOAT 43; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1993) x note 8.

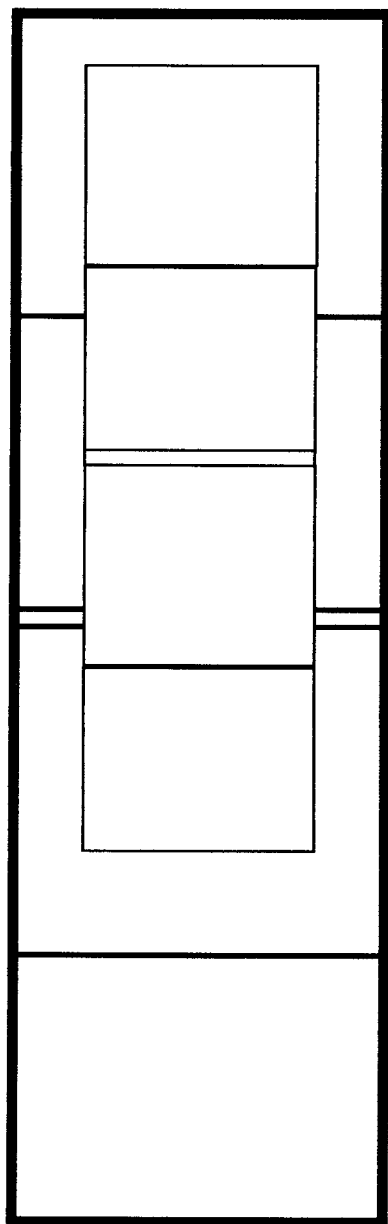
²¹ Drawings inspired by the illustration of Rien Poortvliet in the (approximate) center of the 212-page book [pages not numbered] by Wil Huygen, *Gnomes* (New York: Harry Abrams, Inc., 1977).



III. A



III. B.



III. C.

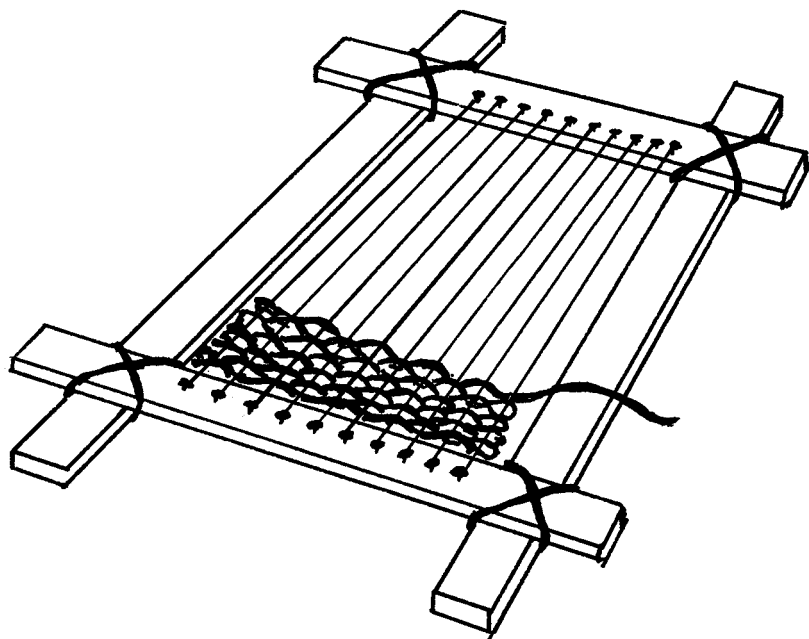


Fig. 1.

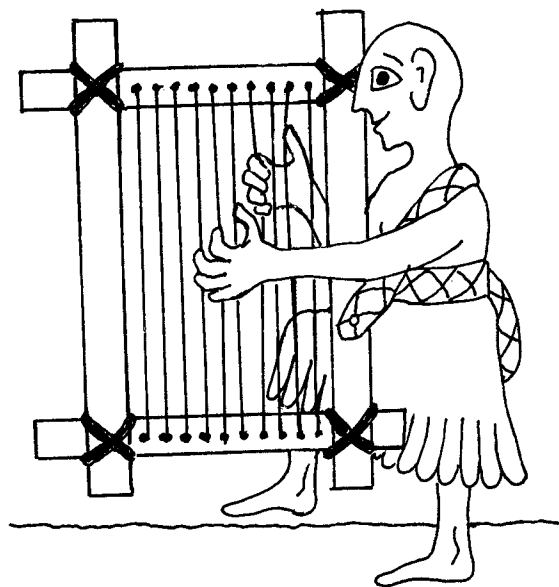


Fig. 2.

AN “OLD AKKADIAN” SALE DOCUMENT OF UNKNOWN PROVENANCE

Jacob Klein

The unique economic text published below¹ seems to be a late Old Akkadian or early Ur III Akkadian field-sale document.² From the fact that both the measures of the property under sale and its price are written in late standard numerical notation, as well as from the Ur III personal names Ur-Šulpae (l. 6) and Tūram-ilī (l. 10), we may conclude that we have here an Ur III text written in early Ur III paleography.³ On the other hand, the *iškinū*-clause (ll. 3–5), which hitherto has been attested only in Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic transactions,⁴ may point to an earlier period. Judging from the tablet’s lenticular form,⁵ its seemingly irregular content and formula, and its presumed incompleteness, we may have here a scribal exercise tablet. One line is perhaps missing from the top of the obverse (and the bottom of the reverse), which has been damaged and filled by the dealer with an unknown substance. On account of this and the damaged condition of the first extant line, it is difficult to determine the exact nature of the transaction.

¹ The tablet belongs to the private collection of Mr. Shlomo Moussaieff of London. I am grateful to Mr. Moussaieff for his kind permission to study the tablet and publish it herein. During the final stages of this study in the Babylonian Section of the University Museum, I had the opportunity to discuss various relevant problems with Dietz Edzard, David Owen, Barry Eichler, Tonia Sharlach, and Steven Garfinkle. These discussions proved most helpful in the preparation of a final draft, which was sent to Piotr Steinkeller for further comments. Steinkeller responded with a letter in which he made a number of substantial corrections and suggestions. I am grateful to all these colleagues for their help.

For the bibliographical abbreviations used in this article, see CAD Š/3 v ff.; PSD A/3 ix ff.; M. Sigrist and T. Gomi, *The Comprehensive Catalogue of Published Ur III Tablets* (Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1991) 7 ff. Note further: Garfinkle, “Private Enterprise” = Steven J. Garfinkle, “Private Enterprise in Babylonia at the End of the Third Millennium BC” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2000) and Steinkeller, *Sale Documents* = Piotr Steinkeller, *Sale Documents of the Ur-III-Period* (FAOS 17; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1989).

It is a pleasure for me to dedicate this modest study to the distinguished jubilarian, whose generous hospitality and friendship I had the privilege to enjoy for many years during my research visits at the Tablet Room of the University Museum.

² For a copy and photographs see Figs. 1–6 below.

³ In Sargonic Akkadian sale documents the numerals, as a rule, are written in archaic signs (see the list in Gelb, *Kudurrus* 191).

⁴ See comment to l. 3 below.

⁵ The text is written on a very heavy, unbaked, lenticular tablet with a diameter of ca. 65 mm. The obverse is inscribed with 5 lines, the reverse, very sharply convex—probably also with 5 lines. Obverse left has a deep incision. The tablet is encrusted and damaged, especially on the reverse.

The content and structure of the document seem to be as follows:

- A. The commodity for sale and its price (ll. 1–2).
- B. Additional payment defined as *iškinū* and a gift of wool (ll. 3–5).
- C. The buyer who weighed out the silver for the purchase price and the additional payment(s) (ll. 6–8).
- D. The two sellers of the property (9–10).⁶

The term *iškinū* and the overall structure of the document point to the sale of real estate (field or house).⁷ If our restoration of *ki-ġá[1]* at the end of line 1 is correct, then the tablet treats the sale of a plot of uncultivated land.⁸

1	[x š]ar? 13 ½ 'gín' ki-ġá[1]	... sar 13½ (surface) shekel of uncultivated land,
2	[š]ám-su-nu 13 ½ gín / lá 4 ½ še	their price (being) 13½ shekel minus
3	kug-babbar	4½ grain of silver;
3	a-dì iš-ki-ni	together with the additional payment
4	in 11 gín-ta	of 11 shekels (of silver) per each
		(seller),
5	2 ma-na siki i-qì-iš	he (the buyer) granted 2 minas of
		wool (as a gift).
6	Ur- ^d Šul-pa-è / dub-sar	Ur-Šulpae, the scribe,
7	'dumu' Ur-TAG	The son of Ur-TAG
8	'i'-lá	weighed (them) out.
9	'x-x-ìr?'-ra 'dumu' Šu- ^d Nin-mug-Irra son of Šu-Ninmug,
10	ZA-x-[x-x]-x-e 'dam? Tu-ra-am-i/-li'	ZA-x-[x-x]-e, wife of Tūram-ilī
11	i[m? -r]u?

⁶ The above interpretation of clauses B, C, and D has been suggested by P. Steinkeller. For possible alternative interpretations of these clauses, see commentary below.

⁷ For a description of the structure of Sargonic sale formulae, see Gelb, *Kudurrus* 206 ff. For a typical Sargonic Akkadian house sale document, which closely resembles the present one, see MMA 86.11.204, Edmond Sollberger, "Selected Texts from American Collections," *JCS* 10 (1956) 13–7, 26. That text is classified by Gelb, *Kudurrus* as "Operative Section Type G," and exhibits the following structure: A. *The Purchase Clause*, including the size of the house (stated in terms of sar and gín [I 1]), its price (stated in terms of ma-na and gín [I 2–3]), the names of the sellers and the buyer, and the verb of purchase (*ihuz* [I 4–II 2]); B. *The Additional Payment Clause*, introduced by the *iškinū* phrase (*ana nīg-ki-ġar é* [II 3–4]), with the additional payment consisting of quantities of barley, oil, wool, and garments, which the buyer gave to a member of the seller's household (*ana NI.ZAG Q. iddin* [II 5–III 5]); C. *List of 18 Witnesses*, who had a meal in the house of the buyer (*ina é Q. ninda kú* [III 6–VI 15]). In this type of document the payment clause (including the verb *i-lá*) is absent, but it can be found in documents of Type B (Gelb, *Kudurrus* 207). However, the latter clause is standard also in Ur III sale documents (Steinkeller, *Sale Documents* 19 passim).

⁸ In Steinkeller's opinion, the object of the sale is a house or orchard lot. See further discussion in the commentary below.

Commentary

Line 1: Traces at the end of this damaged line point to: ki siki¹ or ki-ġá[1]. Judging from the overall structure of the transaction, and the fact that ġín, “shekel” is frequently used in real estate sale documents as a surface measure, we assume that the damaged numerical figure in this line refers to a surface measure.⁹ We would expect this surface measure to be followed by a term referring to a house or a field. Since none of the two known meanings of ki-siki (literally: “place of wool?”) seems to fit the present context,¹⁰ I prefer to restore ki-ġá[1], which is a fairly well-attested term for uncultivated land.¹¹

Line 2: [š]ám([NÍN]DAXŠE)-su-nu = šīmsunu/šīmūsunu “their price/value” (cf. MAD 3 259, s.v. šīmu; CAD Š/3 20 f.).¹² For šám as the major term for price in pre-Ur III documents, see Steinkeller, *Sale Documents* 153–62; Gelb, *Kudurrus* 217 ff. (for the present šám-su-nu, see there 218, s.v., 5).

Lines 3–5: For iš-ki-ni at the end of line 3, cf. CAD I/J s.v. iškinū (pl. tantum), defined as “money paid in addition to the purchase price of fields and houses” (cf. also AHw 396). The term iškinū and its ED Sumerian equivalent niġ-ki-ġar,¹³ are both attested only in Akkadian documents. For the latest and most comprehensive discussion of this term, see now Gelb, *Kudurrus* 220 ff. The syllabically written Akkadian term is attested only in two Sargonic fieldsale documents (nos. 42 and 43) and in a Sargonic tablet dealing with

⁹ For ġín as a surface measure, see A. Deimel, “Die Vermessung der Felder bei den Šumerern um 3000 v. Chr.,” *OrSP* 4 (1922) 36 (1 ġín = 1/60 šar = 0.58806 sq. m.); cf. also M. A. Powell, “Sumerian Area Measures and the Alleged Decimal Substratum,” *ZA* 62 (1972) 174, 188 with n. 49; and most recently M. A. Powell, “Masse und Gewichte,” *RIA* 7 479. The preceding traces constitute probably the end of the figure which gave the quantity of the šar. Hence Steinkeller’s suggestion to read the first visible damaged sign as SAR is adopted here.

¹⁰ The two meanings of ki-sig known to me are: (a) a designation of weavers, later replaced by the term ġéme-uš-bar (cf. S. Yamamoto, “The lú-KUR₆-dab₅-ba People in the é-mi—é-^dBa-Ú in Pre-Sargonic Lagash,” *ASJ* 3 [1981] 100, 107; K. Maekawa, “Female Weavers and Their Children in Lagash—Pre-Sargonic and Ur III,” *ASJ* 2 [1980] 81–125); (b) an ED and Ur III month name (cf. M. Cohen, *Calendars* 292 [index] and see especially p. 52 f.; Sallaberger, *Kalender* 1 196 n. 929; R. Englund, *Fischerei* 166 iii 4).

A possible alternative reading ‘ma¹⁷-na³(=KI) sig (for ki-sig) is excluded, not only on the basis of the prices involved, but also on grammatical grounds. If the object of the sale were to be wool, siki would have been read in Akk. šipātu (fem. plur.), and we would expect in l. 2 the possessive suffix for 3rd pl. feminine -sin or -sina (instead of the 3rd pl. masculine -sunu).

¹¹ For ki-ġál(-la), Akk. *kikallū* (CAD K s.v.) and *kankallu* (CAD K 152), attested already in Pre-Sargonic sale documents, see Steinkeller, *Sale Documents* 125 f.; see also F. Carroué, “Le Cours-d’Eau-Allant-à-NINA^{ki},” *ASJ* 8 (1986) 34; K. Maekawa, “The Agricultural Texts of Ur III Lagash of the British Museum (VIII),” *ASJ* 14 (1992) 201 ff.

¹² Steinkeller reminds me that šīmu is usually *plurale tantum* in the Sargonic and Ur III Akkadian (cf. CAD Š/3 s.v. 1a; AHw 1240 s.v. 1).

¹³ Also probably related to niġ-dúr-ġar and iš-ġána which is probably an early Akkadian loanword in Sumerian.

the sale of a house (no. 227). The Sumerian equivalent is attested in two Pre-Sargonic (nos. 16 and 36), and three Sargonic (nos. 40, 41, and 49) fieldsale documents, and in a Sargonic tablet dealing with the sale of a house (no. 237). Thus both terms have hitherto been attested only in pre-Ur III documents. Both terms refer to the additional payment received by the seller(s) for the commodity being sold. In one instance the *nîg-ki-ġar* is given together with a gift (*nîg-ba*).¹⁴ This additional payment may consist of silver, barley, oil, wool, copper and bronze objects, mules, and slaves, and usually constitutes 10 percent of the price. It should be noted that when wool is included in this payment, it frequently weighs 2 minas. When the Akkadian term is written syllabically, it usually appears in the form: *iš-ki-nu-su* (“its *i*”).¹⁵ However, in one instance¹⁶ the wording is: *Ummī-Eštar u Dawir ākilt[ā] iškīn[ē]* “U. and D. are the recipients of the *iškīnū*” (no. 227); and in a Sargonic administrative text (MAD 5 3:1–3), among the expenditures we find an amount of barley paid to the owners of a field *a-na iš-ki-ni* (“as additional payment”). Accordingly, the first two preceding signs are to be read: *a-dī*,¹⁷ and the compound *a-dī iš-ki-ni* (= *adi iškīnī*) should mean “together with an additional payment.”¹⁸

For *in* 11 *gín-ta* in line 4, obviously a distributive expression, see Gelb, MAD 30. For its meaning, which in the present context is problematic, see below.¹⁹

¹⁴ See comment to line 5 below.

¹⁵ Gelb, *Kudurrus* no. 42 ii 6, no. 43 i 5 *passim*.

¹⁶ Kelsey Museum No. 89509 ii 4–7 (cf. P. Steinkeller, “Two Sargonic Sale Documents concerning Women,” *OrNS* 51 [1982] 357).

¹⁷ For Oakk *a-dī*, see CAD A/1 s.v. *adi* B a. For this usage of *adi*, Steinkeller refers me to A. Pohl, *Neubabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus den Berliner Staatlichen Museen* (AnOr 9; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1934) 7:16–17 (cf. San Nicolò, *BR* 8/7 14): *napḥar 1 mana 1/3 šiqil kaspi šibirti/ adi 7 šiqil kaspi ša kī pī atar nadnū*, “A total of 1 mina and 1/3 shekel of silver in pieces, together with seven shekels of silver which have been given as the additional payment.”

¹⁸ Note that the A sign in the beginning of this line is aligned with the beginning of the IN, as well as with the A of the following two lines, but it is not aligned with the beginning of the ŠAM of the preceding line, which is now damaged. Therefore, I assume (with Edzard and Steinkeller) that nothing preceded the A sign. However, one cannot rule out the possibility that a short sign may have been lost in the beginning of the line, which is broken. In that case, one might consider the alternative reading: [x]-*a-ti-iš-ki-ni*, taking this chain to be an Oakk. PN. Cf. Gelb, MAD 3 138 f.: *A-bi-iš-ki-in*, *Nin-lil-iš-ki-in* (among names with the element *kīnum*); cf. also MAD 2 142. This alleged PN could perhaps be restored as [*Aḫ*]*ātīškīni* (= Loyal-to-the-Sister) or [*M*]*ātiš-kīni* or [*M*]*ādīš-kīni*, “very honest” and might then be the name of the vendor or a member of his family, who was granted the additional payment and gift by the buyer of the property. However, the overall pattern of the text, as well as the extra /i/ vowel at the end of the alleged PN, argue strongly against this possibility.

¹⁹ None of the documents referred to by Gelb seems to be helpful in solving our problem. MDP 14 86+ (cf. H. Limet, “Les métaux l’époque d’Agadé,” *JESHO* 15 [1972] 7 f.), contains an inventory of various artifacts made of metal, hide, wool, etc., indicating in each case the quantity of the particular artifact, the total amount of raw material that was used to manufacture it, and the amount of material that was used for producing each unit. In ITT II/2, 5798 the distributive expression *kug.babbar-su 25 ma-na in 3 ma-na-ta*, which appears in a broken

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i-gi-iš (line 5) = *i-qì-iš* (= *iqīš*); cf. CAD Q s.v. *qāšu*, “to deed, make a land grant.” Note that in Old Akkadian and Ur III Akkadian the /qi/ in the verb *qāšu* and its derivatives is always spelled with KI (= *qī*); see also Gelb, MAD 3 222 f. s.v. Q⁷Š. The only exception seems to be the Sargonic hapax PN GI-*šum* (= Qīšum); see Gelb, MAD 3 s.v. *qīšum* (quoted by CAD Q s.v. *qīšu*). Otherwise, the value *qì* for GI in Oakk. texts is well attested (cf. MAD 2 61). The term *iqīš* in this context no doubt means: “granted, gave as a gift,” i.e., paid to the seller as an additional price, or given as a goodwill gift to one of his relatives.²⁰

The meaning of the laconic “*in 11 gín-ta*” (l. 4), in this context, is obscure. The present translation of this line was suggested to me by Steinkeller, who assumes that it indicates the actual amount of silver given as an additional payment to each of the two sellers. It follows from this that the 2 minas of wool mentioned in l. 5 constitute a goodwill gift, which supplemented the substantial “additional payment.” An alternative solution is to assume that the “additional payment” included only wool, and the “11 shekels” mentioned in l. 4 refer to a surface measure. According to this solution, instead of stating the actual amount of wool given as the additional payment for the property being sold, lines 4–5 would indicate the ratio between the size of the property, specified in line 1, and the additional payment/grant made in wool, and ll. 3–5 should then be translated as: “including the additional payment: for each (area of) 11 ‘(surface) shekels’ he presented as a gift 2 mina of wool.” If this alternative interpretation should prove to be correct, we will never know the actual amount of the additional payment, since the line indicating the size of the property is damaged.²¹

Line 6: For Ur-^dŠul-pa-è, a very common Ur III PN, see Limet, *L’anthroponymie* 561 (attested in Umma, Ur, Nippur, Puzriš-Dagan, and Lagaš); *TENUS* 22 (index; including three dub-sar); Yıldız-Gomi, *Die Umma Texte* 3 332 (index); Garfinkle, “Private Enterprise” 312 no. 44:11 passim (see indices on pp. 345, 394, 449). No scribe of this name is attested before the Ur III period (cf. “Tables of the Scribes,” in Giuseppe Visicato, *The Power and the Writing* [Bethesda, Md: CDL Press, 2000]). There are also Ur III merchants with this name from Lagaš and from Umma (cf. H. Neumann, “Handel und Händler

context, seems to refer to the price of the commodity under sale, not to the additional payment. The beginning of ITT II/2 5893, reading 600+600+5x60 še-gur A-ga-dēki kug-babbar-su 50 ma-na in 2 (PI) 30 (SILA₃)-ta, seems to refer to the total price of a huge quantity of grain, and its price per shekel.

²⁰ For the term *nīg-ba* in similar context, see Gelb, *Kudurrus* 224 f. As the authors correctly point out, it is unlikely that Akk. *qāšu* in the present context would translate Sum. ba, “to distribute.”

²¹ For the relationship between prices of fields and additional payments in sale documents from the ED and Sargonic periods, see the discussion in Gelb, *Kudurrus* 281–6.

in der Zeit der III. Dynastie von Ur,” *AoF* 6 [1979] 25, 27). In indices of Ur III publications I found a number of scribes with this name, but none of them is a son of Ur-TAG.

Line 7: For the Sargonic PN Ur-TAG, Steinkeller refers me to BIN 8 47 (index).

Line 8: The subject of the verb *ì-lá* is, apparently, Ur-Šulpae, the scribe, who weighed out the price and the additional payment for the commodity under sale.²² It is assumed here with Steinkeller that Ur-Šulpae is most probably the buyer of the property, and not just the officiating “weigher of silver,” for otherwise he would not be listed in the operative section.

Lines 9–10: In Steinkeller’s opinion these lines most probably specify the names of the sellers. However, if we assume that the first line of the tablet is missing, the sellers’ names could have been lost with it. Alternatively, given that the text is a scribal exercise, the document could be incomplete, not having mentioned the name of the sellers at all.²³ In that case, our lines would refer to the names of the witnesses to the transaction.

The first component of the PN in l. 9 is too damaged to yield a reasonably assured reading. Steinkeller proposes to read *ʾIšʔ-biʔ-ìrʔ-ra* or *ʾIšʔ-biʔ-ḏìrʔ-ra*. However, except for sporadic references to the historical Išbi-Erra of Isin (for example, see UET 3 1421:5), I could not find this name in Ur III economic documents. Alternatively, it could be read as *ʾIdʔ-dí(ĤI)-ìrʔ-ra* or *ʾPʔ-dí(=ĤI)-ìrʔ-ra* (suggested by Tonia Sharlach), which is a widely spread PN in the Ur III period (see, e.g., Yıldız-Gomi, *Die Umma-Texte* 3 2285:39; *TENUS* 12; Yıldız-Tohrú, *Die Umma-Texte* 6 3738:17; Garfinkle, “Private Enterprise” 291 no. 18:8 *passim*).

For the PN Šu-ḏNin-mug, see the Presargonic and Ur III PN Ur-ḏNin-mug.²⁴ For the DN ḏNin-mug, see now A. Cavigneaux and M. Krebernik, *RIA* 9 471 ff., s.v. Ninmuga. Many Sumerian and Akkadian names have the component Šu-/Šu- (cf. Limet, *L’anthroponymie* 530 ff.; Gelb, *MAD* 3 251 f.). It is difficult to determine which is the case before us.

For the damaged and illegible female PN in the beginning of l. 10, ZA-x-[x-x x]-x-e, see *Tu-ra-a[m]-i-lí* dumu Za-ma-[] (seal impression in

²² For the verb *lá* in Pre-Ur III sale documents, see Gelb, *Kudurrus* 229. This term appears normally before the Additional Payment clause.

²³ Could in that case *i-qī-iš* in l. 5 be read as *iqqīš* (N) “were granted”?

²⁴ For the Presargonic PN, see Westenholz, *OSP* 1 no. 117:6; TMH 5 108 + ii 3, where Westenholz reads Ur-ḏNin-zadim; see also G. Selz, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des altsumerischen Stadtstaates von Lagaš* (OPSNKF 13; Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1995) 268 n. 1308. For the Ur III PN, see Limet, *L’anthroponymie* 555; TCS 3 no. 25 2:1; Yıldız-Gomi, *Die Umma Texte* 3 231; Steinkeller, *Sale Documents* 284 no. 94*:13.

NBC 7758: Garfinkle, “Private Enterprise” 370 no.104). If her title is to be read *nin*₉ (sister), then there is a determinative for male PN (DIŠ), applied uniquely to the Akk. PN *Tūram-ilī* (absent in the Sum. PNs). Most probably, however, we have here *dam* (“spouse”). A number of different persons by the name of *Tu-ra-am-i-li* (= *Tūram-ilī*) are attested in the Ur III economic texts. See Gelb, MAD 3 293 (Ur III PN; cf. *OrSP* 23–24); Jean, *RA* 19 (1922) 43 no. 111:4 (*Tu-ra-àm-i-li* lú-kaš₄), 41 no. 42: rev. 3 (*Tu-ra-i-li* lú-^{gi}štukul); Yıldız-Gomi, *Die Umma Texte* 3 92 Um. 1831:9 (ġiri *Tur-ra-am-i-li*).

The possibility cannot be excluded that our text refers to the wife of the famous Ur III merchant, *Tūram-ilī*, the son of Ba-za-a-a. For the latter, see Marc Van De Mieroop, “Tūram-Ilī: An Ur III Merchant,” *JCS* 38 (1986) 1–80, and especially Garfinkle, “Merchants, the Case of Tūram-ili,” in “Private Enterprise” 119–71; the most recent treatment of this material appears in *JCS* 54 (2002): see “Editorial Preface to the Turam-ili Tablets” 25–7; Steven J. Garfinkle, “Turam-ili and the Community of Merchants in the Ur III Period” 29–48; and Rudolf H. Mayr, “The Seals of the Turam-ili Archive” 49–65. The mention of the wife of this Ur III merchant of Akkadian origin would not be a coincidence in a school copy of an Ur III Akkadian sale document.²⁵

Line 11: The space between the traces of the two signs visible at the beginning and end of the line is covered by an artificial filling. The text breaks off here; one or two more lines may be missing. With regard to the damaged signs in the beginning and the end of this line, Steinkeller writes to me: “Although it would be tempting to restore the line *i[m-hu-r]u* (or *-r[a]*), another PN could equally well be recorded here.”

²⁵ In his letter of November 16, 2002, Steinkeller writes to me: “Although I cannot think of any parallels, I suppose that this is a school copy of an authentic sale document. As for the date of the original, your conclusion that it is ‘Old Akkadian [= Classical Sargonic = Naram-Sin and later] or Ur III’ is all that can be said about it with confidence. A possible clue is the PN *Tūram-ilī*, which is not documented before Ur III as far as I know. The same would be true of *Išbi-Erra* (if that is the correct reading).”



Fig. 1. "Old Akkadian" Sale Document obv. (photo)

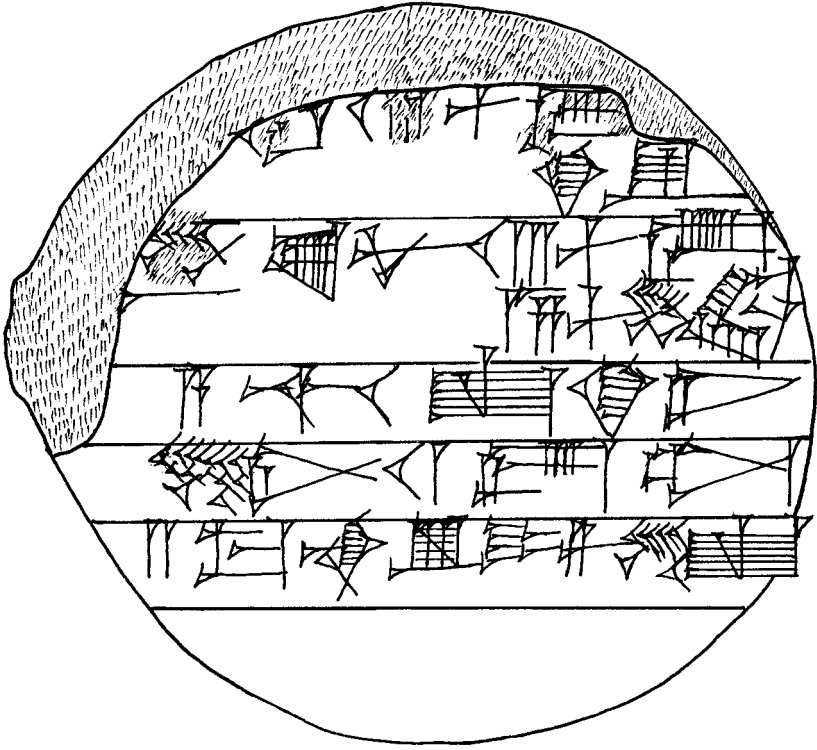


Fig. 2. "Old Akkadian" Sale Document obv.



Fig. 3. "Old Akkadian" Sale Document rev. top (photo)

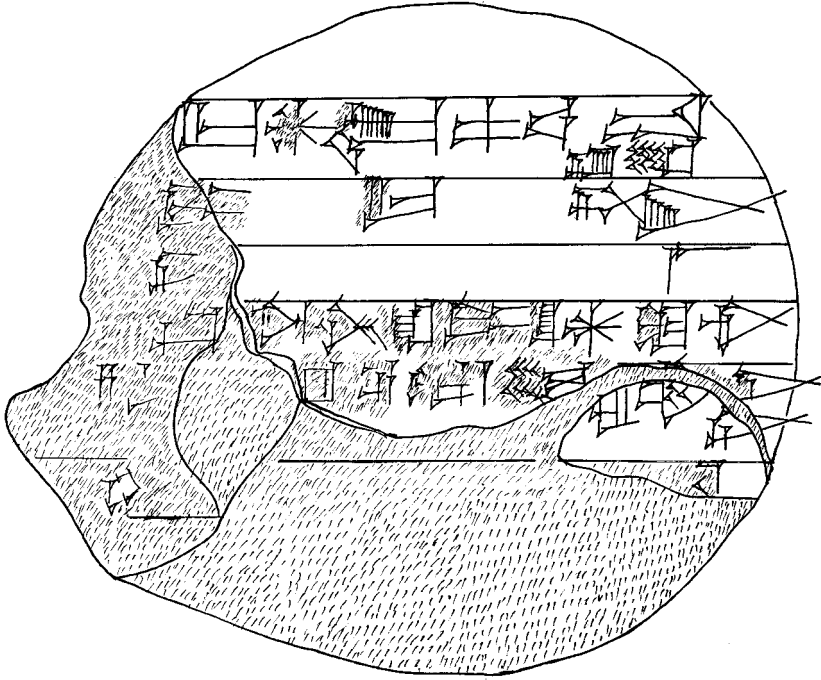


Fig. 4. “Old Akkadian” Sale Document rev.



Fig. 5. "Old Akkadian" Sale Document rev. bottom (photo)

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Fig. 6. “Old Akkadian” Sale Document rev. right side (photo)

ENBILULU AND THE CALENDAR

W.G. Lambert

In the first volume of the honorand's *Tablets from Sippar*,¹ BM 54692 (Fig. 1) is succinctly described as "F" ("fragment") and "incantation," which is entirely correct. The present writer noticed that the first few lines agree essentially with the incantation on K 9041 (Fig. 1) cited in volume three of C. Bezold's *Catalogue*,² and the text is of such interest as to merit publication here.³

K 9041 is a Late Assyrian fragment, whether or not from a library of Ashurbanipal, and it is the top left-hand corner of its side of a tablet, but whether of obverse or reverse is not completely sure. If the former, it is of course the first section of the whole tablet. It offers the beginnings of the lines of a short Sumerian incantation followed by the beginning of a ritual section (tu₆ an-ni-[...]). BM 54692 (82-5-22,1016) is the bottom left-hand corner of its tablet, with continuous text on both sides. It lacks the beginnings of the lines and offers first the end of a ritual section prescribing recitation of the following text:

[én] ki-a-am ana muh-ši ŠID-nu

You shall recite [the incantation] over it thus:

The incantation follows, and then a very fragmentary ritual section occurs. The fragment may be Middle Babylonian, to judge from the sign-forms: note the vertical wedge in LU and LUGAL, the narrow LI (line 13), and the HAR (lines 7 and 9). But a late Babylonian copy of a Middle Babylonian original is also a possibility. In either case it is interesting, since Middle Babylonian copies of such texts are rare.

It is not certain that the two pieces belong to the same exorcistic series or are using this incantation for the same purpose. Incantations often served in quite different contexts. So in view of the slight remains of the ritual contexts we shall deal here only with the incantation, first giving the two versions in interlinear style, next commenting on details of interpretation, this being followed by a translation, and concluded with more general comments.

¹ *Tablets from Sippar 1* (vol. 6 of *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*; London: British Museum Publications, 1986).

² *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1893).

³ The texts given here in the author's hand copies are published by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

The incantation is in late Sumerian, and that creates problems for interpretation on the grammatical level.

TEXT

- 1 BM [én^d]en-ki lugal gu-la^dasal-lú-ḫi lugal gu-la
K én^den-ki lugal gu-la [d^dasal-lú-ḫi lugal gu-la]
- 2 BM [dingir-n]e-ne-a an-ki-a dím-meš gú sùḫ-è-a
K dingir-bi-ne-ne-a an-ki-a [...]
- 3 BM [den-bi]-lu-lu BI dingir-gal-gal-e-ne
K den-bi-lu-lu gú-<gal> dingir-gal-gal-e-ne
- 4 BM [giš-ḫur] an-ki-ke₄ an-ne-en-ḫur-ḫur-re
K [...]
- 5 BM [ud iti mu] mu-ni-šu-du₇-da-ta
K ud iti mu mu-ni-[šu-du₇-da?-ta?]
- 6 BM [:iti? 7? ud?] ʾ7ʾ? giš-ḫur-ḫur-ra-ke₄
K :iti 7 ud 7 [...]
- 7 BM [...] x x (x) du₆-siki-l-la-ta
K tu₆ an-ki-a Z[I? ...]
- 8 BM [tu₆-én]-ʾé¹-nu-ru
K (nil)

1. Enki and Asalluḫi are here fully equal, contrary to most Sumerian incantations, where at least nominally Enki is superior as the father. The title lugal gu-la is most unusual for a god. CAD Š/2 103b quotes only LUGAL *ra-bu-um* (of Inšušinak) in an inscription from Elam.

2. There is no room for BI in the BM tablet. It appears that the endings on both tablets for dingir are only meant as plural markers. The present writer has no idea what gú sùḫ-è-a means.

3. The restoration gú-gal is justified from Enūma Eliš VII 62, 64, where the title is both a title and a name of Enbilulu. The BI in BM is clearly an error for GÚ.

6. K has a *Glossenkeil* before iti 7 ud 7, which raises the possibility that it is a variant form of the previous line. However, the trace of BM can be the end of “7,” so its second half may well be the correct continuation of what is in K.

7. The trace on K may be restored: z[i-an-na ḫé-pà zi-ki-a ḫé-pà], but that is bold.

Translation

- 1 Enki, great king, Asalluḫi, great king,
- 2 Gods of heaven and earth, creators of ...,
- 3 Enbilulu, canal supervisor of the great gods,
- 4 designed [the designs] of heaven and earth for them.
- 5 After he had completed day, month, and year –
- 6 having designed 7 months and 7 days –
- 7 [...] ... from the pure hill.
- 8 [Tu'en]enuru.

The concept of Ea and Marduk as joint rulers of the universe in the beginning is rare but can be paralleled. In Atra-ḫasīs I Ea and the Mother Goddess jointly create man. In Enūma Eliš VI 1–38 that tradition is modified by Marduk's taking the place of the Mother Goddess. Marduk provides the ideas, Ea implements them. Enbilulu as a creator is harder to find. The most detailed statement about him is in Enūma Eliš VII 57–69, where he is identified with Marduk; Enbilulu is given as the head name and ^d*e-pa₅-dun*, ^d*gú-gal*, and ^d*hé-gál* as sub-names. His attributes are exclusively agricultural: providing the water which allows the fields to yield their crops for the consumption of god and man. This follows the tradition of Enki and the World Order 271–3, where Enki appoints Enbilulu as *kù-gál id-da-ke*⁴, “canal supervisor of the canals.”⁴ Jacobsen's identification of our Enbilulu with the goddess Bilulu in the myth Inanna and Bilulu⁵ is problematical. The prefixing of EN to a divine name is no problem, nor is the different gender, but the character of the goddess in the myth is not sufficiently similar to that of Enbilulu for the matter to be sure. However, ^d*nin-bí-lu-lu* in the Early Dynastic Zami Hymns⁶ is no doubt our deity, since the name is associated with Tigris and Euphrates, and the NIN does not of course require a female deity.

Since nothing in his character so far known explains Enbilulu's arranging of time periods in the beginning, one must ask who is assigned this function elsewhere. The moon god Nanna or Sîn is commonly considered to have organized these things, though working under greater gods. First, Kudur-mabug says of him: *ud gi₆-bi hé hé iti ge-en-ge-en mu silim-ma*, “who alternates day and night, who fixes the month, who brings the year to completion.”⁷ This of course results from observation of the moon with some mythological addition. The same sort of thinking is expressed in the big Sumerian statue inscription of Kurigalzu A V, probably to be followed

⁴ See A. Falkenstein's translation in “Sumerische religiöse Texte,” *ZA* 56 (1964) 106.

⁵ Argued in Th. Jacobsen, “The Myth of Inanna and Bilulu,” *JNES* 12 (1953) 167.

⁶ R. D. Biggs, *Inscriptions from Tell Abū Šalābīkh* (OIP 99; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974) p. 48:61–4.

⁷ D. Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 BC)* (RIME 4; Toronto: University of Toronto, 1990) 220:4–6.

by Bb II.⁸ A Sumerian paragraph associated with Enūma Anu Enlil has Anu, Enlil, and Enki appointing Šin to regulate the new moon and month.⁹ A free Babylonian version of this paragraph turns the new moon into “day” and slips in a mention of Šamaš, see also the Middle Babylonian version from Emar.¹⁰ A further Akkadian paragraph of the same kind also names Anu, Enlil, and Ea as doing this task, in the line:¹¹

gi₆ u₄-r¹zal¹ ú-za-r¹’i¹-[zu im-du-d]u iti u mu ib-nu-[u]

They divided night and day, [measured them], and created month and year.

The immediately following line mentions moon and sun, but is badly damaged. Thus there is nothing here to explain how Enbilulu got into this kind of operation. Enūma Eliš itself has a close parallel to the idea, though expressed in entirely different words. Tablet V begins with Marduk organizing the year by means of the thirty-six stars, which means appointing the months. Then the moon is appointed to regulate the month by dividing it into four quarters, and finally the sun is appointed (in a very damaged section, lines 39–46) to organize the day into watches. This parallels the very concise statement of our new incantation, but there is no reason to suspect any direct connection.

Thus we are left to wonder at the great diversity of material that comes up in incantations. Being magic, they were often left unchanged by the developments in theological thinking. The most curious item is line 6. Seven days is a well-known item in the Babylonian calendar, because the seventh day marked the end of the first quarter of the lunar month. The present writer will not speculate whether this mention of seven days being part of the plans for the universe at the beginning has any relevance for the Hebrew sabbath. A more pressing issue is what the seven months are. A thirty-day month divided into two halves and then the first half being divided into two, yields easily enough the seventh day and a seven day period, but the twelve months of a lunar year, or even the thirteen months with the extra month added, do not explain any group of seven, which seems to be unique to this text. Perhaps Erle has an idea.

⁸ See S. N. Kramer, T. Baqir, and S. J. Levy, “Fragments from a Diorite Statue of Kurigalzu in the Iraq Museum,” *Sumer* 4 (1948) 1 ff.

⁹ See E. Weidner, “Die astrologische Serie Enūma Anu Enlil,” *AfO* 14 (1941/4) 193 n. 93.

¹⁰ D. Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d’Aštata. Emar* 6/4 (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1987) 263: 80–2.

¹¹ E. Weidner, “Die astrologische Serie Enūma Anu Enlil, Tafel 15–22: Texte über Mondfinsternisse,” *AfO* 17 (1954–56) 89; B. Landsberger and J. V. Kinnier Wilson, “The Fifth Tablet of *Enuma Eliš*,” *JNES* 20 (1961) 172; but here based on the original K tablets.



Fig. 1.

A STRAY NUZI TEXT FROM BELGIUM

M. P. Maidman

In the mid-1990s a Nuzi-type tablet then in the possession of an antiquities dealer went on temporary exhibition at the Musée du Cinquenaire in Brussels. While the tablet was in the custodianship of the Museum, Philippe Talon made a rough copy of the tablet. Since that time, the tablet has left the museum and has disappeared, probably into the hands of a private collector. The museum has a photographic record of the tablet, but it is, to this point inaccessible to me. For the moment, then Talon's rough copy alone remains as an available facsimile of this document.

Professor Talon informed me of the existence of this tablet and of his copy, claiming the latter to be a weak representation of the former. He graciously put his copy at my disposal to do with as I saw fit. For his generosity and cheerful goodwill I am most grateful. Considering the circumstances under which he made the copy and Talon's relative unfamiliarity with the Nuzi texts, the copy is a fine representation of the text. The signs are most often perfectly typical of what one expects to see in this corpus. In the few instances where they appear anomalous, it is usually simple to discern what Talon must have seen.

Thus, while full publication and edition must await the reemergence of the artifact—or at least the availability of photographs—a preliminary transliteration and translation may very reasonably be hazarded. Where signs or sign fragments are present but not clearly decipherable, the obscure grapheme is represented by an “x”.

The tablet measures $11.5 \times 7 \times 3$ cm. and appears well preserved except for the top left and top right of the object. The most seriously affected parts are lines 1–3, 37–9. The contents record a typical Nuzi record of litigation involving illegal seizure and exploitation of real estate. The document does not belong in an obvious manner to any Nuzi or Arrapha or Kurruḫanni archive known to me.

As with all texts, even the most typical, new data—small gems—are to be found in the individual artifact (see the note to lines 7–8 for two examples). Thus, I present this morsel of Belgian chocolate to Erle Leichty with pleasure and gratitude for his instruction and wisdom freely dispensed over the many years.

“TALON” #1

obverse

- 1 [m*Ki-pá-l*]i DUMU ʾAʾ-[r]i-ya
- 2 [it-ti m*T*]e-*hi*-ya DUMU Zi-x-[]-x
- 3 [ù i]t-ti m*A*-ki-ya DUMU Nu/Be-x-[]-y[a]ʔ
- 4 i+na di-niʾ (=IR) a-na pa-ni DI.KU₅.MEŠ
- 5 ša URU Ar-WA i-te-lu-ʾúʾ-ma
- 6 um-ma m*Ki-pá-li*-ma
- 7 7 GIŠAPIN A.ŠÀ.MEŠ i+na A.GÀR ša URU Ar-WA
- 8 ʾiʾ+na su-ta-a-ʾniʾ KASKAL-*ni* ša URU Nu-zi
- 9 m*A*-ʾkiʾ-ya ù m*Te*-*hi*-ya
- 10 ʾaʾ-na ya-ši i-din-ma-mi
- 11 ù i-na-ʾanʾ-na A.ŠÀ.MEŠ ša-ʾa-šuʾ
- 12 uš-tu₄ 2 MU.MEŠ-*ti*
- 13 m*Tar-mi-te-šup* DUMU En-ša-a-ku
- 14 ik-ta-ʾlaʾ-a-mi ù DI.KU₅.MEŠ
- 15 mʾAʾ-ki-ya ù m*Te*-*hi*-ya
- 16 [i]š-ta-lu-uš um-ma m*A*-ʾki-yaʾ
- 17 um-ma m*Te*-*hi*-ya-ma
- 18 a-an-ni-mi 7 GIŠAPIN A.ŠÀ.MEŠ š[a]-a-šu
- 19 a-na m*Ki-pá-li* at-ta-din-m[i]
- 20 ù i+na-an-na A.ŠÀ.MEŠ š[a-a-š]u

lower edge

- 21 m*Tar-mi-te-šup* x x []
- 22 ʾúʾ išʾ?-tu₄ 2 MU.MEŠ-*ti*ʔʔ PA x
- 23 la a ʾKIʾ?

reverse

- 24 ù i+na di-ni m*Ki-pá-li*ʾ
- 25 ʾilʾ-te-e-ma ù DI.KU₅.MEŠ
- 26 m*Te*-*hi*-ya ù m*A*-ki-ya
- 27 ki-i EME-šu-nu-ma
- 28 a-na 14 ʾANŠEʾ ŠE.MEŠ ʾúʾ
- 29 a-na 14 š[a]-*hi*-ir-ri ʾIN.NUʾ
- 30 a-na iš-pi-ʾki ša 7ʾ (=3) GIŠ! (=PA) APIN A.ʾŠÀʾ[.MEŠʔ]
- 31 ša 2 MU.ʾMEŠ-*ti*ʾ a-na m*Ki-pá-li*
- 32 it-ta-du-uš ù A.ŠÀ.MEŠ ʾša-a-šuʾ
- 33 m*Te*-*hi*-ya ù m*A*-ki-ya
- 34 ʾiʾ+naʾ-ak<-ki>- is-šu-nu-ti-ma
- 35 ù a-na m*Ki-pá-li* i+na-an-dinʔ
- 36 ŠU m*A*-kip-til-la DUB.ʾSARʾ

(seal impression)

A Stray Nuzi Text from Belgium

37 []-*x-ip*-LUGAL

38 []-*h*]-*i-ya*

(seal impression)

39 []-*ti-ʿya*¹

upper edge

(seal impression) ŠU?

left edge (facing obverse)

40 NA₄ ^m*Ki-pi-ʿya*¹ NA₄ ^m*Ú-n*[*áp-*]

Translation

(1–5) Kipali son of Ariya took to court, before the judges of the town of ArwA, Teḥiya son of Zi-...[and] Akiya son of Nu- / Be-...-ya?.

(5–14) Now, thus Kipali: “Akiya and Teḥiya gave to me a .7 homer plot of land in the *ugāru* of the town of ArwA, to the south of the road to the town of Nuzi. But now Tarmi-tešup son of En-šaku has kept that land for two years.”

(14–16) Then the judges questioned Akiya and Teḥiya.

(16–23) Thus Akiya and thus Teḥiya: “Indeed so; I (*sic*) gave to Kipali that .7 homer plot of land. And now that land Tarmi-tešup ... for(?) two years has kept(?)”

(24–35) And Kipali won the case. The judges sentenced Teḥiya and Akiya in accordance with their (i.e., Teḥiya’s and Akiya’s) declaration, to wit, (to give) 14 homers of barley and 14 bundles of straw as the yield of a .7(!, lit.: .3) homer plot of land for two years. Teḥiya and Akiya shall sever(?) (that portion of) that field and give it to Kipali.

(36) Hand of Akip-tilla, the scribe.

(37–40) (seal impression) [Seal impression of] ...-ip-šarri; [seal impression of] ...-ḥiya (seal impression); [seal impression of] ...-tiya (seal impression) x?; [(seal impression)?] seal impression of Kipiya; [(seal impression)?] seal impression of Unap-....

Comments

The trial pits Kipali against a pair of adversaries. Kipali claims that a fourth party has illegally occupied a field ceded by the pair to him, Kipali. Kipali’s adversaries admit that they had transferred title to the land to Kipali but that other occupancy then took place. The judges order the pair to give the land to Kipali and to compensate him for losses incurred during the period of illegal occupation.

Implicit in this case is that subsequent to Kipali's originally having received title to the land, the same plot, possibly as part of a larger field, was ceded by the two to the fourth party. Hence culpability attaches to the two who had ceded the land, not to the one who had received that land illegally.

Notes

Lines 7–8: These two data regarding the town of ArwA seem to be attested here uniquely. Cf. Jeanette Fincke, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Nuzi-Texte* (RGTC 10; Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1993) 54–6.

Line 13: For this person, see Paul Koschaker, “Drei Rechtsurkunden aus Arrapha,” *ZA* 48 (1944) 166 1:20.

Lines 20–2: Cf., perhaps, ll. 11–4.

Line 23: 'KI'? Possibly: *-ma'*.

Line 30: '7' (=3). It is possible that the surface of the tablet is partially effaced at this point and that “7” would originally have appeared here.

Line 34: The reconstruction is hardly more than a guess, involving odd-looking signs, a scribal omission, a phonetic peculiarity, and an atypical locution in such a context.

Line 35: *din?* Or: *dī-[nu]*.

Line 36: A scribe named Akip-tilla appears in HSS 5 13:12, 18 and EN 9/1 136:3, 15.

HOW TO READ THE LIVER—IN SUMERIAN

Piotr Michalowski

Divination is commonly thought to be one of the salient characteristics of Mesopotamian culture, and the great libraries of the late period were filled with long omen series.¹ And yet all these omens were composed in the Akkadian language, and not a single early omen in Sumerian has been found; virtually all such examples are very late bilingual texts that are clearly scholastic in nature.² The distribution of omen texts as well as the exclusively Akkadian technical terminology of the craft contrast with the information gleaned from other sources that provide ample evidence of divinatory practices in early times.³ The most extensive Sumerian language description of extispicy is known from an often-cited passage in the elaborate hymn Šulgi B (ll. 131–49), in which the king not only proclaims his own knowledge of the craft, but also manages to deprecate his court diviners in the bargain:

máš-šu-gíd-gíd dadag-ga-me-en
gìri-gen-na inim uzu-ga-ka ^dnin-tud-bi gá-e-me-en
šu-luḫ-ḫa nam-išib-ba šu du₇-dè

¹ The following abbreviations will be used here: Meyer, *Untersuchungen* = Jan-Waalke Meyer, *Untersuchungen zu den Tonlebermodellen aus dem Alten Orient* (AOAT 39; Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn: Verlag Butzon & Bercker and Neukirchener Verlag, 1987); Jeyes, *OBE* = Ulla Jeyes, *Old Babylonian Extispicy: Omen Texts in the British Museum* (PIHANS 64; Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1989); Koch-Westenholz, *BLO* = Ulla Koch-Westenholz, *Babylonian Liver Omens: The Chapters Manzāzu, Padānu and Pān tākalti of the Babylonian Extispicy Series mainly from Ashurbanipal's Library* (CNIP 25; Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2000); Michalowski, *RCU* = Piotr Michalowski, *The Royal Correspondence of Ur* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, forthcoming). I would like to thank Jerry Cooper, Gonzalo Rubio, Avi Winitzer, and most importantly Niek Veldhuis for reading drafts and offering suggestions and references.

² See the comments of J. Bottéro, “Symptomes, signes, écritures en Mésopotamie ancienne,” in *Divination et Rationalité* (ed. J.P. Vernant et al.; Paris: Édition du Seuil, 1974) 146 n. 1. The late first millennium bilingual omen texts were published by H. Hunger, *SpTU* 1 85–6 and *SpTU* 3 86 (there are also unpublished duplicates); Hunger notes that according to E. Reiner there are also unpublished astronomical omens of the same format (*SpTU* 1 90). Somewhat earlier is the Nimrud tablet CTN 4 89, with further references (courtesy N. Veldhuis). The sole Sumerian liver omen presently known from the Kassite period (UM 29-13-542) appears in N. Veldhuis, “Kassite Exercises: Literary and Lexical Extracts,” *JCS* 52 (2000) 74, 89.

³ The classic description is A. Falkenstein, “‘Wahrsagung’ in der sumerischen Überlieferung,” in *CRRAI* 14 (1966) 47–68; see, more recently, P. Steinkeller, “The Renting of Fields in Ancient Mesopotamia and the Development of the Concept of ‘Interest’ in Sumerian,” *JESHO* 24 (1981) 113–45. As Jerry Cooper reminds me, the cumulative evidence speaks against J.-M. Durand’s suggestion in *Les documents épistolaires du palais de Mari, tome 3* (LAPO 18; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2000) 93 that extispicy was more at home in the north and west than in the south.

en-ra zà-mí-dè gi₆-par₄-šè ħun-e
lú-maḥ nin-dingir šà kù-ge pà-da
sig-šè sag gá-gá nim-šè aga-kár sì-ge
é šu-nir-ra-ke₄ gál tag₄-tag₄-[ge-dè]
giš-gíd-da a mè tu₅-tu₅-[dè]
ki bal-a-šè sá galam-ma gá-gá-[dè]
inim dingir-re-e-ne níg kal-kal-la-àm
sila₄ babbar udu kin-gi₄-a-ka i₅-gar ù-bí-gar-gar
ki mu pà-dè-ba a eše₄ ba-ni-dé
inim sízkur-ra-ka udu sa àm-mi-ni-íḫ-gi₄-gi₄-in
máš-šu-gíd-gíd-mu na-gá-aḥ-gin₇ u₆ mu-e
udu sa gi₄-a šu-gá ma-an-dab₅
sa₆-ga ħul-da la-ba-an-da-ḫa-zé-en
šà zalag ní-gá-me-en igi-mu-ta ì-du-un
lugal-me-en šà udu diš-kam
á-ág-gá níg ki šár-ra-ka igi mu-na-ni-du₈⁴

“I am a ritually pure diviner,
I am Nintu of the written lists of omens!⁵
For the proper performance of the lustrations of the office of high priest,
For singing the praises of the high priestess and (their) selection for (residence
in) the gipar,
For the choosing of the Lumaḥ and Nindingir priests by holy extispicy,
For (decision to) attack the south or strike the north,
For opening the storage of (battle) standards,
For the washing of lances in the “water of battle,”
And for making wise decisions about rebel lands,
The (ominous) words of the gods are most precious, indeed!
After taking a propitious omen from a white lamb—an ominous animal—
At the place of questioning water and flour are libated;
I make ready the sheep with ritual words
And my diviner watches in amazement like a barbarian.
The ready sheep is placed in my hand, and I never confuse a favorable sign with
an unfavorable one.
...
In the insides of a single sheep I, the king,
Can find the (divine) messages for the whole universe.”⁶

⁴ G.R. Castellino, *Two Šulgi Hymns (BC)* (Studi Semitici 42; Rome: Istituto di Studi del vicino Oriente, Università di Roma, 1972) 44–7. With minor changes the composite text and line numbering follow the manuscript of G. Haayer.

⁵ Note also Šulgi C 95–6 (Castellino, *Two Šulgi Hymns* 254): šà-ta ḏnin-tud gal-zu níg-nam-ma in-ga-me-na-ta uzu-ga ki dadag-ga-ba gizkim mu-ni-zu, “Moreover, because from the very womb I am Nintu, wise in all things, I know how to read the signs of extispicy in the ritually purified place (of sacrifice).” See also the OB Sumerian text PBS 5 76 vi 3–10 (cited by Jeyes, *OBE* 30, courtesy of A. Winitzer).

⁶ The ideological message of this hymn strongly asserts the independence of the king from his specialists, scribes, priests, etc., and is clearly meant to put them in their place. For a somewhat

The issue is therefore primarily the absence of written Sumerian omen collections, although this is not without consequences for the analysis of the manner in which the ancient diviners read the messages inscribed by the gods in the internal organs of sheep and elsewhere, since the use of written omen materials does not antedate the Old Babylonian period. Despite the fact that no omen texts have been found that antecede the Old Babylonian period, the second line of the hymn cited above seems to refer to written omens. In Ur III texts the word *giri-gin-na* usually refers to lists, as in Šulgi 26:80 (*giri-gin-na gašam-ma*) or the literary catalog TuM NF 3 55:16–21 where it designates lists of text incipits.⁷

Side by side with the earliest omen compendia we find practical omen reports that bear witness to the manner in which the omen specialists actually operated, and therefore it is difficult to establish the actual role of omen texts in this period. That is to say, omens centered on one or more features, organized in the form of protasis and apodosis, would serve to help interpret specific marks as positive or negative, but the outcome and full import of any extispicy inquiry would only emerge from the tabulation of negative and positive features as documented by the practical Old Babylonian reports.⁸ In Sargonid reports omens for each encountered diagnostic sign are cited, but this is not normally the case for Old Babylonian reports; only one preserved report from this period actually quotes omens.⁹ The earliest omen exemplars, found on the liver models from Mari, clearly had a didactic purpose, but the function of the slightly later texts from Babylonia, such as the ones published by A. Goetze in YOS 10, remains unclear.

One might speculate that the earliest written omens and the omen compendia were designed as speculative illustrations or even explanations of the positive or negative import of specific features and their context. The actual practice of omen analysis involved the tabulation of positive and negative features, but the individual omen allowed for a broader speculative analysis of the reasons for the positive or negative reading of a given feature and its localization in the exta.

Not being an expert on the subject, I shall refrain from speculation on this matter, but, as we celebrate Erle Leichty, I wish to offer him something that he might find amusing, perhaps even of interest: the earliest known omen

different view see J.-M. Durand, ARM 26 25 n. 87.

⁷ Note also the Adab text OIP 14 193, cited by R. Englund, *Fischerei* 54–5, where *giri-gen-na lugal/PN/gentilic* also probably means “for the lists/accounts of the king/PN/gentilic.”

⁸ On OB omen reports see, most recently, the articles by Ulla Koch-Westenholz, “Old Babylonian Extispicy Reports,” and Seth Richardson, “Ewe Should Be So Lucky: Extispicy Reports and Everyday Life,” in *Studies Walker* 131–47 and 229–44, respectively. As Koch-Westenholz notes (136), most of the published reports are northern and Late OB, but the two texts that she publishes (136–9) are southern and probably earlier in date.

⁹ W.R. Mayer, “Ein altbabylonischer Opferschaubericht aus Babylon,” *OrNS* 56 (1987) 245–62.

in the Sumerian language. To be sure, the text is literary and unrelated to the actual practice of extispicy, but it does show that some Old Babylonian schoolteachers had knowledge of the subject and made peculiar usage of this knowledge. The only other presently known Old Babylonian school text with materials related to extispicy is a bilingual exercise of unknown origin in the Hearst Museum.¹⁰

The text at issue is a short passage in a school letter addressed by King Ibbi-Sîn of Ur to Puzur-Numušda, the governor of Kazallu during his reign. A full edition will be included in my forthcoming edition of the royal letters of the Ur III kings, together with a fuller discussion of the complex Old Babylonian manuscript tradition of this missive.¹¹ For now it will suffice to say that this composition is preserved in two versions, short and long; the first is known from six tablets from Nippur, Sippar, and Kiš, while the latter is attested only from two tablets of unknown provenience. The seam between the two versions is quite telling, as the added lines are written in a highly learned, one is tempted to say poetic, diction that differs substantially from the “standard” version. In this missive the king admits that Enlil had cursed Sumer, but that things would soon change, as Enlil had looked favorably upon him and had provided him with a favorable omen.

The long version of the missive is found on A 7475, a large two-column tablet that contained all four Ibbi-Sîn/Išbi-Erra/Puzur-Numušda letters, here called G, and MM 1039, a broken single column tablet that is here designated as H. The former, part of the holdings of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, was apparently purchased in Iraq by Henri Frankfort, but there is no indication of its origin; it was written on the seventeenth day of the fifth month of the twenty-seventh year of Samsuiluna of Babylon. The latter, preserved in the collection of the museum of the Abadía de Montserrat, likewise purchased in Iraq, may derive from the excavations conducted before World War I in Babylon.¹²

One must admit that this passage is lexically and syntactically difficult, and that the solutions proposed here are provisional at best, since the only way to solve the puzzles is to try to work out how the writer invented a Sumerian extispicy terminology in back translation from Akkadian. The differences between the two manuscripts and the incomplete state of H further

¹⁰ D. A. Foxvog, “A Manual of Sacrificial Procedure,” in *Studies Sjöberg* 167–76.

¹¹ For the presently known sources see note 18 below.

¹² I am indebted to Miguel Civil for the information on MM 1039; Civil was also kind enough to give me his copy of the tablet some years ago and more recently he sent me a digital photograph. His copy, as well as a photo, are now available in M. Molina and B. Böck, “Textos y fragmentos literarios sumerios,” *AuOr* 15 (1997) 36 (copy), 40 (photo). M. Molina graciously sent me his own digital photographs as well. High resolution digital photographs of both tablets will be included in Michalowski, *RCU*.

complicate the matter. My only regret is that I did not ask Erle Leichty for advice on these matters; perhaps now that this passage has been made known, he and other omen specialists will do a better job.

The omen concerns a mark on the liver that is labeled *gištukul*, “the Weapon,” Akkadian *kakkum*. This is one of the most characteristic features analyzed in Mesopotamian extispicy, and it has been analyzed and commented on many times, most recently by J.-W. Meyer, U. Jeyes, and U. Koch-Westenholz.¹³ As S. Lieberman argued, this feature was interpreted as a sign that looked like the “the grapheme GAG,” and thus had reference, secondary perhaps, to cuneiform writing.¹⁴ However, the main semantic import was linked to the signifier *kakkum*; in the words of Koch-Westenholz, “unsurprisingly, many of the apodoses of the Weapon compendia and of omens from all over the series with a Weapon in the protasis concern warfare and the armed forces.”¹⁵ Although the author of the additions did not include the characteristic omen opening “if, supposing that,” (*tukum-bi* = *šumma*), the structure of lines 41–3 leads one to the conclusion that it was meant to be interpreted as an interpolated omen or omen report, with protasis and apodosis.

- 37 G *igi níg-sa₆-[ga¹]-ni gá-ra mu-un-ši-in-ni-bar*
H omits line.
- 38 G *ša-ne-ša₄-mu šà kù-ga-šè mu-un-gar*
H omits line.
- 39 G *kin-gi₄-a-mu uzu silim-ma-ke₄ ma-an-gar*
H *[kin-gi₄-a-[ga¹] uzu silim-ma im-ma-an-gar*
- 40 G *uzu zi-da-na uzu gùb-bu-gá [á¹] SI.A ù-mi-ni-ak*
H *[o o z]i-da á gùb-bu-ba á SI.A ù-mu-ni-ak*
- 41 G *gištukul á zi-da-gá gú-bi zi-da ul gùr-ru mi-ni-ak*
H omits line.
- 42 G *gištukul gùb-bu-na gu-da lá-lá gú-ri-bi gar-ra*
H omits line.
- 43 G *lú ħul-gál-mu šu-gá ì-gá-gá sag giš bí-ra*
H *[o o][gál¹-e šu-gá ì-in-dab₅-bé sag giš-bi ra-ra*

The two versions differ substantially and must be translated separately:

Version G

³⁵(Enlil) has looked upon me with grace and ³⁶has taken my supplication to (his) holy heart; ³⁷he established for me in my omens the favorable parts.

¹³ Jeyes, *OBE* 81–3; Koch-Westenholz, *BLO* 48–51; both argue, against Meyer, that it is a negative mark. A. Winitzer, who is working on these matters for his doctoral thesis, disagrees, claiming that the value of such marks is always relative.

¹⁴ S. Lieberman, “The Names of Cuneiform Signs,” in *Studies Finkelstein* 149.

¹⁵ Koch-Westenholz, *BLO* 51.

³⁸Furthermore, he fashioned the right side for him, and the left side for me.
³⁹He beautifully set there the Weapon on my favorable side with a straight flank;
⁴⁰the Weapon on his unfavorable side was present and (looked over) to the other side, bound steadfast to the filament. ⁴¹(This means:) “My enemy will be delivered over to me and killed.”

Version H

³⁷He has established for me in my omens the favorable parts. ³⁸Furthermore, when he fashioned in them the right side and the left side ⁴¹(the meaning of the omen became) “My enemy will be captured and killed.”

Notes to the Texts

Line 37. The normal Sumerian version of this expression does not have *níg*; e.g., NL 229 an-né ^den-líl-le igi sa₆-ga-ne-ne im-ši-in-bar-re-eš-àm. The only other example that is similar to the one found here known to me is found in an incantation VAS 17 14:17–8 ^dutu agrun-na-ta [x x x] igi níg-sa₆-ga-ni h́é-[em-kù-ge]. The difference between ADJECTIVE and níg-ADJECTIVE in Sumerian is not clear to me.

Line 39. This line contains two technical terms: kin-gi₄-a and uzu silim-ma. The former is undoubtedly *tērtum* or *amūtum*; see D. Foxvog in *Studies Sjöberg* 172–3. Sumerian uzu is sometimes used as synonym for *tērtum*, but here it probably has a more limited meaning; the phrase is a back translation from Akkadian *šīrum šalmum*, “favorable ominous part.” As such, uzu probably reflects the more generalized technical use of *šīrum* to designate various sorts of ominous phenomena, as discussed by J.-M. Durand, ARM 26 15–9.

Line 40. The two sides of the liver are here described as uzu zi-da and uzu gùb-bu; the *pars familiaris* and *pars hostilis*, for which see I. Starr, *The Rituals of the Diviner* (BiMes 12; Malibu, Calif.: Undena, 1983) 15–29.

The reading á-diri, or perhaps better á-SI.A, if correct, presents multiple difficulties. PSD A/2 s.v. renders á-diri A as “superior strength,” and this vocable is clearly not at issue here. There remains the administrative term á diri, “additional work (assignment),” listed in the dictionary on the following page, and one might consider that the usage in the letter is related to the latter. With all due caution, one may suggest that the author used it here in an adverbial sense, hence the translation “*additionally, furthermore*.” The two texts differ substantially here, but note that the ascription of the right side to Išbi-Erra and the left to Ibbi-Sîn in G in line 40 seems to be reversed in 41 and 42. Perhaps á-diri should be understood as “additional side” and the line rendered as “then he made side(s) in addition to his right side and my left side.”

Lines 41–2. These lines are only found in G. The expressions *gištukul á zi-da* and *gištukul gùb-bu* are renditions of Akkadian *kak imittim* and *kak šumēlim*, “Weapon of the right/left (side of a permanent feature).”¹⁶

The translation of the verb, admittedly somewhat uncertain, is based on *ul-gùr-ru = mi-nu-ú-tum* (OBGT 11 iv 11' [MSL 4 117]; Proto-Izi II Bil. A iv 13' [MSL 13 58]).

In Akkadian liver divination texts *gu = qûm*, “filament,” another negative mark.¹⁷ As Jeyes observed, this feature connotes restraint or obstruction, which in this case must pertain to Išbi-Erra. The verb *lâ* renders Akkadian *šūqallulum*, “to be suspended,” which is commonly used in conjunction with the “filament.”

Line 43. It is clear that the verb *šu...gar* (text H) is used here in a manner quite different from standard Sumerian usage. Normally this verb is the equivalent of Akkadian *gamālum*, “to spare,” but this makes no sense here, although it might actually hide a double meaning (see below). More probably it is an attempt to render the Akkadian expression *qātam kašādum*, encountered in Old Babylonian omen apodosis. This is parallel to the Akkadian expression that is found in omen and dream reports from Mari: *ana qātim mullûm*, “to deliver (to someone).” Note ARMT 10 8 = ARM 26 no. 214:12–4: *na-ak-ri-ka a-na qa-ti-ka ú-ma-al-la*, “I will deliver your enemies to you,” (quotation from the speech of a woman who fell in a trance in the temple of Annunītum). Similar phrases are found in the highly formalized letters of Dam-hurāšim to Zimri-Lim, ARMT 10 62 and 63. There remains the possibility that the line should be translated “My enemy shall be handed over to me and killed.”

Text H has the more common *šu...dab₅*, “to capture.” Just as *šu...gar* may be interpreted in both the positive and negative sense, the literal rendition of *šu...dab₅* into Akkadian would lead to an antonym, since *qātam šabātum* means to “take a person’s hand, to lead,” in a positive, protective sense.

Provenience

As already noted, the two sources for this passage have no provenience, but it is fairly certain that these additions to the letter were not known at Nippur, Sippar, or Kiš.¹⁸ Whoever added the section had some knowledge

¹⁶ For the Akkadian see Jeyes, *OBE* 82.

¹⁷ See Jeyes, *OBE* 91–2 and Koch-Westenholz, *BLO* 63 with previous literature.

¹⁸ The short recension is documented by Nippur texts CBS 7772 (MBI 9), CBS 14224 (PBS 13 3), CBS 14230 (PBS 13 6), Ni 4061+4188 (ISET 2 118–9 and unpub. fragments), Sippar: Si 557 (unpub.), and Kiš: AO 10630 (PRAK 2 C10). The finer points of the manuscript tradition will be discussed in the forthcoming edition (Michalowski, *RCU*). There are now reasons to suspect that A 7475 may come from Sippar.

of Akkadian extispicy, a subject that does not seem to have been included in normal school instruction at Nippur and in the places that used a similar curriculum such as Ur, Uruk, or Isin. Given the quality and quantity of information at our disposal, anything one may be tempted to say about the actual school function of Old Babylonian omen texts will undoubtedly have to remain in the realm of idle speculation, but it may be useful to focus attention on some interesting facts.

Christian Dyckhoff has collected enough information to suggest that most of the known OB omen texts come from Larsa, from the estate of Balmunamhe.¹⁹ This pertains to the YBC tablets from Yale published by A. Goetze in YOS 10 to which should be added the two Istanbul tablets made available by Scheil.²⁰ Moreover, the only other Old Babylonian omens of known origin are YOS 10 60 from Ešnunna, another from nearby Ishchali,²¹ one tablet from Sippar with physiognomic omens,²² one *Šumma ālu* type omen tablet from late Old Babylonian Ḥarādum,²³ and eight omen tablets unearthed at Tell Yelkhi.²⁴ Nippur has yielded very few Old Babylonian omens²⁵ and the same holds true for Ur.²⁶ The only other sizable group *probably* comes from Sippar.²⁷

One other missive from the royal correspondence of Ur has an insert similar in language and diction to the one encountered in the Ibbi-Sîn—Puzur-Numušda epistle. The letter from Išbi-Erra to the king likewise contains a long passage that is not found in the Nippur recension.²⁸ Four unexcavated sources are known: IM 44134 (J.J.A. van Dijk, “Textes divers du Musée de Bagdad III,” *Sumer* 15 [1959] pl. 7, TIM 9 40), A 7475, Ashm 1922–167 (OECT 5 29), and Ashm 1930–581 (OECT 5 28). The first covers only the

¹⁹ Christian Dyckhoff, “Das Haushaltsbuch des Balmunamhe 1” (Ph.D. diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, 1999) 110–2.

²⁰ “Nouveaux présages tirés du foie,” *RA* 27 (1930) 142, 149.

²¹ Greengus, *Ishchali* pls. xcii–xcvii.

²² From the Sippar collection in Istanbul, see Kraus, *Texte* pls. 63–5.

²³ F. Joannès, “Un précurseur paléo-babylonien de la série *Šumma ālu*,” in *Studies De Meyer* 305–12.

²⁴ O. Rouault and C. Saporetti, “Old Babylonian Texts from Tell Yelkhi,” *Mesopotamia* 20 (1985) nos. 150, 151, 154, 203, 206, 208, 223, and 225.

²⁵ PBS 1/2 99 (collations by Leichty, in *Studies Finkelstein* 143–4). The Nippur origin of this tablet is not fully certain; as Steve Tinney kindly informs me, “the catalogue entry does say that it is from Nippur, but at that point in the catalogue there are none of the comments on find spot that characterize the earlier entries made by Hilprecht.”

²⁶ D. B. Weisberg, “An Old Babylonian Forerunner of *šumma ālu*,” *HUCA* 40–41 (1969–70) 87–104; Jeyes, *OBE* no. 10.

²⁷ These include most of the tablets in Jeyes, *OBE*, the previously published British Museum tablets listed there on p. 4, as well as CBS 156 (Leichty, in *Studies Finkelstein* 144), from the University Museum Khabaza collection.

²⁸ Nippur sources: CBS 2272 (PBS 13 9), Ni 3045+3093+4489 (ISET 2 121), Ni 3083 (ISET 2 121), 3 N-T 306 (A 30207, unpub.). There are now reasons to question the Nippur origin of N; 3083.

beginning of the text and not the passage in question, the second is the same tablet that contained the other Ibbi-Sîn letter, and the last two are a matched pair, containing the beginning and end of the longer version. There is a high probability that both Ashmolean museum tablets may also have to be ascribed to Larsa.²⁹

There are internal clues to the Larsa origin of the longer versions as well: the complex, highly baroque style of these additions is very much in the Larsa literary style that is known from Old Babylonian Sumerian royal hymns, literary letters, and other texts from that kingdom that radiated to other places such as Mari and Me-Turan. I have written about this briefly elsewhere,³⁰ but the full elucidation of this difficult material is left to Nicole Brisch, who has discussed this new style, with many important new interpretations, in her doctoral dissertation.³¹ Within the narrow constraints of the present discussion one can only argue that all of these strands point in the same direction: the Larsa origin of the convoluted Sumerian omen embedded in the literary letter. The person or people responsible for this worked in an environment in which omens were either part of the learning process or part of their adult professional activities; this may have been the “library” of the Enki temple discussed by Dyckhoff—I prefer to see this as the home of the priestly family—or some other building complex in the city that belonged to a family of omen interpreters. One thinks of the similar situations at Me-Turan and in the houses of Ur-Utu and Eštar-iddinam/Inana-manšum in Tell ed-Dēr,³² where excavators discovered collections of Sumerian school texts as well as specialist practical materials such as incantations and rituals.

²⁹ On the Larsa provenience of some other Sumerian literary texts from the Ashmolean Museum see S. Tinney, “On the Curricular Setting of Sumerian Poetry,” *Iraq* 61 (1999) 162–3.

³⁰ Review of J.-M. Durand, *Les documents épistolaires du palais de Mari, tome 1. RA* 92 (1998) 190.

³¹ Nicole M. Brisch, “Tradition and the Poetics of Innovation: Sumerian Court Literature of the Larsa Dynasty (2003–1763 BCE)” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2003).

³² A. Cavigneaux, “A Scholar’s Library in Meturan? With an Edition of the Tablet H 72 (Textes de Tell Haddad VII),” in *Mesopotamian Magic: Textual, Historical, and Interpretative Perspectives* (ed. T. Abusch and K. van der Toorn; AMD 1; Groningen: Styx, 1999) 251–73 and M. Tanret and K. van Lerberghe, “Rituals and Profits in the Ur-Utu Archive,” in *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the International Conference Organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 17th to the 20th of April 1991* (ed. J. Quaegebeur; OLA 55; Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Orientalistik, 1994) 435–50. The tablets from the Inana-manšum house are being published by Michel Tanret, who kindly informs me that in addition to the school texts, now published in Michel Tanret, *Per aspera ad astra. L’apprentissage du cunéiforme à Sippar-Amnānum pendant la période paléobabylonienne tardive* (MHE Texts 1/2; Ghent: Université de Gand, 2002), the house also contained twelve divination reports and nine prayers, as well as five texts which are catalogued “religious,” one of which may be omen-like.

Commentary

Whatever the provenience of the additions, one has to assume that whoever inserted them, and the teachers and students who read them were well aware that this omen had not come true. Old Babylonian teaching materials told the tale of the fall of Ur in poems such as the *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur*, and those who studied omen texts knew well that the portents linked to Ibbi-Sîn meant only one thing: disaster.³³ This makes one suspicious about the nature of the implied message; was the omen false, that is to say did Enlil and the gods trick the last king of Ur, or was the king foolish enough to misread the message inscribed upon the liver? Neither possibility should be ruled out, but here, at the moment when the Ur III dynasty begins to unravel in the historiographic tradition, the problem finds resonance in a line from the text that described the death of Ur-Namma, the founder of this royal line: “Enlil deceitfully changed the fate that he had established.”³⁴ To solve this problem, we will have to attempt our own reading of the liver and match our modern knowledge with the skills of the Old Babylonian expert who wrote these words.

In the text cited above, the right side pertains to Išbi-Erra and the left to Ibbi-Sîn, as indexed by the pronoun usage. In the semiotic calculus of Mesopotamian liver divination, a negative sign on the right would be unfavorable, but if it was found on the left side it was favorable.³⁵ This generalization holds true for the most part, but in the case of features such as the Weapon it is governed by additional nuances that must be taken into consideration, although there has been some debate as to the proper understanding of the syntax of the sign. Generally, the Weapon presages bad military news for the party whose side it faces, so that one on the right facing left implies defeat of the enemy. The state of affairs has been summarized by Koch-Westenholz, who tabulates the various combinations that result in positive and negative messages, but unfortunately the wording found in the letter is too vague to be read by means of this reconstructed syntax.³⁶

The form of the “omen” requires a brief comment. As already noted, the wording of these lines and the technical terminology leave no doubt that a full omen was embedded in the letter, albeit without the characteristic

³³ Akkadian *šahluqtum*. The “historical” omens have been discussed time and again, most recently by J. S. Cooper, “Apodictic Death and the Historicity of ‘Historical’ Omens,” in *CRRAI* 26 (1980) 99–105.

³⁴ Ur-Namma A 9: ‘den’-lil-le nam-tar-ra dū-a ‘šu’lul [mi]-ni-ib-bal. For a different translation see E. Flückiger-Hawker, *Urnamma of Ur in Sumerian Literary Tradition* (OBO 166; Fribourg: University Press, 1999) 102.

³⁵ U. Jeyes, “The ‘Palace Gate’ of the Liver: A Study in Terminology and Methods in Babylonian Extispicy,” *JCS* 30 (1978) 209.

³⁶ Koch-Westenholz, *BLO* 50.

opening word *šumma*/tukum-bi, “if.” In Old Babylonian letters descriptions of the results of extispicy were as a rule related to actual practice, therefore resemble the reports rather than the omen compendia, and furthermore list the traditional regular diagnostic features on the exta. The *kakku* elements could be found in a number of places and configurations and therefore are only mentioned if they appear in conjunction with a regular feature. The only parallel known to me is the anomalous omen report from Babylon VAS 24 116, which contains both the standard descriptions of regular features as well as apodosis-like sentences but without the introductory *šumma*, similar to the Sumerian passage under discussion here.³⁷

There is little left to say about this unusual use of extispicy terminology in an Old Babylonian school letter. Philological problems abound in this text, but no matter how successful our solutions, questions remain: how was this passage read in light of the historical facts that were known to the scholars and schoolchildren of the time; was the addition in any way subversive or is it merely an ancient wink, playing artfully with commonly known facts? At this juncture the differences between the two versions may help reveal some of the games at play; they are obviously free variations on a common theme rather than slightly different renditions of the same text, and each one contains a structurally similar, albeit literally different word play. A moderately accomplished scribe or even a student would have undoubtedly been able to recognize that the apodosis of the omen could be read in two ways:³⁸

G: “My enemy will be *delivered over to me/spared* and killed.”

H: “My enemy will be *captured/taken by me protectively by the hand* and killed.”

Of course, the final verbs strongly proclaimed the negative implications of the surface reading of the apodosis, but the fact that two writers rendered this *double entendre* in different ways may indicate that the shifting semantics of this passage were already part of a common tradition of multiple subversive readings of the Ibbi-Sîn correspondence that wove a critique of extispicy, historiography, as well as hidden commentary on current events from the time of Samsuiluna. A fuller discussion of these reading strategies must be reserved for the final publication of these letters.

³⁷ Mayer, *OrNS* 56 (1987) 245–62.

³⁸ See the commentary to line 43.

CUNEIFORM TEXTS IN UTAH COLLECTIONS

D.I. Owen and E. Wasilewska

Introduction

Four small collections of cuneiform tablets have been located in Utah in addition to the recently published collection in the University of Utah Natural History Museum.¹ Most of the tablets were acquired early in the last century from Edgar J. Banks² and a few from private donors, although the ultimate source of the donors' tablets was probably also Banks. The record of tablets sold by Banks to universities, libraries, and private individuals throughout the United States is remarkable not only for the number of tablets involved³

¹ Dr. Wasilewska, Department of Anthropology, University of Utah, has been locating cuneiform collections as part of her research on the career of Edgar J. Banks. So far she has found five cuneiform collections in Utah (1. University of Utah Natural History Museum [the Ur III texts in this collection were published by D.I. Owen with an introduction by E. Wasilewska, "Neo-Sumerian Texts in the University of Utah Museum of Natural History, Salt Lake City," *ASJ* 19 (1997) 147–228]; 2. Brigham Young University [only two Ur III texts published]; 3. Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints Museum of Church History and Art, Salt Lake City; 4. the LDS Institute of Religion associated with the Utah State University at Logan; and 5. the Utah State University Museum of Anthropology), as well as one in Arizona (the Arizona State Museum, Tucson, published in D.I. Owen and E. Wasilewska, "Cuneiform Texts in the Arizona State Museum, Tucson," *JCS* 52 [2000] 1–53). Dr. Wasilewska arranged for temporary loans of the tablets for study, obtained funds for D.I. Owen's visits to Salt Lake City, and provided generous hospitality during those visits. In addition, she prepared the collections' general catalogues and made photographs of all the texts. Owen is responsible for the copies, final catalogues, commentaries, and indexes. We are grateful to Dr. Rudi Mayr of Lawrenceville for his help in the identification of certain seals, Remco de Maaijer of Leiden for checking the Ur III texts against his extensive files, and Professor Matthew Stolper of Chicago for his help with the Neo-Babylonian tablets. Professor Ran Zadok of Tel Aviv University will publish the Neo-Babylonian texts elsewhere.

For their cooperation and assistance in locating the tablets we would like to thank Dr. Glen M. Leonard, director; Glenn Rowe, director of special collections; Mark Staker, curator; and Gloria Scovill, art registrar, all of the LDS Museum of Church History and Art, Salt Lake City, Utah. Our gratitude goes also to Professors Steve Simms and David Lancey, Utah State University at Logan, for their interest and assistance in locating tablets in Logan.

² Dr. Wasilewska has been researching the life and career of E.J. Banks since 1995. Her publication, tentatively entitled, *The Forgotten Indiana Jones: Edgar James Banks and his Life Story*, is in preparation. The project of locating "forgotten" tablets coming from Banks' sales would not be possible without the financial support of the Utah Humanities Council, the Utah Museum of Natural History, and especially Mr. Richard Trevithick. Additional thanks are due also to our friends and students in Utah for their various contributions. Finally, we would like to acknowledge our appreciation for the personal interest in the project by His Excellency, Mike Leavitt, former Governor of Utah, and now US Secretary of Health and Human Services.

³ Various estimates of the number of tablets sold by Banks exist, but the exact number is not known. In any case it is in the thousands.

but also for the diverse places in which these tablets are found. The collections published here, those of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Museum of Church History and Art, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS), the LDS Institute of Religion associated with the Utah State University at Logan (hereafter LoganIR) and of the Utah State University Museum of Anthropology (hereafter USU), have remained largely unknown and, to our knowledge, unstudied.

This article contains a catalogue and description of all texts in these collections along with copies,⁴ transliterations, and indexes of the Ur III tablets. None of the texts is unusual or out-of-the-ordinary. They all stem from well-known sites and archives, and each adds a small piece to the data that are allowing a more accurate and in-depth picture of the socio-economic structure of Mesopotamia.

We dedicate this article to Erle V. Leichty, who has devoted great effort to facilitating the publication of tablets in the Babylonian Section of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania and to making the huge Sippar collection in the British Museum more accessible through his catalogues.

Catalogue

1	LDS 40–351	Š 46/i/–	Puzriš-Dagan	delivery of an ox
2	LoganIR 3	Š 47/iii/7	Puzriš-Dagan	receipt for dead animals
3	LoganIR 5	AS 1/ix/–	Puzriš-Dagan	newborn lamb and kid taken in charge
4	LDS 40–384	AS 6/xii/11	Puzriš-Dagan	receipt for dead sheep and goats
5	LDS 40–420	AS 7/iii/23	Puzriš-Dagan	2 sheep taken in charge
6	LoganIR 1	ŠS 2/–/–	Puzriš-Dagan	1 ox taken in charge
7	LDS 40–280	ŠS 4/ii/–	Puzriš-Dagan	expenditure of oxen, sheep and goats for the household of Kubatum
8	LDS 40–423	ŠS 4/ix/6	Puzriš-Dagan	receipt for 1 dead lamb
9	LDS 40–398	ŠS 6/–/9	Puzriš-Dagan	dead sheep and goats for the kitchen [taken in charge] for the gendarmes

continued on next page

⁴ Copies of nos. 29–34, 37, and 43 are not included here.

Cuneiform Texts in Utah Collections

10	LDS 40–303	ŠS 7/viii/–	Puzriš-Dagan	36 billy goats taken in charge for <i>sattukku</i> -offerings for Annunītum of Uruk
11	LDS 40–359	ŠS 8/vi/–	Puzriš-Dagan	expenditure of 1 dead sheep
12	LDS 40–248	date lost	Puzriš-Dagan	account of sheep and goats for the Tummal and various individuals
13	LoganIR 2	Š 37?/vi/–	Umma	account of date palm production
14	LDS 40–481	Š 42/ix/–	Umma	receipt for reeds for the bala
15	LDS 40–386	Š 44/–/–	Umma	barley rations for various individuals
16	LoganIR 9	Š 45/vi/–	Umma	receipt for dates
17	LDS 40–467	Š 46/vii/–	Lagaš	receipt for barley
18	LDS 40–283	Š 48/xi/–	Lagaš	delivery of garments
19	LDS 40–442	Š 48/xii/–	Umma	receipt for 4 gur of fine bran
20	LDS 40–497	AS 3/–/–	Umma	receipt for 6 sheep skins
21	LoganIR 7	AS 5/iii–iv/–	Umma	account of workers for agricultural work
22	LDS 40–436	AS 5/i/–	Umma	account of agricultural workers
23	LDS 40–454	AS 6/x/–	Umma	receipt for a dead goat
24	LDS 40–396	AS 7/vii/–	Umma	account of slave girl weavers
25	LDS 40–298	ŠS 2/vi/–	Umma	receipt for flour from the palace
26	LoganIR 8	ŠS 4/xii/–	Umma	[...] taken in charge
27	LoganIR 4	ŠS 6/–/–	Umma	account of silver for the purchase of electrum?
28	LDS 40–263	IS 3/–/–	Umma	account of ^{giš} pèš from various gardens
29	LDS 40–445	[date lost?]	Umma/Lagaš	messenger text
30	USU 00	Gudea	Lagaš	clay nail
31	LoganIR 10	Sîn-Kašid	Uruk	clay cone

continued on next page

32	LDS 40–504	Sîn-Kašid	Uruk	clay cone
33	LDS 40–722	Sîn-Kašid	Uruk	clay cone
34	LDS 40–511	Sîn-Kašid	Uruk	model tablet
35	LoganIR 6	OB		silver loan contract
36	LDS 40–476	OB	Larsa?	uninscribed bulla
37	LDS 40–513	OB	Larsa?	receipt for barley rations
38	LDS 40–464	OB	Larsa?	receipt, mostly illegible
39	LDS 40–15	Nabonidus?	Babylon?	mostly illegible
40	LDS 40–506	NB		
41	LDS 40–14	Nebuchadrezzar	Babylon	
42	LDS 40–499	NB		
43	USU 15A3	NB		brick fragment
44	LDS 40–18	OB?		terracotta Ištar? figurine

CONCORDANCE

LDS 40–14 = 41	LDS 40–420 = 5	LDS 40–513 = 37
LDS 40–15 = 39	LDS 40–423 = 8	LDS 40–722 = 33
LDS 40–18 = 44	LDS 40–436 = 22	LoganIR 1 = 6
LDS 40–248 = 12	LDS 40–442 = 19	LoganIR 2 = 13
LDS 40–263 = 28	LDS 40–445 = 29	LoganIR 3 = 2
LDS 40–280 = 7	LDS 40–454 = 23	LoganIR 4 = 27
LDS 40–283 = 18	LDS 40–464 = 38	LoganIR 5 = 3
LDS 40–298 = 25	LDS 40–467 = 17	LoganIR 6 = 35
LDS 40–303 = 10	LDS 40–476 = 36	LoganIR 7 = 21
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LDS 40–386 = 15	LDS 40–504 = 32	USU 00 = 30
LDS 40–396 = 24	LDS 40–506 = 40	USU 15A3 = 43
LDS 40–398 = 9	LDS 40–511 = 34	

Transliterations

Puzriš-dagan Texts

1 (LDS 40–351) Š 46/i/–

(1)1 gu₄ (2) kud-a pà-da (3) giri lugal-hé-gál / lú-en-<nu>gá (4) mu-DU
(rev. 5) iti maš-dù-kú (6) mu ki-maš^{ki} ù / hu-ur₅-ti^{ki} / ba-hul

2 (LoganIR 3) Š 47/iii/7

(1) 1 dùr (2) 2 eme₆ (3) 1 u₈-simaški(LÚ.SU.A) (4) 1 máš-a-dara₄ (5) 1 munus-áš-gàr-a-dara₄ (6) 1 máš-ga-a-dara₄ (7) 2 maš-dù (rev. 8) 1 az (9) ba-úš u₄-7-kam (10) ki lú-dingir-ra-ta (11) ur-ni₉-gar (12) šu ba-ti (13) iti u₅-bí-kú (14) mu ús-sa ki-maš^{ki} / ħu-ur₅-ti^{ki} / ba-ħul

3 (LoganIR 5) AS 1/xi/—

(1) 1 sila₄-ga (2) 1 máš-ga (3) ù-tu-da (4) u₄-12-kam (5) dšul-gi-a-a-mu / i-dab₅ (rev. 6) iti ezem-me-ki-gál (7) mu d^{amar}-dsuen(EN./ZU) lugal (side 8) 3 (sic!)

4 (LDS 40–384) AS 6/xii/11

(1) 1 udu-simaški(LÚ.SU.A) (2) 2 sila₄-simaški(LÚ.SU.A) (3) 4 máš-ga-a-dara₄ (4) 1 munus-áš-gàr-ga-a-dara₄ (rev. 5) ba-úš u₄-11-kam (6) ki lú-dingir-ra-ta (7) dšul-gi-uru-mu (8) šu ba-ti (9) iti še-kin-ku₅ (10) mu ša-aš-ru^{ki} / ba-ħul (side 11) 7 (sic!)

5 (LDS 40–420) AS 7/iii/23

(1) 2 gukkal (2) u₄-23-kam (3) [ki a]b-ba-sa₆-ga-ta (4) na-lu₅ i-dab₅ (rev. 5) iti u₅-bí-kú (6) mu ħu-ùĥ-/nu-ri^{ki} ba-ħul

6 (LoganIR 1) ŠS 2/—/—

(1) 1 gu₄-niga 10 sila-ta / ki ba-gá-gá (2) a-ħu-we-er (3) i-dab₅ (4) ki be-lí-a-zu-ta (rev. 5) ba-zi (6) mu dšu-dsuen / lugal-uri₅^{ki}-ma-ke₄ (7) má-dàra-abzu-/den-ki-ka bí-/in-du₈ (side 8) 1 gu₄

7 (LDS 40–280) ŠS 4/ii/—

(1) [4 gu₄]-niga (2) [9] udu-niga (3) 6 máš-gal-niga (4) 5 udu-ú (5) é-ku-ba-tum-še (6) geštin-i-lí i-dab₅ (7) kišib ur-d^{ba}-ba₆ (rev. 8) ki ib-ni-dsuen-ta (9) ba-zi (10) iti šeš-da-kú (11) mu dšu-dsuen / lugal-uri₅^{ki}-ma-ke₄ (12) bād-mar-tu mu-ri-/iq-ti-id-ni-/im mu-dù (side 13) 4 gu₄ 20 udu

8 (LDS 40–423) ŠS 4/ix/6

(1) 1 sila₄ (2) ba-úš (3) u₄-6-kam (4) ki be-lí-lí-ta (rev. 5) ilum-ku-zi-rí muħaldim (6) šu ba-ti (7) iti ezem-maħ (8) mu bād-mar-tu / ba-dù (side 9) 1

9 (LDS 40–398) ŠS 6/—/9

(1) 2 udu 2 sila₄ (2) 6 udu 1 máš-gal (3) šu-gíd (4) 1 amar-maš-dù-níta ba-úš (5) é-muħaldim (6) mu āga-ús-e-ne-še (7) d^{nanna}-kam sukkal / maškim (rev. 8) u₄-10-lá-1-kam (9) ki du₁₁-ga-ta (10) [...] (11) [...] (12) [...] (13) [mu má-dàra]/-abzu ba-dím (side 14) 11 udu 1 máš

10 (LDS 40–303) ŠS 7/viii/–

(1) 36 máš-gal (2) sá-du₁₁-<^d>an-nu-ni-tum-/unug^{ki}-ga-šè (3) ki ur-kù-nun-na-ta (4) ur-^diškur šabra (rev. 5) ì-dab₅ (6) iti ezem-^dšul-gi (7) mu ^dšu-^dsuen / lugal-uri₅^{ki}-ma-ke₄ (8) ma-da-za-ab-/ša-li^{ki} / mu-ḫul (side 9) 36 udu

11 (LDS 40–359) ŠS 8/vi/–

(1) 1 udu-ú (2) ba-úš (3) mar-tu abzu(ZU.AB) ba-la<-aḫ> (4) ša kaskal (5) kišib šar-ru-um-ba-ni (rev. 6) ki in-ta-è-/ta (7) ba-zi (8) iti ezem-^dnin-a-zu (9) mu ^dšu-^dsuen / lugal-uri₅^{ki}-ma-ke₄ (10) má-gur₈-maḫ-^den-líl-/^dnin-líl-ra mu-/dím (side 11) 1 udu

12 (LDS 40–248) date lost

(1) 92 udu s[i]-d[ù] (2) 3 udu šu-gíd didli ki ur-[...] (3) 20-lá-1 udu ša tum-al (4) 114 (5) ša-bi-ta (6) 30 udu ḫal-lí kurušda (7) 20 udu du₁₁-ga (8) 3 udu giri ur-mes (9) 1 udu lú-du-ú-du (10) 1 udu ur-^diškur èn-bi ta[r-re] (11) 2 máš ur-kù-zu-ga (12) 1 udu lugal-ti-ra-áš-šè? (13) 3 udu ur-gar (14) 2 udu ša 5 ur-^den-líl-lá (15) [x+]80 é-šè (15) [...] -x^{ki} (remainder of obverse and all of reverse destroyed) (left edge 16) 61

UMMA AND LAGAS TEXTS

13 (LoganIR 2) Š 37?/vi/–

(1) 8 giš 0.0.2. (2) 2 giš 0.0.1. (3) 1 giš 1 síla (4) 28 giš ša-SIR (5) 6 giš 0.0.1.5 síla (7) 5 giš 0.0.1. (8) 4 giš 0.0.4. (9) 5 giš-KU (10) 1 [giš ...] (11) x [giš ...] (rev. 12) šu+nigin 62 giš-ḫ[i-a] (13) su₁₁-lum-bi 2.2.4.1 síla (14) ^{giš}kiri₆-lú-^dnin-šubur / dumu šeš-kal-la (15) na-ba-sa₆ (16) [s]u₁₁-lum nag-du₁₁-ga (17) [iti] šu-numun-na (18) [mu ba]d ma-d[a ba-dù]

14 (LDS 40–481) Š 42/ix/– (or AS 6/ix/–)

(1) 16 sa gi (2) ki lú-gi-na-ta (3) [kiš]ib lugal-[...] (4) [ša] bal-a [...] -x (5) [iti] ^dl[i₉-si₄] (rev. 6) mu ša-aš-ru-um^{ki} / ba-ḫul

Seal

lugal-[...] / dumu ur-^dba-ba₆ / dub-sar

15 (LDS 40–386) Š 44/–/–

(1) 0.3.0. še-ba gu-du-du ašgab (2) 1.0.0. gur a-du (3) 1.0.0. gur ^dšára-ì-zu (4) má-laḫ₅ / zi-ku-um-ma (5) giri ḫu-wa-wa (6) 1.0.0. gur lú-ḫingir-ra (7) [giri] i i-ku-UD-D[U? -?] (8 rev.) [m]u á-bal-a-š[è] (9) ki gu-du-du-ta (10) kišib lú-^dnanna (11) mu si-mu-ru-um^{ki} / ba-ḫul

Seal

lú-^dšára / dub-sar / dumu la-ni-mu

16 (LoganIR 9) Š 45/vi/–

(1) 2.3.3.6 [šila] / su₁₁-lum [gur] (2) ^{giš}kiri₆-ù-ma-ni / dub-sar (3) ur-e₁₁-e
i-dab₅ (4) iti šu-numun (rev. 5) mu ús-sa si-mu-/ru-um^{ki} lu-lu-bu^{ki}

Seal

ur-e₁₁-e / dumu ur-[ni₉?-gar?]

17 (LDS 40–467) Š 46/vii/–, Lagaš

(1) 1.0.0. še gur-lugal (2) ki ur-^dba-ba₆-ta (3) ^dba-ba₆-ul₄-gal (4) šu ba-ti (rev.
5) iti ezem-^dšul-gi (6) mu ki-maš^{ki} / ba-ḥul

Seal

Illegible

18 (LDS 40–283) Š 48/xi/–, Lagaš

(1) 1 túg al-la-/^dšul-g[i] (2) 1 túg giš-DINGIR-zu?(BA) sagi (3) 1 túg X X
(rev. 4) túg mu-DU (5) iti še-kin-ku₅ (6) mu ḥa-ar-ši^{ki} ki-/maš^{ki} ba-ḥul

19 (LDS 40–442) Š 48/xii/–

(1) 4.0.0. du₈-sig₅ gur / lugal-ra ús-sa (2) ki [l]u₅-lu₅-ta (3) kišib šu-^dšamaš
(4) iti še-kin-ku₅ (rev.5) mu ḥ[ar-ši]^{/ki} ba-ḥul

Seal

šu-^dšamaš / árad-^den-líl

20 (LDS 40–497) AS 3/–/–

(1) 6 kuš-udu (2) ša-gu₄ kaskal-šè gub (3) šu ba-ab-ti (4) ki ur-e₁₁-e-/ta (rev.
5) kišib lú-^dingir-ra / dumu lugal-ka? (6) SEAL (7) mu ^{giš}gu-za / ^den-líl-lá
ba-^dím

Seal

lú-^dingir-[ra] / dumu lu[gal-KA]

21 (LoganIR 7) AS 5/iii–iv/–

(1) 32 2/3 sar al-1/3-ta (2) e a-šà-^dnin-ur₄-ra / ù ša-ra-ḥu-um-ma (3) 122 guruš
u₄-1-šè (4) i₇-sal₄-la ù e-SIG₇ / bàn-da gub-ba (5) ugula ur-mes (rev. 6) kišib
da-a-gi (7) iti še-kar-<ra->gál-la / ù iti MURUB₄ (8) mu en-unu₆-gal-/^dinanna
ba-ḥun

Seal

da-a-gi / dub-sar / dumu [...]

22 (LDS 40–436) AS 5/i/–

(1) 10 guruš u₄-3-šè (2) kun-zi-da (3) ka kun-x-a-ta (4) ugula ur-mes (5) kišib
lugal-iti-da (rev. 6) SEAL (7) iti še-kin-ku₅ (8) mu ús-sa en-maḥ-gal-/an-na
en-^dnanna ba-ḥun

Seal

lugal-iti-da / nu-banda-gu₄ / [dumu giri-né]

23 (LDS 454) AS 6/x/–

(1) 1 ùz ba-úš (2) ki lugal-an-zu-ta (3) kišib lú-kal-la (4) iti MUR[UB₄] (5) mu ús-sa en-[TE]/AB-gal-dinan[na ba-ḥun] (rev. 6) uninscribed

Seal

lú-kal-la / dub-sar / dumu ur-e₁₁-e kuš₇

24 (LDS 40–396) AS 7/vii/–

(1) 600+180+23 gemé-/uš-bar [u₄-x]-šè (2) ki-sura₁₂ [saḥ]ar-ú-ú ki-/su₇-ra-kam-sal₄-la uš-gíd-da (3) ù šu-nu-un ka / é-a-šè še zi-ga (rev. 4) ugula šeš-SIG₅ (5) kišib lugal-kù-zu (6) SEAL (7) iti ezem-dšul-gi (8) mu ḥu-ùḥ-nu-ri/ki ba-ḥul

Seal

lugal-kù-zu / dub-sar / dumu ur-ni₉-gar kuš₇

25 (LDS 40–298) ŠS 2/vi/–

(1) 7 sila eša (2) 6 1/3 sila dabin (3) é-gal [...] (4) giri lugal-[...] (5) 0.0.1. zi é-ta (6) ur-lugal-ke₄ (7) šu ba-ti (rev. 8) giri lugal-mes (9) 9. 0.1.3. zi-gu giri mu-ni / ur-gi^šgigir lú-za-ka-x / kišib-ba DINGIR-[...] (10) iti šu-numu[n] (11) mu ús-sa s[i-ma]-/núm^{ki} ba-ḥ[ul]

26 (LoganIR 8) ŠS 4/1, xii/–

(1) [...] (2) [...] x ba-/zi (3) iti še-kin-ku₅-ta (4) u₄-20-zal-la-ta (5) iti ^ddumu-zi-šè (rev. 6) ki lú-dingir-ra-ta (7) a-gu i-dab₅ (8) [m]u [b]àd mar-[tu] / [ba-dù]

Seal

a-gu /dub-sar /dumu lugal-é-maḥ-[e]

27 (LoganIR 4) ŠS 6/–/–

(1) 10 gín kù-babbar (2) é-gal-e-si (3) šu+nigin 1 1/3 ma-na / kù-babbar (4) šám kù-ḥuš-a 5 gín-šè (5) é-gal-la ku₄-ra (rev. 6) [.../...] (7) [x-x-u]š-kal-la (8) [š]à ^{kuš}<du₁₀->gan lugal-/šà-lá-ta (9) 1 ma-na kù-babbar (10) šà ^{kuš}<du₁₀->gan gu-la-ta (side 11) mu na ba-dù

28 (LDS 40–263) IS 3/–/–

(1) 7.0.0. gišpèš duru₅ gur ur-dé-an-na (2) 1.0.0. gur lú-dnin-šubur / dumu ur-nu-Uḥ (3) giškiri₆-nag-su^{ki} (4) 2.0.0. gur lugal-má-gur₈-re (5) giškiri₆-ka-i₇-gi-gi-gal (6) 1.3.0. ur-dšul-pa-è (7) [giš]kiri₆-ka-i₇-da (lower half of obverse lost) (rev. [upper half of reverse lost] 7) mu ^di-[bí-dsue]n / lugal-e uri₅^{ki}-ma-/ke₄ si-mu-ru-um^{ki} mu-ḥul

29 (LDS 40–445) [date lost]

(1) [5 sila kás-sig₅ 5 sila ninda 5 sila sum] (2) [x gín i x gín na]ga (3) da-a-a (4) 5 sila [kás-sig₅] 5 sila ninda 5 sila sum (5) [x gín i x] gín naga (6) [...]-NE-[x?] (6) [5] sila kás-sig₅ 5 sila ninda [5 sila sum] (7) [2] gín i 2 gín [na]ga

(8) [a]- ħu-a [x] (9) [5] sila kás 5 sila ninda 5 g[ín sum] (10) [2] gín ì 2 gín naga (11) i-ti-núm (13) [5] sila kás 5 sila ninda 5 gín <sum> (14) [2] gín ì 2 gín naga (15) [...] (16) [5 sila kás 5 sila ninda 5 gín <sum>] (rev. 17) [5 sila kás 5 sila ninda 5 gín <sum>] (18) [2] gín ì 2 gín naga (19) [x]-ab (20) [5] sila kás 5 sila ninda 5 gín <sum> (21) [2] gín ì 2 gín naga (22) [š]u-ma-ma (23) 5 sila kás 5 sila ninda 5 gín <sum> (24) [2 gí]n ì 2 gín naga (25) [x]-x-a (26) [5 sila kás 5 sila ninda 5 gí]n <sum> (27) [2 gín ì 2] gín naga (28) [x]-kal-la (29) [šu + nígin 0.0.x.x] sila kás-sig₅ 0.0.2.8 sila kás (30) [šu + nígin 0.0.n.n] sila ninda 1[?] sila 5 gín sum (31) [šu + nígin x] gín ì (32) [šu + nígin x gín] naga

Miscellaneous Texts

30 (USU 00) Gudea Nail (15 cm, tip broken) [Edzard, RIME 3/1.1.7.63]
(1.) ^dnin-giš-zi-/da (2) dingir-ra-ni (3) gú-dè-a (4) énsi (5) lagaš^{ki} (6) ur-/dgá-tum-du₁₀-gé (7) é-gír-su^{ki}-ka-/ni (8) mu-na-dù

31 (LoganIR 10) Sîn-Kašid Cone (5.5 cm) [Frayne, RIME 4.4.1.3]
(1) ^dsin-ga-ši-id (2) nita-kala-ga (3) lugal-unug^{ki}-ga (4) lugal-am-na-nu-um (5) ú-a é-an-na (6) é-gal (7) nam-lugal-la-ka-ni (8) mu-dù

32 (LDS 40–504) Sîn-Kašid Cone (6.3 cm) [Frayne, RIME 4.4.1.3]
(1) ^dsin-ga-ši-id (2) nita-kala-ga (3) lugal-unug^{ki}-ga (4) lugal-am-na-nu-um (5) ú-a (6) é-an-na (7) é-gal (8) nam-lugal-la-ka-ni (9) mu-dù

33 (LDS 40–722) Sîn-Kašid Cone (5.7 cm) [Frayne, RIME 4.4.1.4]
(1) ^dsin-ga-ši-id (2) nita-kala-ga (3) lugal-unug^{ki}-ga (4) lugal-am-na-nu-um (5) ú-a é-an-na (6) u₄ é-an-na (7) mu-dù-a (8) é-gal (9) nam-lugal-la-ka-ni (10) mu-dù

34 (LDS 40–511) Sîn-Kašid Model Tablet [Frayne, RIME 4.4.1.2]
(1) ^dsuen-ga-ši-id (2) nita-kala-ga (3) lugal-unug^{ki}-ga (4) lugal-am-na-nu-um (5) é-gal (6) nam-lugal-la-ka-/ni (rev. 7) mu-dù

35 (LoganIR 6) Old Babylonian
(1) 1 gín kù-babba[r] (2) ^dsa-du-nim-m[a] (3) KA[?]-é-ri-a (4) a-šà ia-ku-ub-ilum (5) šám-til-la-bi (6) 2 gín kù-babbar (7) in-na-an-lá (8) ki ia-ku-ub-ilum (9) ^mši-ma-at-ku-bi / gudu₄-<^d>nanna (10) dumu ši-la-li-tum (rev. 11) in-ši-šám (12) x-tum nu ma-x-x (13) u₄ pap-šè lú-lú-[x] / nu-um-gá-gá-[dè] (14) mu-lugal-bi in-p[à] (15) igi ga-an-ga-nu-um / ħa-za-an-nu-um (16) igi ^dsuen-sé-me-x-x / dumu na-ap-li-[x] (17) igi ħi-lí-x-[...] / dumu be-lí-[...] (18) igi ^dx[...] (19) iti kin-^di[nanna] (20) mu-ús-sa x-[...]/mi-[...]

Seal

Illegible

37 (LDS 40–513) Old Babylonian

(1) 0.4.0. še-ba gur (2) kun-gi-na ba-[x] (3) ki dšamaš-li-[...] (4) den-líl-ba-ni
(5) šu ba-an-ti (6) iti x-a (rev. mostly destroyed)

43 (USU 15A3) Neo-Babylonian Brick Fragment (unidentified)

] KA-íl- [
-z]i-da [
-r]i-du [
]-ú-x-[

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Vocabulary

á-bal-a

mu á-bal-a-šè, 15

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mar-tu abzu(ZU.AB) ba-la<-aḥ>, 11

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⁵ Seals cited according to the forthcoming, Rudolf H. Mayr, *Seal Impressions on Tablets from Umma*.

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⁶ On the reading of the month name še-kin-ku₅ and not še-gur₁₀-ku₅, see the OB syllabic writing, še-GÍN-ku₅, noted by G. Beckman, *Old Babylonian Archival Texts in the Yale Babylonian Collection* (CBCY 4; Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 2000) 204, YBC 12296 and G. Beckman, "Month XII," *NABU* 2000/46.

Š 47

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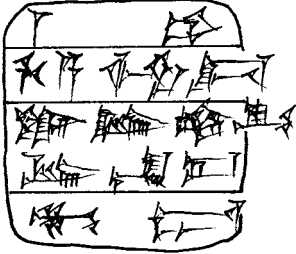
IS 3

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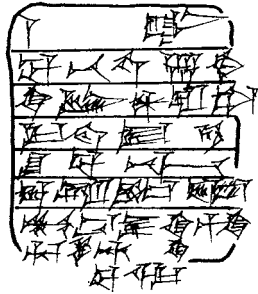
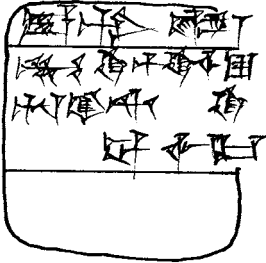
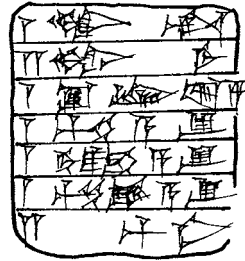
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Cuneiform Texts in Utah Collections

1 (LDS 40-351)



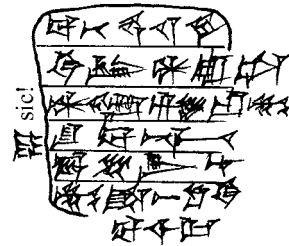
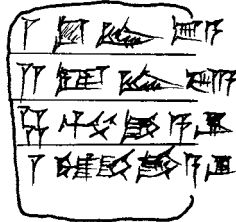
2 (LoganIR 3)



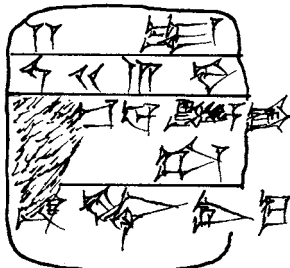
3 (LoganIR 5)



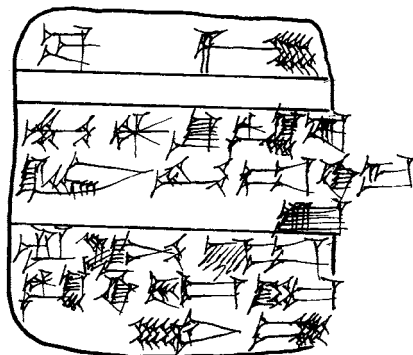
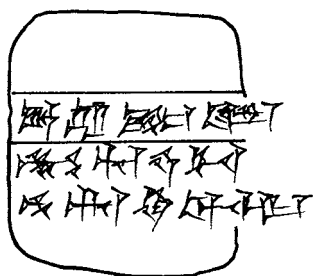
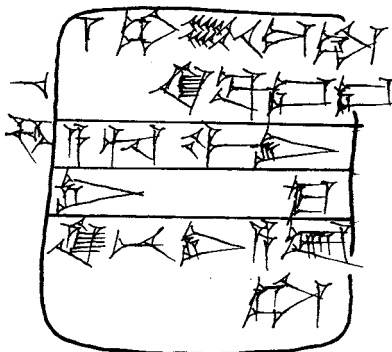
4 (LDS 40-384)



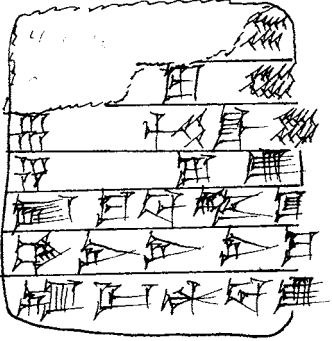
5 (LDS 40-420)



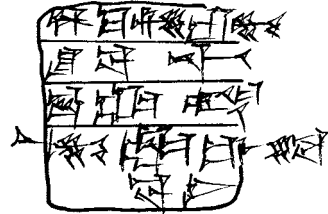
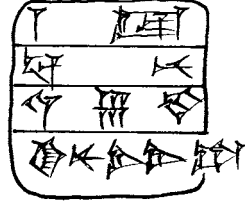
6 (LoganIR 1)



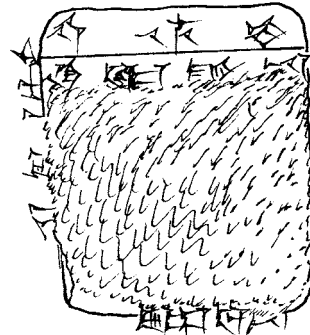
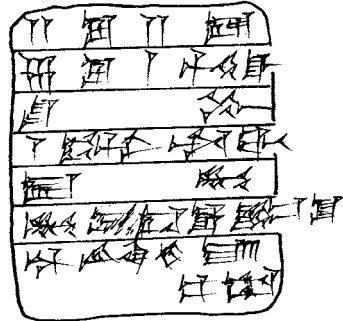
7 (LDS 40-280)



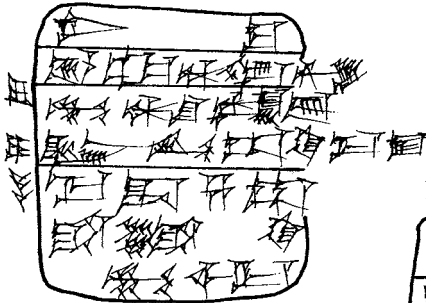
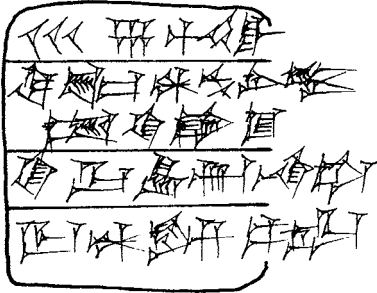
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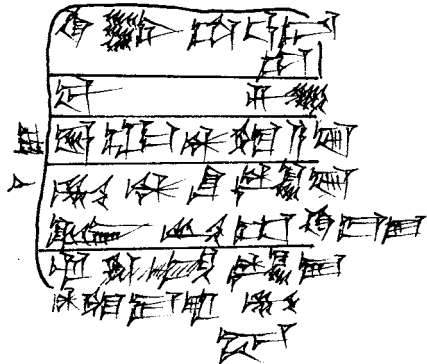
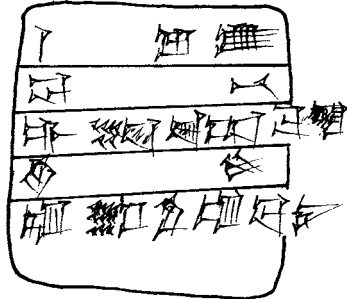
9 (LDS 40-398)



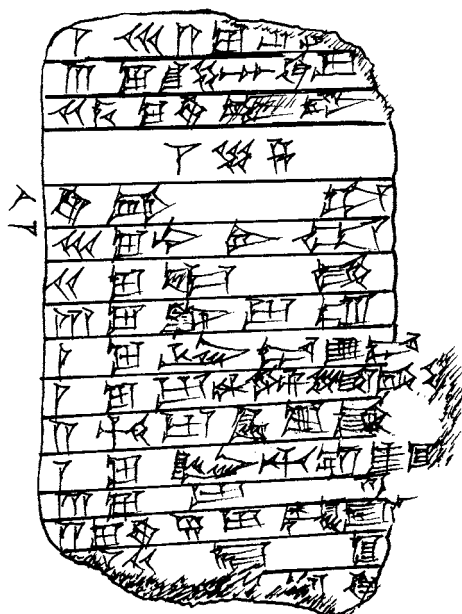
10 (LDS 40-303)



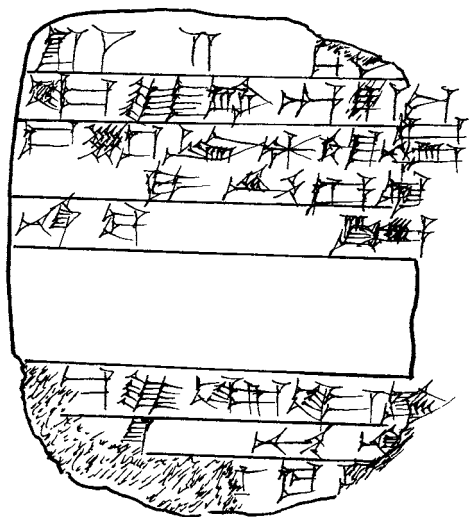
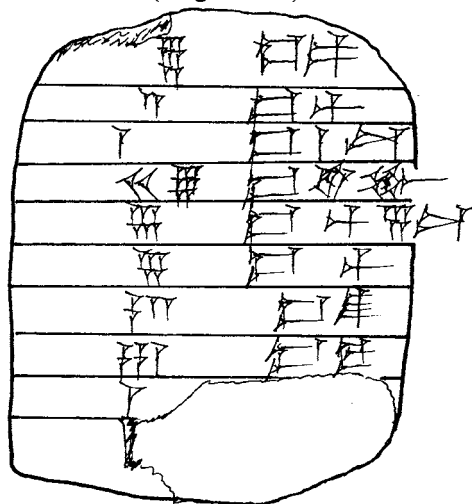
11 (LDS 40-359)



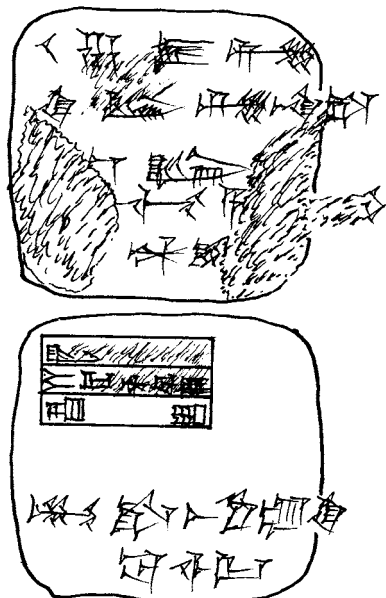
12 (LDS 40-248)



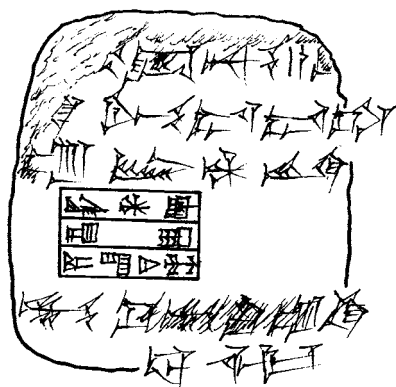
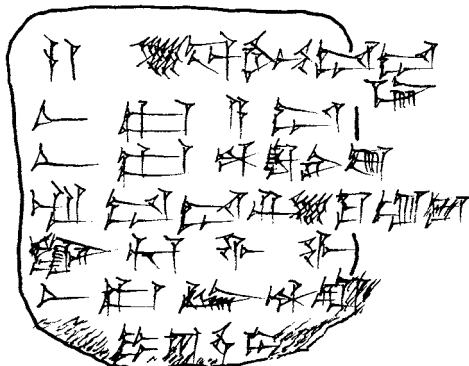
13 (LoganIR 2)



14 (LDS 40-481)



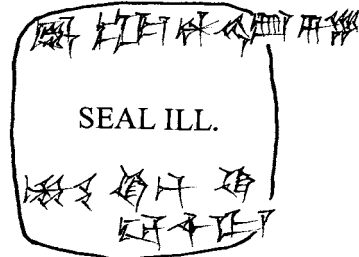
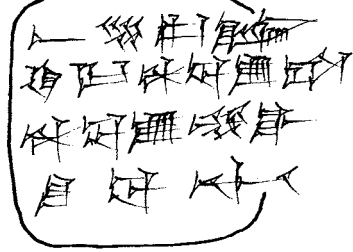
15 (LDS 40-386)



16 (LoganIR 9)

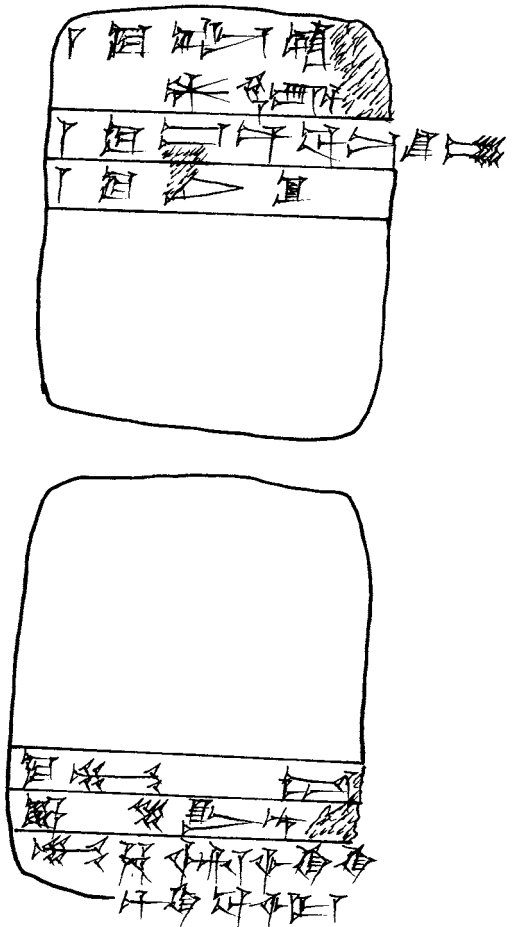


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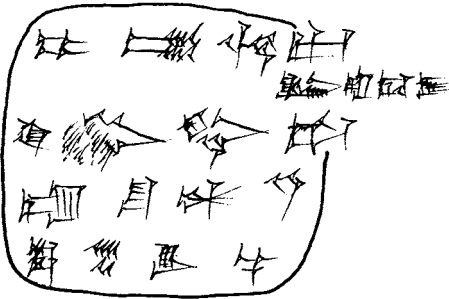


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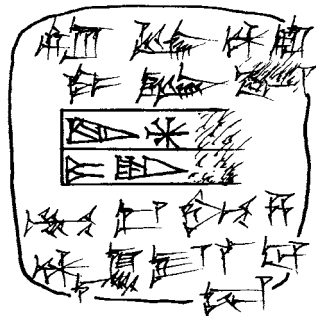
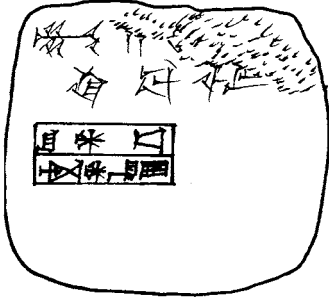
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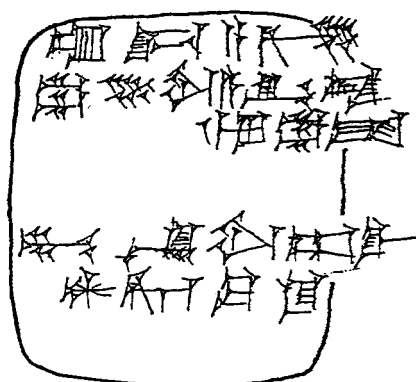
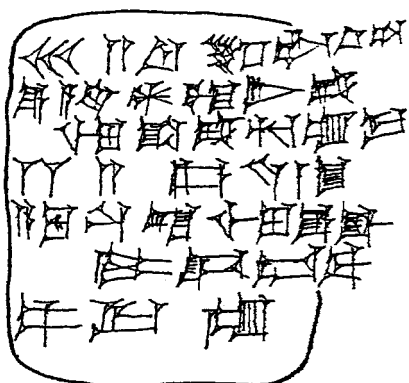
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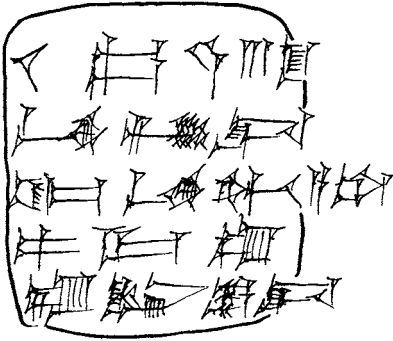
20 (LDS 40-497)



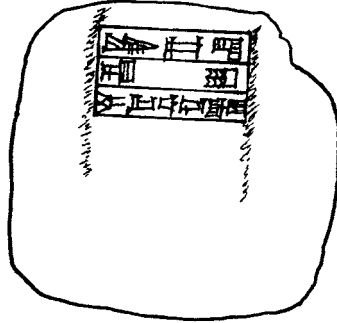
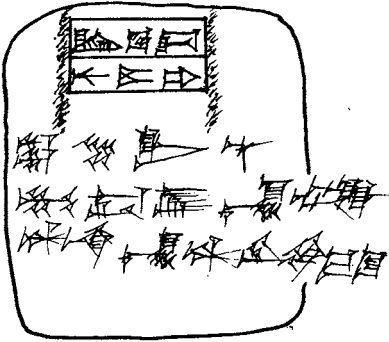
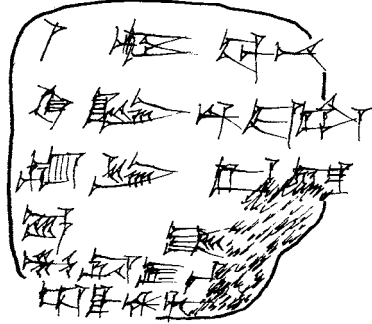
21 (LoganIR 7)



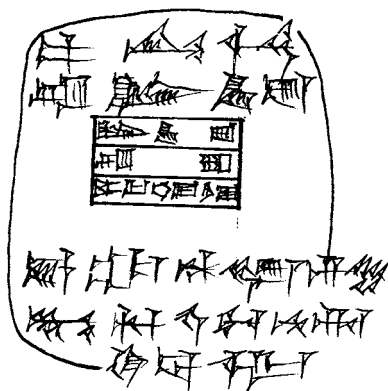
22 (LDS 40-436) .



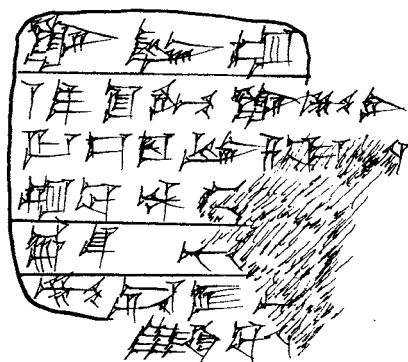
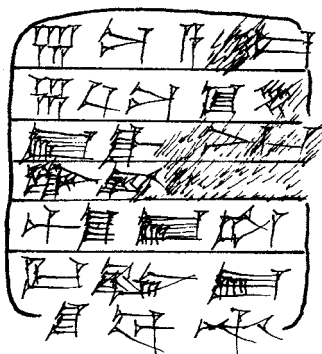
23 (LDS 40-454)



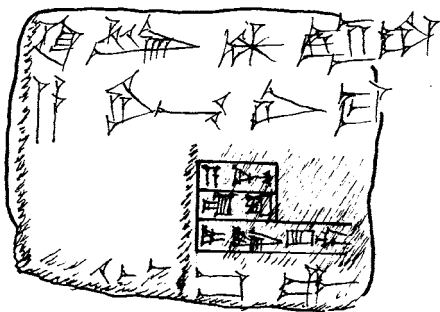
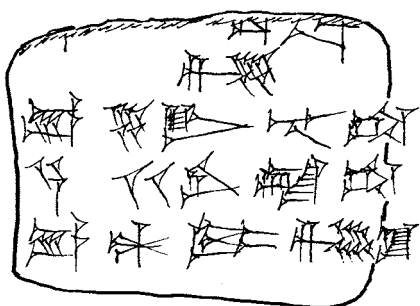
24 (LDS 40-396)



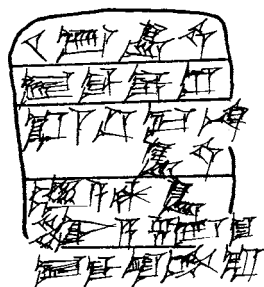
25 (LDS 40-298)



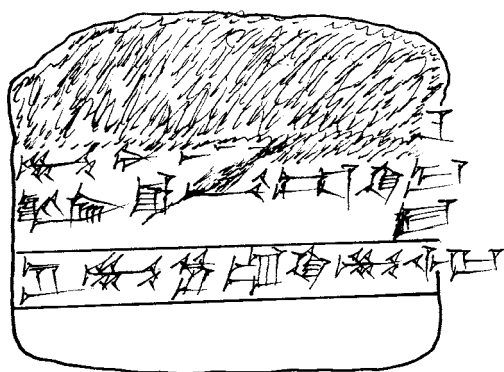
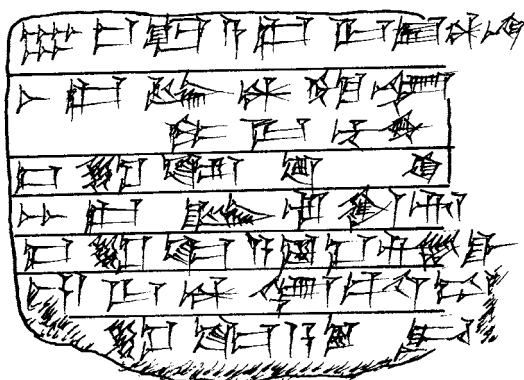
26 (LoganIR 8)



27 (LoganIR 4)



28 (LDS 40-263)



35 (LoganIR 6)



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THE MESOPOTAMIAN CONCEPTUALIZATION OF BIRTH AND THE DETERMINATION OF DESTINY AT SUNRISE

J. Polonsky

In 1985 R. Borger published an edition of a first millennium bilingual prayer to the Mesopotamian solar deity (Utu/Šamaš) for a woman having difficulty in childbirth.¹ This text commences with an introduction of the deity that identifies the sun god, his familial associations, his relationship with the city of Sippar as well as with the Ebabbar temple, and his role as illuminator (lines 1–10):

én ^dutu dumu an-na-^ʾke₄¹ [...]

 ^dUTU DUMU ^da-nim e-t[el ...]

^dutu ibila zalag₂ an-ki-bi-[da-ke₄ ...]

 ^dUTU ap-lu muš-na-mir [...] ²

peš-tur-zi ^dsuen-na ^dni[n-gal-la-ke₄]

 lib-lib-bi šá ^d30 u ^dni[n-gal]

en sippar^{ki} an-dùl ^ʾé-babbar¹-[ra-ke₄]

 EN sip-par šu-lul É.^ʾBABBAR¹.R[A]

ki-āḡ ^da-a é-gi₄-a ki-tuš an-kù-ga

 na-ram ^dMIN³ kal-lat a-ši-bat AN-e KÙ.MEŠ

Incantation: Šamaš, son of An, pr[ince ...],
 Šamaš, firstborn son, he who illuminates heaven and earth,
 Offspring of Šin and Ningal,
 Lord of Sippar, protection of the Ebabbar,
 Beloved of Aīa, bride who dwells in sacred heaven.

The invocation continues with a direct appeal to the deity as he emerges at sunrise. This section of the text describes the territory of sunrise,⁴ indicates

¹ See R. Borger, “Einige Texte religiösen Inhalts,” *OrNS* 54 (1985) 14–8. In addition, see Theophile J. Meek, “Cuneiform Bilingual Hymns,” *BA* 10/1 (1913) 1–5, 65–71, with Friedrich Delitzsch, “Bemerkungen zu Prof. Meek’s zweisprachigen Fragmenten,” *BA* 10/1 (1913) 130–1; P. Anastasius Schollmeyer, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen und Gebete an Šamaš* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1912) 66–70 (nos. 10–11), 108–9 (no. 23); Marie-Joseph Seux, *Hymnes et prières aux dieux de Babylonie et d’Assyrie* (Paris: 1976) 216–7; see also M. Stol, *Birth in Babylonia and the Bible: Its Mediterranean Setting* (CM 14; Groningen: Styx, 2000) 133–4.

² Delitzsch, “Bemerkungen” 130, suggests *muš-na-mir* [*šamē iršitim*].

³ Variant: ^da-a.

⁴ See J. Polonsky, “ki-^dutu-è-a: Where Destiny is Determined,” in *CRAI* 44/3 (2000) 89–100; “The Rise of the Sun God and the Determination of Destiny in Ancient Mesopotamia” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2002) 268–333.

the duties of lesser divinities within the court of the sun god, and emphasizes the role of the solar deity as judge of the land of Mesopotamia and its people at sunrise (lines 11–26, marked by a transfer from third to second person):

^dutu an-ša-kù-ga-ta e-ti(-a)-zu-dè
^dUTU *ul-tu AN-e KÙ.MEŠ ina a-še-ka*
 kur-ḥa-šur-ra-ta bal-dè-zu-dè
ša-du-u ḥa-šur ina na-bal-kut-ti-ka
 [d]^rpap¹-n[u]n-na sukkal ša-ḥúl-la-zu-še (silim) du₁₁-ga-ab
 [^db]u-ne-ne suk-kal-li ḥu-ud lib-bi-ka liq-bi
 [nig²-zi]-da á-zi-da-zu⁵ al-gub-bu⁶
kit-tú⁷ li-iz-ziz ina im-ni-ka
 níḡ-si-sá á-gáb-bu-zu al-gub-ba
mi-ša-ri li-iz-ziz ina šu-me-li-ka
 máš-saḡ-kur-kur-ra-me-en
a-ša-riḍ ma-ta-ta at-ta
 di-ku₅-maḥ kur-igi-nim kur-igi-sig hé-em-ma-an-si-sá-e-dè
da-a-a-nu še-ru ša ma-a-tú e-lit u šap-lit uš-te-ši-ri⁸
^dutu di-ku₅-maḥ [a]-^ra¹ saḡ-ḡi₆-ga
^dUTU *da-a-a-nu ṣ [i-(i-)r]u a-bi šal-mat qa-qa-du*

At your rising, Šamaš, from the interior of sacred heaven,⁹
 When you cross Ḥašur-mountain,
 May Papnuna (Bunene) the vizier, speak favorably for the happiness of your heart.
 May truth stand at your right.
 May justice stand at your left.
 You are foremost in the land,
 Exalted judge, who sets in order the upper and lower lands,
 Šamaš, exalted judge, father of the black-headed people.

The next portion of the text contains prayers to ease the condition of the woman in labor, to elicit a safe birth, and to promote the continued health of the mother and child (lines 27–46):

munus-bi [...] ^rx¹ [dumu-munus-diḡir]-ra-na
šin-niš-tum š[i-i ...] mar-ti DIḠIR-šú
 ka-kešda-bi igi diḡir-^rzu¹ du₈-[ù-d]a
[ki-ṣ]ir ŠA-ša ina ma-ḥar DIḠIR-ú-ti-ka lip-pa-tír¹⁰

⁵ Variant: [á]-zi-da-ḡu₁₀.

⁶ Variant: al-gub-b[a].

⁷ Variant: [kit-t]i-i.

⁸ Variant: uš-te-ši-ri at-ta.

⁹ The Akkadian renders: “from sacred heaven.”

¹⁰ For the reading and interpretation of this line see CAD K s.v. *kišru*, lexical section.

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munus-bi silim-ma ù-tu-ud-da
 šin-niš-tú ši-i šal-meš li-lid
 ù-tu-ud-da ti-la šà-bi silim-ma
 li-lid-ma lib-luṭ šá lib-bi-šú li-šir
 igi-diġir-zu silim-ma hé-en-DU.DU
 ina ma-ḥar DIĠIR(-ú)-ti-ka šal-meš lit-tal-lak
 silim-ma ù-tu-ud-da ka-tar-zu hé(-en)-si-il(-lá)
 šal-meš li-lid-ma dà-lí-lí-ka lid-lul
 uš₁₁-z[u] níġ-hul-dím-ma igi-diġir-zu hé-en-búr-re¹¹
 kiš-[pi] up-šá-šu-u ina ma-ḥar DIĠIR-ti-ka lip-pa-áš-ru
 ma-m[ú]-gin₇ hé-en-búr-re¹²
 [...]
 ʾzú¹-lu[m-m]a-gin₇ hé-en-bar-ra¹³
 [kīma suluppī liq-q]a-ʾlip¹
 munus-[bi] hé-en-ti-la : MUNUS ši-i lib-luṭ

That woman, daughter of her god,
 May her knot¹⁴ be opened before your divinity.
 That woman, may she give birth safely.
 May she give birth, may she live, may her offspring¹⁵ thrive.
 May she continue to go in health before your divinity.
 May she give birth safely, and may she proclaim your praise.
 May sorcery and bewitchment be dispelled before your divinity.
 Like a dream, let it be resolved.
 Like dates, let it be stripped off.
 May that woman live.

The final lines of the text presuppose a favorable outcome, a positive response from the sun god to the prayer recited before him (lines 47–52):

en-e ud-da ab-ti-la nam-maḥ-zu hé-ib-bé
 a-di ʾu₄¹-mu bal-ṭa-tu nar-bi-ka liq-bi
 nam-maḥ ʾden-ki¹ ʾdasar-lú-ḥi úġ-bi hé-en-zu-zúġ
 nar-be [d]ʾéʾ-a¹ u ʾAMAR.UTU ÚĜ.MEŠ lil <<-KUR>>-tan-du¹⁶
 u ġá lú-KA-[i]nim-ma ir-zu ka-tar-zu hé-si-il
 u ana-ku a-ši-pi ʾIR-ka dà-lí-lí-ka lud-lul

¹¹ Variant: ʾhé-en¹-búr-ra.

¹² For the reading of this line, see PSD B s.v. búr E, bilingual meaning 3. However, see Borger's reading and understanding of this line in "Einige Texte religiösen Inhalts" 17, 41: šu-SA[R]-gim hé-en-búr-re, "May it be unraveled like this matting," and its relation, along with the subsequent line, to Šurpu V–VI 52–5, Erica Reiner, *Šurpu: A Collection of Sumerian and Akkadian Incantations* (AfO Beih. 11: Graz: Ernst Weidner, 1958) 31.

¹³ For the reading of this line, see PSD B s.v. bar, meaning 9. See also CAD S s.v. *suluppū*, meaning f, for similar statements in ritual texts.

¹⁴ The Akkadian renders: "knot of her womb."

¹⁵ Literally, "that of her womb"

¹⁶ For commentary on the reading of this line, see Borger, "Einige Texte religiösen Inhalts" 18.

As long as she lives, she shall proclaim your greatness.
Let the people make known the greatness of Enki and Asarluḫi.
And I, the *āšipu*-priest, your servant, shall proclaim your glory.

At this juncture, the participants in the ritual invocation—the afflicted woman, who is the subject of the composition, and the incantation priest, who recites the prayer—pay homage to the sun god, as well as to the healing deities Enki (Ea) and Asarluḫi (Marduk) for the safe delivery of the child and the well-being of the mother.

The appearance of Enki and Asarluḫi in this text, the divine father and son who are invoked as a healing pair in incantations seeking medicinal succor, has precedent and is expected.¹⁷ However, the presence of the sun god—the principal deity of justice, divination, and the source of light—as the primary addressee in a composition concerned with childbirth and a difficult labor, requires explanation. This incantation places the well-being of the birthing mother and her child in the hands of the sun god at the moment of his rise. As he emerges from the inner realm of heaven and appears over Mount Ḥašur, the mountain of sunrise,¹⁸ the sun god executes judgment for the determination of destiny within the daily convocation of the divine assembly.¹⁹ The prayers for the birth-giving mother are dispatched within this milieu of sunrise fate determination. This article, dedicated to Professor Erle Leichty with gratitude from his student, seeks to demonstrate the links between sunrise fate determination and birth in Mesopotamian literature.

It will be argued here that the bilingual childbirth incantation addressed to the sun god and, in particular, to the rising sun god, illustrates the convergence of beliefs concerning fate determination, sunrise, and birth in ancient Mesopotamia. To that end, evidence for the association between birth, the sun god, sunrise, and the decree of destiny will be extracted from other birth incantations and diverse Sumerian and Akkadian language texts

¹⁷ See Adam Falkenstein, *Die Haupttypen der sumerischen Beschwörung literarisch untersucht* (LSS NF 1; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1931) 53–8; Graham Cunningham, “*Deliver Me From Evil*”: *Mesopotamian Incantations 2500–1500 BC* (Studia Pohl, Series Maior, 17; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1997) 76–7, 114–5, 120–1. Examples of birth incantations that invoke this healing pair include E 47.190, Gertrud Farber, “Another Old Babylonian Childbirth Incantation,” *JNES* 43 (1984) 311–6; UM 29-15-367 and John Rylands Library, Box 24 E 6+24, J. van Dijk, “Incantations accompagnant la naissance de l’homme,” *OrNS* 44 (1975) 53–62, 69–70; YBC 4603, J. van Dijk, “Une incantation accompagnant la naissance de l’homme,” *OrNS* 42 (1973) 502–7; AUAM 73.3094, Mark E. Cohen, “Literary Texts from the Andrews University Archaeological Museum,” *RA* 70 (1976) 133–40; with parallel MLC 1207, van Dijk, “Incantations” 65–9; *BAM* 248 (and dups.), Erich Ebeling, “Keilschrifttexte medizinischen Inhalts IV,” *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin* 14 (1923) 65–78; N. Veldhuis, “The New Assyrian Compendium for a Woman in Childbirth,” *ASJ* 11 (1988) 241–8.

¹⁸ See discussion in Polonsky, “The Rise of the Sun God” 306–27.

¹⁹ This connection between sunrise and judgment by the sun god at fate determination within the divine assembly is expressed in numerous texts, see Polonsky, “The Rise of the Sun God” 224–49.

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in order to investigate the foundation of the beliefs concerning childbirth in ancient Mesopotamia.

Already during the Old Babylonian period, a connection is made between the pregnant woman and the sun god in a childbirth incantation:

ar-ḫu-um e-ri-a-at ar-ḫu-um ul-la-ad i-na ta-ar-ba-ši-im ša ^dUTU *šú-pu-ú-úr*
^dŠENBAR²⁰

The pregnant cow, the cow giving birth in the cattlepen of Šamaš, in the fold of Šakkan.

The woman, or the “pregnant cow,” is envisioned within the territory of the sun god, and the solar deity is an object of appeal and a source of succor for the woman.²¹

In a similar vein, the newborn infant and the fetus prior to birth are bound to the sun god. Recurrent imagery that associates the babe with sunrise and with aspects of the environment of sunrise is found in texts related to childbearing and the care of infants. In first millennium incantations designed to soothe a crying baby, the child is commonly described as the one “who has come out and seen the light of the sun god.”²² This depiction

²⁰ VS 17 34 1–3, J. van Dijk, “Une variante du thème de ‘l’Esclave de la Lune,’” *OrNS* 41 (1972) 343–4. For other discussions and translations of this text, see Benjamin R. Foster, *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature* (2nd ed.; Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1996) 137–8; Stol, *Birth in Babylonia* 63–4.

²¹ The sun god weeps for the afflicted mother, lines 4–8: *i-mu-ur-ši-i-ma* ^dUTU *i-ba-ak-ki i-mu-ur-ši-i-ma el-lam me-e i-il-la-la-ka di-i-ma-a-šu am-mi-nim-mi* ^dUTU *i-ba-ak-ki [e]l-lam me-e i-il-la-ka di-ma-šu*, “He saw her, Šamaš, and was crying; he saw her, the Pure of Water, his tears were flowing. Why is Šamaš crying; why are the tears of the Pure of Water flowing?,” van Dijk, “Une variante du thème” 344, Stol, *Birth in Babylonia* 64. Numerous compositions indicate that appellants stand before the rising sun god and seek his aid, see discussion in Polonsky, *The Rise of the Sun God* 249–56, 585–607. In the Sumerian composition, “Incantation to Utu C,” depending on the restoration, either the newborn child or the woman giving birth is among the petitioners before the sun god, see obv. 27', and the restoration by Mark J. Geller, “Very Different Utu Incantations,” *ASJ* 17 (1995) 110, 112: [^dutu dumu? ù]-tu-da izi-gin₇ igi-ni ba-ra-ši-ĝál, “[Utu], the newborn [child] looks toward you like a fire”; or conversely: [^dutu munus]-ù-tu-da, “[Utu] the birth-giving [mother]...”

²² See, for instance, KAR 114 and dupl. (Farber § 32), 1–2: *ÉN a-ši-ib ek-le-ti la na[m-ru-te] it-ta-aš-ša-ma e-ta-mar* ZALAG₂ ^dUTU-*ši*, “Incantation: dweller in darkness, where no light shines, he has come out and seen the light of the sun god”; LKA 9 (Farber § 39), rev. i 16'–18': *ÉN a-ši-ib ek-le-tim bi-nu-ut a-mi-lu-[ti] am-mi-ni la tab-ki ina ŠA AMA-[ka] a-di la tu-ša-am-ma tam-ma-ru ša-ru-ri* ^d[UTU], “Incantation: dweller in darkness, creature of humankind, why did you not cry in the womb of your mother, and still not when you come out and see the rays of the sun god?”; BM 42327+ (Farber § 40) 10–11: *ÉN a-šib ek-le-ti la-a a-[m]e-e-[r]* ZALAG₂ ^d[U]TU-*ši* *E-am-ma ta-ta-m[a]r ZA[LA]G₂* ^dUTU-*[ši]*, “Incantation: dweller in darkness who does not see the light of the sun, you have come out and you have seen the light of the sun”; see Walter Farber, *Schlaf, Kindchen, schlaf!*, *Mesopotamische Baby-Beschwörungen und-Rituale* (MC 2; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1989) 98–9, 110–1, 114–5. For discussion of the form and theme of these injunctions to the child, see W. Farber, “Magic at the Cradle: Babylonian and Assyrian Lullabies,” *Anthropos* 85 (1990) 142–5.

of the babe is found in Old Babylonian incantations utilized for the same purpose.²³ Similar imagery and statements occur in post-Old Babylonian birth incantations, enjoining the baby to come forth into the light of the sun god:

ka-an-ga-tum lip-taš-ši-ra li-ša-a nab-ni-tu
ĜĪR.PAD.DU *a-ḫi-tum bi-nu-ut a-me-lu-ti*
ār-ḫiš li-ta-ša-am-ma li-ta-mar ZALAG₂ dUTU-ši²⁴

May the sealed (womb) relax, may the creature come forth,
A separate body, a creature of humankind,
May it come forth without delay and see the light of the sun.

In several texts sunrise is specifically mentioned, suggesting that reference to the light of the sun indicates illumination at the emergence of the sun god at daybreak:

ÉN *a-š[ib e]k-let la a-mir ši-it* dUTU-ši È.MEŠ [*tātamar nūr* dUTU-ši]²⁵

Incantation: Dweller in darkness, who has not seen the sunrise, you have come out, [you have seen the light of the sun].

This identification of the light viewed by the newborn child as “sunrise” creates a connection between the moment of the appearance of the babe and

²³ For example, see BM 122691 rev. 1–2: *še-eḫ-ru-um wa-ši-ib bi-it ek-[le-tim] lu ta-ta-ša-am ta-ta-ma-ar n[u-ur dUTU]*, “Baby, who dwelt in the house of darkness, you have indeed come out, you have seen the light of the sun!”; Walter Farber, “Zur älteren akkadischen Beschwörungsliteratur,” *ZA* 71 (1981) 62–4; *Schlaf, Kindchen, schlaf!* 34–5; “Magic at the Cradle” 140; Foster, *Before the Muses* 1 139; AB 215 (OECT 11 2) 1–4: [*at*]-*ta-a-ma 'še'-eḫ'-ru[m]* [*w*]-*u-ūr-du-um ša a-we-lu-ū'-[tim]* *lu-ú ta-at-ta-š[i]-a-am lu-ú ta-ta-mar dUTU nu-r[a-šū]*, “You, child, offspring of humankind, you have indeed come out, you have seen the light of the sun god”; O. R. Gurney, *Literary and Miscellaneous Texts in the Ashmolean Museum* (OECT 11; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989) 19–20; Farber, “Magic at the Cradle” 142; *Schlaf, Kindchen, schlaf!* 34–7; “*Mannam lušpur ana Enkidu*: Some New Thoughts about an Old Motif,” *JNES* 49 (1990) 309.

²⁴ VAT 8869 (*BAM* 248) ii 54–6 (and see ii 67–9), Ebeling, “Keilschrifttexte” 68–9; Foster, *Before the Muses* 2 878; Veldhuis, “New Assyrian Compendium” 250. In addition, note a text dated to the Middle Assyrian period, 48–9: *še-li kak-ka ša-ti bu-nu-ut* DIĜIR.MEŠ *bu-nu-ut LÚ.U₁₈.LU lu-ú-ša-ma li-mur* IZI.ĜAR, “Bring forth that sealed-up one, a creation of the gods, a creation of humankind. Let him come out to see the light”; W. G. Lambert, “A Middle Assyrian Medical Text,” *Iraq* 31 (1969) 31–2; Foster, *Before the Muses* 2 875; 11 N-T 3 38: ... *šá ŠÁ iš-qil-la-tum li-kal-lim nu-ú-rum*, “... let him bring to light the one in the shell (referring to the child in the womb)”; Miguel Civil, “Medical Commentaries from Nippur,” *JNES* 33 (1974) 332; and a diĜir-ša-dib-ba incantation from the Late Babylonian period, CBS (Kh²) 1514 (PBS 1/1 14) 5: *ul-tu ŠÁ ek-le-ti ú-ša-am-ma dUTU a-mur-ka*, “I came forth from the dark womb and saw you Šamas”; W. G. Lambert, “DINGIR.ŠÁ.DIB.BA Incantations,” *JNES* 33 (1974) 274–5.

²⁵ NBC 6151 (YOS 11 96; Farber §30) 19; and the parallel from a Nineveh Compendium (Farber §26) 375–6: [ÉN *šer-ru a-šib ek-le*]-*te la a-mi-ru ši-it* dUTU [*ta-at-ta-ša-am-ma*] *ta-ta-mar* IZI.ĜAR dUTU; see Farber, *Schlaf, Kindchen, schlaf!* 96–7 and 88–9.

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the moment of sunrise—a time of judgment by the light-giving sun god for the decreeing of destiny.

Also, the use of the verb *è* (*ašû*), “to rise” or “to come out,” to describe the emergence of the baby mirrors the use of this verb to depict the rise of the sun god. Furthermore, in a bilingual text dated to the Old Babylonian period, the baby is associated with the rising sun god:

[...] *ḏutu-kam ḥé-ʿem¹-ma-ra-ʿè¹*

[...] *ʿx¹-tim li-it-ta-aš-<ši>²⁶*

Let (the baby) rise for you (the mother) like the [...] of the sun god.

This ideological comparison between the baby who emerges to view the sun and the rising sun god is complemented by ritual activity. A Sumerian birth incantation describes ceremonial acts performed before the sun god:

tukum-bi nita *ḡis*tukul šu-ni-ta íb-TAR
tukum-bi munus *ḡis*bala šu-ni-ta íb-TAR
igi-*ḏutu-šè* šu mu-na-ra-tál²⁷

If it is a boy, the weapon is broken away from his hand;
If it is a girl the spindle is broken away from her hand.
For him (or her) the hands are raised before the sun god.

The extension of the hands is a ritual act of both petition and homage before the solar deity,²⁸ and is reminiscent of the praise of the sun god indicated at the conclusion of the bilingual birth incantation under investigation here.

In addition to the connection drawn between the newborn and the sun god, the fetus on its journey within the birth canal is associated with the environment of sunrise. In several Old Babylonian period birth incantations, the fetus is depicted as a boat embarking from the horizon, just as the sun god rises from the horizon each day:

[x an-ú]r du-da-a-ni ma-gi₄ a mi-ni-ri
[i-šī]-id ša-me-e ù er-še-tim i-na a-ta-lu-ki-ša ki-ma e-le-pi i-te-i-il²⁹

(From) the horizon the woman who is about to give birth is leading the boat through the water.

²⁶ AUAM 73.3094 59–60, Cohen, “Literary Texts” 137–9.

²⁷ MLC 1207 (YOS 11 85) 27–9, van Dijk, “Incantations” 67, 69.

²⁸ See Polonsky, “The Rise of the Sun God” 403–5, 598–9, 917–22.

²⁹ See AUAM 73.3094 10–11, Cohen, “Literary Texts” 135–6, 139. See also MLC 1207 4: an-[úr-ra? munus-ù]-tud-a-ni *ḡis*má-gi-min [bí-ir-ri], “From the horizon the [woman] who gives birth leads the reed boat”; van Dijk, “Incantations” 66–7. For literary images of the sun god rising from the horizon, see Polonsky, “The Rise of the Sun God” 181–94.

Therefore, the infant begins its journey toward sunlight and life from the point of origin of the sun god at sunrise.

At the same time, in this and other birth incantations, the unborn fetus is represented as an eren-laden boat, recalling the realm of sunrise:

ʿma-še¹-ma-ta še-em im-mi-in-si
ki-ma e-le-ep ri-qí ri-qí ma-li-a-at
ma-e-re-na-ta e-re-en im-mi-in-[si]
ki-ma e-le-ep e-re-ni e-re-na-am ma-li-[a-at]
ma-še-em-e-re-na-ta še-em-e-re-na im-mi-[in-si]
ki-ma e-le-ep ri-qí e-re-ni ri-qí e-re-n[a-am ma-li-a-at]
ma-gu-ug-za-gi-na gu-ug-za-gi-na im-mi-i[n-si]
ki-ma e-le-ep sa-am-tim ù uq-ni-im sa-am-t[a-am ù uq-na-am ma-li-a-at]³⁰

Upon a boat of perfume, she has loaded perfume.

Upon a boat of eren, she has loaded eren.

Upon a boat of eren-fragrance, she has loaded eren-fragrance.

(Upon) a boat of carnelian and lapis lazuli, she has loaded carnelian and lapis lazuli.

The fetus-boat is equipped by the mother with “perfume,” a general term that is unable to be more specifically distinguished. She has also provided carnelian and lapis lazuli, indicators of the sex of the child (carnelian for a female and lapis lazuli for a male).³¹ The eren-foliage and eren-fragrance that are carried by the fetus are products of the mountain of sunrise.³² Also, eren and eren-incense have been identified as offerings placed before the gods during ceremonies of sunrise fate determination.³³ In this way, the babe is supplied by its mother with symbols of its identity and indicators of

³⁰ AUAM 73.3094 12–18, Cohen, “Literary Texts” 135–6, 139. See also MLC 1207 5–7: ʿiš[má-šem-ta šem] im-mi-in-si [ʿišmá-ʿiše]ren-ta ʿišeren <im>-mi-in-si [ʿiš]má^{na}gug [na^a]za-gin i-ni-si. (Van Dijk, “Incantations” 66, restores line 6: [x x x kur-ʿiše]ren-ta, but note the comparable designation of the boat in AUAM 73.3094). Another reference to an eren-tree occurs in MLC 1207 10: [ʿišmá ʿiššu-ú]r-me-ku₅ ʿišeren-ku₅-da, “[The boat] of cut cypress trees, cut eren-trees.” In addition, see E 47.190 4–6: má-ši-im-má-ki-im ši-im ba-ġar má-i-ri-na-ki-im i-ri-na-am ba-ġar má-gu-ug-za-gi-na gu-ug za-gi-na i-ni-ġar, “As on a boat carrying perfume, perfume has been loaded; as on a boat carrying eren, eren has been loaded; on the boat of carnelian and lapis lazuli, she (the mother) loaded carnelian and lapis lazuli”; Farber, “Another Old Babylonian Childbirth Incantation” 313–15; AUAM 73.1425 rev. col. iii 6–10: má-šim-ka šim-ba-a-ġar má ʿišeren-ka ʿišeren ba-a-ġar má guškin kù za-gin, Marcel Sigrist, “Une tablette d’incantations sumériennes,” *ASJ* 2 (1980) 157, 159; *BAM* 248 (and dupls.), i 5–6: [... M]A ʿišERE[...] [...] ri-qí [e-re-ni] ri-qí e-re-ni-ma, Veldhuis, “New Assyrian Compendium” 241. For discussion of these texts see Stol, *Birth in Babylonia* 60–3; Cunningham, “*Deliver Me From Evil*” 69–75, 107; van Dijk, “Incantations” 73–4.

³¹ Stol, *Birth in Babylonia* 62; Irene J. Winter, “The Aesthetic Value of Lapis Lazuli in Mesopotamia,” in *Cornaline et pierres précieuses* (ed. Annie Caubet; Paris: Documentation française—Musée du Louvre, 1999) 52.

³² Polonsky, “ki-^dutu-è-a” 92–4; “The Rise of the Sun God” 296–327.

³³ Polonsky, “The Rise of the Sun God” 581–5.

the mountain of sunrise, which place the child within the milieu of sunrise ideology and simultaneously provide it with the principal materials proffered to the sun god and the divine assembly for the decree of fate at the emergence of the child.

These components of the language of recitation within birth incantations suggest that the birth-giving process was conceptualized as a journey of the newborn from a place of darkness and potential death³⁴ toward a location representing the inception of life—the place of the rising sun god, where destiny is determined.

The imagery evoked through ritual recitation forges a connection between childbirth and sunrise. The birth-giving mother and the child call out to or are positioned before the rising sun god. The fetus traverses the birth canal in an eren-laden boat, a symbol of the mountain of the rising sun god, as well as the scented foliage that entices the divine assembly to congregate for sunrise fate determination. The infant is enjoined to come out and view the sun, and in some cases specifically to gaze upon the sunrise. He is linked to the rising sun god. The representations associating the babe with the rising sun god and the place of sunrise found in incantations recited at birth suggest that ritual actions may have symbolized the dawn of the day in accompaniment with the awakening of a new life. Therefore, the sun god and sunrise are integral elements of the ideology, representation, and ceremonial enactment of birth.

In conjunction with sunrise, the concept of fate determination is another intrinsic theme associated with childbirth. As with cosmological creation,³⁵ the moment of birth is a primary instance for the decree of destiny in ancient

³⁴ For instance, see KAR 114 (Farber § 32) 1, LKA 9 (Farber § 39) rev. i 16', and BM 42327+ (Farber § 40) 10, which record the same phrase *āšib ekleti*, "dweller in darkness" (for full citations, see n. 22 above); Farber, *Schlaf, Kindchen, schlaf!* 98–9, 110–1, 114–5; CBS (Kh²) 1514 (PBS 1/1 14) 5: *ul-tu ŠÀ ek-le-ti ú-ša-am-ma*, "I came forth from the dark womb"; Lambert, "DINGIR.ŠÀ.DIB.BA Incantations" 274–5; BM 122691 rev. 1: *še-eḫ-ru-um wa-ši-ib bi-it ek-[le-tim]*, "Baby, who dwelt in the house of darkness"; Farber, "Zur älteren akkadischen Beschwörungsliteratur" 63–4, 68. Farber understands *bīt ekleti* as a reference to the womb, and that interpretation is followed here. For discussion of this motif, see Farber, "Magic at the Cradle" 144 and fig. 3; *Schlaf, Kindchen, schlaf!* 149–50 and 160 fig. 5.2.7. It should be noted that *bīt ekleti* is also associated with the Netherworld, see CAD I s.v. *ikletu*, meaning c2', and references therein. Also, in an Old Babylonian period birth incantation, the boat-fetus traverses a far off sea, impenetrable by the eye of the sun, YBC 4603 7–11: *i-na me-e ti-a-am-tim ru-qū-ū-tim a-šar še-eḫ-ru-um ku-us-sà-a i-da-a-šu qī-ir-bi-is-sū la-a uš-na-wa-ru i-in ša-am-ši-im i-mu-ur-šu-ū-ma* ^aASAR.LÚ.ḪI *ma-ri* ^dEN.KI, "In the water of the far-off sea, there is the babe, his arms are bound; there within, where the eye of the sun does not shine, Asarluḫi, son of Enki, saw him"; van Dijk, "Une incantation" 503–4; Foster, *Before the Muses* 1 136. In addition, see discussion by Karel van der Toorn, "Magic at the Cradle: A Reassessment," in *Mesopotamian Magic: Textual, Historical, and Interpretive Perspectives* (ed. T. Abusch and K. van der Toorn; AMD 1; Groningen: Styx, 1999) 146.

³⁵ See discussion in Polonsky *The Rise of the Sun God* 1–2 with n. 3 and 118–20, and citations; Jack N. Lawson, *The Concept of Fate in Ancient Mesopotamia of the First Millennium: Toward an Understanding of Šimtu* (Orientalia Biblica et Christiana 7; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1994) 19–23.

Mesopotamia.³⁶ Ideally, at birth, each individual being would obtain its nature, its characteristics, and the essence of its existence; each being would receive the benefit of a positive fate from the deities, a proper span of life, and a straight path toward health and well-being to be renewed daily before the divine assembly at sunrise.

The connection between birth and fate determination is found in numerous compositions. In the Akkadian language text *Atra-ḫasīs*, the creation of the human species, which has been decided upon by the divine assembly,³⁷ takes place within the “house of destiny” (*bīt šīmti*).³⁸ The manufacture of individual (albeit misshapen) human beings in the Sumerian composition *Enki and Ninmah* is accompanied by a decree of fate.³⁹ Also, the Mesopotamian birth goddess⁴⁰ is assigned a role in the determination of destiny, a connection that is made clear by her titles in god lists, royal literature, and mythological texts. In *Atra-ḫasīs*, she is described:

[sa-a]s-sú-ru ba-ni-a-at šī-ma-ti⁴¹

Birth goddess, creatrix of destiny.

In a hymn of the Larsa king Rīm-Sîn the actions of the birth goddess are recorded:

ḏnin-tu-re ù-tu-za šà mi-ni-ib-[ḫúl] nam-gal ša-mu-ri-in-[tar]⁴²

³⁶ See Polonsky, “The Rise of the Sun God” 121–7, 608–22.

³⁷ *Atra-ḫasīs* I 204–19, W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, *Atra-ḫasīs: The Babylonian Story of the Flood* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969) 56–9.

³⁸ *Atra-ḫasīs* I 249–50: *i-te-er-bu a-na É šī-im-ti ni-iš-š[i-ku] ḏé-a e-riš-tu ḏma-ma*, “Prince Ea and the wise Mami entered into the house of destiny.” Their actions to create humankind from clay are described in lines 251–260 (where the text breaks off). This description can be compared with the Assyrian version of this event (K 3399+3934 [S] obv. iii 1–14), Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḫasīs* 60–3.

³⁹ In the midst of a contest between the god Enki and the goddess Ninmah, each being created by Ninmah is granted a destiny by Enki, see C. A. Benito, “‘Enki and Ninmah’ and ‘Enki and the World Order’” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1969); rev. unpub. ms. M. W. Green.

⁴⁰ The Mesopotamian birth goddess (most often designated as Nintu, Ninḫursaĝa, Ninmah, Aruru, Mamī, or Bēlet-ilī) is discussed by Stol, *Birth in Babylonia* 74–83; M. Krebernik, “Muttergötin. A.I. In Mesopotamien,” *RLA* 8 (1995) 502–16; H. Frankfort, “A Note on the Lady of Birth,” *JNES* 3 (1944) 198–200; Thorkild Jacobsen, “Notes on Nintur,” *OrNS* 42 (1973) 274–98.

⁴¹ *Atra-ḫasīs* III vi 46; see also the Assyrian recension of *Atra-ḫasīs* (K 3399+3934 [S]) obv. iii 11, Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḫasīs* 102–3 and 62–3, respectively. For additional epithets, see ḏnin-nam-tar-tar-re, “lady who determines fates,” ḏnin-ka-aš-bar-ra, “lady of decision-making,” and ḏnin-ka-aš-bar-an-ki, “lady of decision-making of heaven and earth,” see An = Anum Tablet II 8–10, Richard L. Litke, *A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God Lists*, AN: ḏA-nu-um and AN: Anu šà amēli (Texts from the Babylonian Collection 3; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998) 66–7; Jacobsen, “Notes on Nintur” 292–3.

⁴² Rīm-Sîn H (UET 6 100) a 3. See also the role of the birth goddess in Gudea Statue A col. iii 4–6: nin an-ki-a nam-tar-re-dē ḏnin-tu ama-diĝir-re-ne-ke₄, “Lady who determines

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Nintu, (her) heart rejoiced at your (Inana's) birth; accordingly she decreed a great destiny for you.

It should be noted that the birth goddess is awarded the ability to decree destiny by Enlil, the chief fate-determining god,⁴³ and she relies on the sun god for the enactment of this power.⁴⁴

A further reference to the birth of humankind places the sun god in control of the decree of destiny:

𒌷UTU ina qí-bit-ka-ma ú-tal-la-da te-ne-še-ti
ta-šam ši-ma-te-ši-na ta-šar-rak-ši-na-ti dum-qa⁴⁵

Šamaš, by your command, humankind was born.
You determine their fate, you give them good fortune.

In this composition the sun god, rising as the herald of the divine assembly, as the facilitator of the decree of destiny, and as the supreme judge at sunrise fate determination, is designated as the god who decides fate at the birth of all beings, highlighting the connection between the sun god, birth, and the determination of destiny.

Other texts that probe beyond the initial creation of humankind provide evidence of the beliefs associated with an individual's birth. The decree of fate for a newborn child is emphasized during two separate periods of the birth process. In a manner similar to the use of sunrise imagery in connection with both the fetus and the moment of its birth, the decree of fate is linked with gestation as well as the delivery of the child.

destiny in heaven and earth, Nintu, mother of the gods"; Dietz O. Edzard, *Gudea and His Dynasty* (RIME 3/1; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997) 30; Thorkild Jacobsen, "Notes on Nintur" 278; Ur-Ninurta D 15–16: 𒀭nin-tu-re 𒄩li 𒄩mu¹-[un-ši]-𒄩in-tu¹-ud{-dé-en} u₆-[di-zu]-𒄩še¹ ma-ra-an-gub 𒄩giš-šub-ba-ni sa₆-ge mu-𒄩un¹-[ge]-𒄩en¹ igi-za im-mi-𒄩in¹-[x], "Nintu has borne attractiveness for him (Ur-Ninurta); she has made him stand for you for [your] admiration; she has firmly established his lot as favorable; she has made him [...] before you"; A. Falkenstein, "Sumerische religiöse Texte," *ZA* 52 (1957) 57, 59–60, 66–7.

⁴³ See Enlil in the Ekur 123–6: kur-gal 𒀭en-líl-da nu-me-a 𒀭nin-tu nu-ugs-ge saḡ-ḡiš nu-ra-ra áb-e é-túr-ra amar-bi nu-šub-bé u₈(-e) amaš-bi-a sila₄-ḡá-gig nu-è, "Without Great Mountain, Enlil, Nintu could not kill, could not strike down. The cow in the cowshed would not lose its calf, the sheep in its sheepfold would not bring forth a premature lamb"; Adam Falkenstein, *SGL 1* (Heidelberg: 1959) 17, 24, 73; Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Harps That Once ... Sumerian Poetry in Translation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987) 109. Also, see discussion in Polonsky, "The Rise of the Sun God" 154–8 and n. 448.

⁴⁴ Incantation to Utu A 57: [𒄩du tu za-a-d]a nu-me-a [𒄩ni]n-maḥ nin níḡ-dím-dím-ma gi-li ku₅-ku₅-da n[am]-lú-ulu₃-{ke₄} nam-lú-ulu₃ nu-un-tar-re, "Utu, without you Ninmaḥ, the lady who creates everything, who cuts the umbilical cord, could not decide the fate for mankind"; Bendt Alster, "Incantation to Utu," *ASJ* 13 (1991) 47, 73, 81.

⁴⁵ VAT 8276 (KAR 80 with dupl. BM 78240) 22, within a paean of praise to the sun god as judge of all beings at fate determination (lines 1–14), Erich Ebeling, "Quellen zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion I," *MVAG* 23 (1918) 27–34; S. Langdon, "A Babylonian Ritual of Sympathetic Magic by Burning Images," *RA* 26 (1929) 39–42.

The conceptualization that the fate of a baby is determined at birth, even as it lies within the womb of its mother is evinced by such statements:

iš-tu sa-as-su-ri-šu ši-im-tum tà-[a]b-t[u]m ši-ma-as-sù⁴⁶

Ever since he was in his (mother's) womb, a favorable destiny was decreed for him.

In particular, the fate of the Mesopotamian ruler was considered to be destined prior to his birth.⁴⁷ A hymn of self-praise of Šulgi of the Ur III dynasty states:

*lugal a lugal-e ri-a nin-e tu-da-me-en
šul-gi-me-en dumu-gi⁷ šà-zi-ta nam-du₁₀ tar-ra-me-en⁴⁸*

I, the king, engendered by a king, born of a queen.

I, Šulgi, the princely son, whose good fate was determined from the true womb.

This depiction associates pre-destination with conception and projects the future of individuals, and the Mesopotamian ruler, while still within the womb.

Also, at the birth and emergence of the child into the light of the sun god, the fate of the newborn is decreed.⁴⁹ The severing of the umbilical cord, the physical separation of the child from its parent, is the moment when the fate of the baby is determined. A childbirth incantation depicts Gula, a healing goddess, in the act of cutting the cord:

*dgu-la agrig-zi-[šu]-dim₄-ma-ke₄
gi-[dur] ku₅-rá-a-ni nam hē-em-mi-īb-tar-r[e]⁵⁰*

⁴⁶ Ni 13088 9–10, F.R. Kraus, “Eine neue Probe akkadischer Literatur: Brief eines Bittstellers an eine Gottheit,” *JAOS* 103 (1983) 205–6; see discussion in Stol, *Birth in Babylonia* 87–8.

⁴⁷ For discussion and additional examples involving the Mesopotamian ruler, see Polonsky, “The Rise of the Sun God” 440–2; and for similar descriptions of later period kings, see CAD Š/2 s.v. *šassūru* A, meaning b. Also, see discussion in W.W. Hallo, “The Birth of Kings,” in *Studies Pope* 45–52; Jacob Klein, “The Birth of the Crownprince in the Temple: A Neo-Sumerian Topos,” in *CRRAI* 33 (1987) 97–106; W.G. Lambert, “The Seed of Kingship,” in *CRRAI* 29 (1974) 427–40; Stol, *Birth in Babylonia* 87–8.

⁴⁸ Šulgi B 11–12, G.R. Castellino, *Two Šulgi Hymns (BC)*, (*Studi Semitici* 42; Rome: 1972) 30–1.

⁴⁹ The king's fate is also represented as decreed at birth, see for instance, Šulgi F 229–30: *ud-tu-da-gu₁₀ ud-hē-gál-l[a]-x¹ ud den-lil-le nam-tar-ra-x-x¹*, “The day of my birth was a day of abundance, the day Enlil was decreeing fate”; unpub. ms. Jacob Klein; rev. unpub. ms. Åke W. Sjöberg; and see further discussion of this text in Polonsky, “The Rise of the Sun God” 440 n. 1312.

⁵⁰ UM 29-15-367, 49–50, van Dijk, “Incantations” 56–7, 61. This association is reinforced by other literary texts, including Nininsina hymn A 75: ... *gi-dur ku₅-dē nam tar-re-dē*, “... to cut the umbilical cord, to determine fate”; W.H.Ph. Römer, “Einige Beobachtungen zur Göttin Nini(n)sina auf Grund von Quellen der Ur III-Zeit und der altbabylonischen Periode,” in *Studies*

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Gula, the true provider with capable hands,
While cutting his (or her) umbilical cord, she determines his (or her) fate.

In addition, the severing of the umbilical cord is associated with the decree of fate for the nascent ruler.⁵¹ The cutting of the umbilical cord is an event that lends itself to ritual procedure. It is the moment when the identity and gender of the child are established.⁵² Stol has suggested that this is a time for reciting incantations to ward off disease and demons before the determination of fate.⁵³ A hymn to Nungal reflects this element of the procedure:

ḏnin-tu-e ki-nam-dumu-zi-ka mu-da-an-gub-bé
gi-dur-ku₅-da nam-tar-re-da inim-sa₆-ge-bi mu-zu⁵⁴

I (Nungal) assist Nintu at the place of the child-quickening.
For severing the umbilical cord and determining the destiny (of the child)
I know the favorable word.

With the umbilical cord intact, the child remains a part of its mother. At the severing of this link, the child begins its life as an individual human being. The fetus of pre-determined fate, with its form and future decreed by the gods in preparation for life, emerges, and with the decree of fate at the severing of the umbilical cord is now ready for the crystallization of its character and

von Soden 295–6; Jacobsen, “Notes on Nintur” 290 n. 59; Incantation to Utu 57, see above note 44; an Old Babylonian version of the Epic of Gilgamesh (PBS 10/3 pl. LXVI 27–29): *i-na mi-il-ki ša DIĜIR qā-bi-ma i-na bi-ti-iq a-bu-un-na-ti-šu ši-ma-as-sūm*, “It was commanded through the counsel of a god, and was determined for him at the cutting of his umbilical cord”; for an alternative translation see Andrew George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1999) 15; similarly, A. R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic. Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts* (2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) 178–9.

⁵¹ See Enlil-bāni A 136–42: *diĝir-maḥ [x] ù⁷ kalam-ma ša-daĝal-zu-šè nam i-ri-in-[tar] gi-li-dur ku₅-da-zu nam-en mu-ra-an-ak*, “The exalted god [...] ... of the land, for your expansive heart [decreed] destiny for you. At the cutting of your umbilical cord, he appointed you to the EN-ship”; A. Kapp, “Ein Lied auf Enlilbāni von Isin,” *ZA* 51 (1955) 79, 82; Išme-Dagan A 40–5: *ḏnu-nam-nir en-nun-nun-e-ne lugal-a lugal-bé-e diš-me-da-gan dumu-da-gan-na-me-en⁸ uru¹-kù-ga nam-du₁₀ ḥa-ma-ni-in-tar a ša-ga ru-a-ĝá mu-du₁₀ ḥa-ma-ni-in-sa₄ [ḏ]nin-tu TU.TU-a ḥa-ma-ni-in-gub⁹ gi¹-dur ku₅-rá-ĝá [...] nam-en ḥa-ma-ni-in-ĝar*, “Nunamnir, lord of princes, king of kings, I, Išme-Dagan, son of Dagan, in the sacred city he decreed a good fate for me. At the placing of my seed in the womb, he named a good name for me. Nintu stood there for me at birth. At the cutting of my umbilical cord [...], she established for me the EN-ship”; W. H. Ph. Römer, *SKIZ* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965) 41–2; unpub. ms. B. Eichler.

⁵² In the birth incantation UM 29-15-367, 47–50, symbols of the gender of the child are placed in its hand just prior to the cutting of the umbilical cord, see van Dijk, “Incantations” 56–7, 61; Stol, *Birth in Babylonia* 61.

⁵³ Stol, *Birth in Babylonia* 143.

⁵⁴ Nungal hymn 71–2, Åke W. Sjöberg, “Nungal in the Ekur,” *Afo* 24 (1973) 32–3, 43; for an alternative translation see Pascal Attinger, “L’hymne à Nungal,” in *Studies Wilcke* 18, 32.

the allotment of its prescribed portion of existence: a (presumably) favorable destiny to carry through life.⁵⁵

Using the above outlined association between birth, sunrise, and fate determination, the bilingual childbirth incantation that introduced this discussion can be examined once again. In that composition the moment of birth is directly related to the time of the rise of the sun god. The sun god is depicted within the realm of sunrise,⁵⁶ rising from the interior of heaven and crossing Hašur mountain into view of the petitioners, the woman in labor and the *āšipu*-priest. The sun god is addressed as the supreme judge of all beings and is flanked by the embodiments of divine judgment, *niĝ-zī-da (kittu)*, “truth,” and *nīĝ-si-sá (mīšaru)*, “justice,” members of the court of the sun god at sunrise fate determination.⁵⁷ Papnuna (Bunene), the sun god’s vizier, acts as an intermediary, and bears favorable words to the rising sun god.⁵⁸ The personal god, whose presence is signified by the identification of the mother as the “daughter of her god,” serves as an advocate of the birth-giving mother.⁵⁹ Therefore, in this text, the environment of sunrise fate determination and the structure of communication both within the divine realm and between heaven and earth at the decree of destiny are evident.⁶⁰

This prayer to the rising sun god at the time of childbirth reflects the dual role of the god, as both the merciful aide to the afflicted, overturning a negative decree, and as the instigator and judge during the process of fate determination for a positive decree of destiny. The appeal to the rising sun god assures the health of the mother, dispels any agents of harm⁶¹ and enables a safe delivery. In addition, the exorcist prays for the future health of the mother and child before the sun god, inaugurating the favorable fate of the newborn. The expected result of the invocation to the rising sun god is both the safe delivery of the child and well-being (a favorable fate) for the babe and its mother.

The additional evidence from birth incantations and other texts demonstrates that the environment of birth is conceived as one of sunrise and fate determination. Sunrise imagery and the decree of fate play a role in the con-

⁵⁵ See Polonsky, “The Rise of the Sun God” 75–108, 168–78.

⁵⁶ Also, it should be noted that the sun god is related to the heavens in the initial lines of the text, in conjunction with his identification as the son of *Sîn* and *Ningal* (lines 5–6): He is described as the son of *An* in lines 1–2 of the composition. In addition, lines 9–10 designate his consort, *Aja*, as the “bride who dwells in sacred heaven.”

⁵⁷ See Polonsky, “The Rise of the Sun God” 236–8.

⁵⁸ Polonsky, “The Rise of the Sun God” 146, 161–6.

⁵⁹ See line 14. For the role of the personal god in the determination of destiny at sunrise, see Polonsky, “The Rise of the Sun God” 357–8.

⁶⁰ Polonsky, “The Rise of the Sun God” 135–68 and fig. 6.1.

⁶¹ For instance, the witchcraft referred to in lines 39–40. See JoAnn Scurlock, “Baby-snatching Demons, Restless Souls and the Dangers of Childbirth: Medico-magical Means of Dealing with Some of the Perils of Motherhood in Ancient Mesopotamia,” *Incognita* 2 (1991) 135–83.

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ceptualization of both the unborn and newly delivered child. The darkness of the womb is contrasted with the light and life-giving force of the sun. The fetus on its journey in the birth canal is immersed in the environment of sunrise, and fate is decreed within the womb. Then, the baby comes out to the sun(rise), and at the cutting of its umbilical cord, a determination of fate is made for the newborn individual.

In this way, the beliefs surrounding sunrise fate determination serve as a context for the birth of a child in ancient Mesopotamia. Sunrise is the time of assembly of the gods to decree fate, the moment within a diurnal cycle for the individual to perform the necessary rituals and recitations in order to institute, maintain, recover from, and interpret the decisions of the gods. The bilingual incantation for a woman in labor invoking the rising sun god, the place of the rising sun god, and the role of the solar deity as judge of all during fate determination at sunrise, reflects the convergence of the beliefs concerning birth, fate determination, and sunrise. For these reasons, the rising sun god is an appropriate deity for the appeal of a woman having difficulty in childbirth. His role as convener of the divine assembly for fate determination and judge of the decree enables the institution of divine decision for the survival of the woman in labor and for her babe to be born into its fate and into the light of the rising sun god.

IF MARS COMES CLOSE TO PEGASUS ...

Erica Reiner †

David Pingree and I suggested in *BPO* 2 23 that the last tablets of Enūma Anu Enlil (Tablets 69–70 according to one system of numbering) dealt not with any particular celestial body, but with a recurring phenomenon that served as a kenning; the last tablet of the series had as its kenning *adir*, ‘is dim,’ and the preceding tablet a phenomenon that was expressed by the logogram TE.¹ TE normally corresponds, in celestial omen texts as well as in other contexts, to the verb *tehu*, ‘to come close.’ Since only planets may change their position so that they come close to a constellation or to another planet, the meaning of the verb needs to be interpreted in some other fashion.

Similar problems arise with protases in which various stars and constellations “enter” (TU) some other constellation; such verbs of motion said of fixed stars have been discussed by me in a paper presented at the conference on ancient astronomy, *Under One Sky*, organized by John Steele, held in London in June 2001.² Here I would like to present the omens in which the behavior of a star or constellation is expressed by the verb *tehu*, “to come close,” usually written with its logogram TE. I am delighted to offer samples of these texts in honor of Erle Leichty, who has identified many omen texts in the British Museum and with his customary generosity let me peruse his transliterations, from which I greatly benefited throughout my work on Enūma Anu Enlil (EAE).

The suggestion concerning the last two tablets of EAE was based on K 2329 (*ACh Ištar* 30), a commentary to EAE, the obverse of which deals with comments on omens with protases ending in TE and ends with a rubric identifying the foregoing as a commentary on Tablet 69 of EAE. The reverse of the tablet contains a commentary on Tablet 70.

Among the astral texts in the British Museum that I was privileged to study I found neither a complete “TE-tablet” nor a complete tablet that did not include predicates other than TE in its protases. Yet there are sections, sometimes rather long ones, in a number of incomplete tablets with protases ending in TE, and there are also smaller fragments that contain uniquely such protases, but it is not known whether the tablet, when complete, included

¹ Erica Reiner in collaboration with David Pingree, *Babylonian Planetary Omens: Part Two. Enūma Anu Enlil, Tablets 50–51* (BiMes 2/2; Malibu, Calif.: Undena Publications, 1981) 23.

² A number of papers from this conference have now appeared in *Under One Sky. Astronomy and Mathematics in the Ancient Near East* (ed. John M. Steele and Annette Imhausen; AOAT 297; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2002).

other types of protases too. Note that in several of the texts the sections with TE omens are followed by *adir*, ‘dim,’ omens, a phenomenon commented upon on the reverse of K 2329, which is designated as commentary on Tablet 70.

In some exemplars the subject of the verb TE is a planet, and Mars is especially frequent: there is nothing unusual about planets coming close (TE = *tehû*) to stars or other planets. I would not consider it impossible that the original version of Tablet 69 dealt with Mars omens, especially Mars’s “coming close” to other celestial bodies and that the phenomenon “coming close,” whatever its original meaning may have been, would have been predicated of other celestial bodies too. What that meaning was can only be guessed at; it is David Pingree’s conviction that the predicate TE that literally means ‘comes close’ originally indicated the star or constellation’s position in relation to some feature of celestial geography.

The Babylonian scholars who left us the astral omens found in the library of Assurbanipal and in various first-millennium Babylonian sites were themselves perplexed by the predication of movement to fixed stars. Seeking to explain a phenomenon that they in the first millennium BC took to mean ‘to come close’ but that they knew to be impossible, they devised a scheme by which they substituted a planet—most often Mars—for the star or constellation that was the subject of the verb *tehû* (TE). These substitutions are appended as comments, with their typical identifying mark consisting of the final particle *-ma*, to the astronomically impossible omen.

It may also be the case that the various lists which equate fixed stars and constellations with planets depending on the planet’s visibility according to the calendar months or cardinal points could have been drawn up to explicate omens affecting motions of fixed stars. An example of such a list is BM 45697 (*LBAT* 1564) in which various stars are said to equal Venus in one of the twelve months and in one of the directions (east or west) where the planet is becoming visible, perhaps in a more precise way at the point of its heliacal rising.³

To illustrate what a “TE-tablet” may have looked like I offer here a transliteration and translation of the obverse of the unpublished text BM 47799, to which BM 34058 (*LBAT* 1565) and K 8000 (*ACh Ištar* 24) are partial duplicates. Entries with the predicate TE (*tehû*) from the commented text K 2329 (*ACh Ištar* 30) and from other fragmentary texts are cited in the list of protases that follow the (partial) edition of BM 47799. Unpublished texts are cited courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, London.

An indication that the sequence of omens and thereby the tablet number assignments of the EAE commentary K 2329 follow at least one of the

³ See Weidner, *Handbuch* 118 f.

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manuscript traditions of EAE is the fact that the reverse of BM 47799—at least as far as it is preserved—ends with a list of stars that are ‘dim’ (*adir*), a term that is explicated on the reverse of K 2329, which is identified as a commentary to Tablet 70 of EAE.

BM 47799

a BM 47799

b BM 34058 (LBAT 1565) obv. 1–17

c K 8000 (ACh Ištar 24) rev. 10–23⁴

a 1'.	¶ M[UL	
a 2'.	¶ MUL [
a 3'.	¶ MUL TA [?] X [
a 4'.	¶ MUL NIM.MA [] ^d [
a 5'.	¶ MUL SAG GÍ[R.TAB]	NU [?] X [
a 6'.	¶ MUL KUN GÍR.TAB	^d EN ^d A [?]]
a 7'.	¶ MUL AMA.RU.UM.AN.NA	^d Nin-x
<hr/>		
a 8'.	¶ MUL MAN- <i>ma ana</i> MUL.AŠ.GÁN TE	A.AB.BA <i>ib-b[al</i>
c 10'.	¶ MUL MAN- <i>ma ana</i> MUL.AŠ.GÁN TE	A.AB.BA UD- <i>ma</i> [⁵
a 9'.	¶ MUL MAN- <i>ma ana</i> MUL Šul-pa-è TE	<i>ina</i> MU BI LUGAL URI.KI [
a 10'.	¶ MUL MAN- <i>ma ana</i> MUL.EN.TE.NA.BAR.ĤUM TE KUR NÍG.GIG [
c 19'.	¶ MUL MAN- <i>ma ana</i> MUL.EN.TE.NA.BAR.ĤUM TE KUR NÍG.GIG-šá [
a 11'.	¶ MUL MAN- <i>ma ana</i> MUL.MAŠ.TAB.BA TE LUGAL BE- <i>ma</i> [
c 11'.	¶ MUL MAN- <i>ma ana</i> MUL.MAŠ.TAB.BA.GAL.GAL TE- <i>hi</i> LUGAL BE-[
a 12'.	¶ MUL MAN- <i>ma ana</i> MUL Dil-bat TE <i>ina</i> MU BI <i>ana</i> ITI.[6.KAM	
c 20'.	¶ MUL MAN- <i>ma ana</i> MUL Dil-bat TE <i>ina</i> MU BI <i>ana</i> 6 ITI LUGAL ŠÚ BE- <i>ma</i> [SAL.KÚR GÁL-šī]	
a 13'.	¶ MUL MAN- <i>ma ana</i> MUL.KU ₆ TE <i>me-šir-ti</i> K[U ₆ .ĤI.A <i>ina</i> KUR ĤA.A	
c 12'.	¶ MUL MAN- <i>ma ana</i> MUL.KU ₆ TE <i>me-šir-tum</i> KU ₆ .ĤI.A <i>ina</i> KUR ĤA.A GIG [
a 14'.	¶ MUL MAN- <i>ma ana</i> MUL UDU.BAD TE : <i>ana</i> MUL Ši-nu-nu-tum TE N[AM	
c 21'.	¶ MUL MAN- <i>ma ana</i> MUL UDU.BAD TE NÍG.GÁL KUR : []	
a 15'.	¶ MUL MAN- <i>ma ana</i> MUL Nin-TU TE	<i>ta-lit-ti</i> [
c 22'.	[¶ MUL MAN- <i>ma</i>] <i>ana</i> MUL Nin- <i>maḥ</i> TE	Ú.TU NAM.LÚ.U[_x .LU
a 16'.	¶ MUL MAN- <i>ma ana</i> MUL ŠU.GI TE	<i>a-a-um-ma</i> [
c 13'.	¶ MUL MAN- <i>ma ana</i> MUL.MAŠ.GÚ.GÀR TE	<i>a-a-um-ma</i> ZI- <i>ma</i> LUGAL GAZ [
a 17'.	¶ MUL MAN- <i>ma ana</i> MUL.MUL TE	ĤA.A KUR [
c 14'.	¶ MUL MAN- <i>ma ana</i> MUL.MUL TE	ĤA.A KUR BIR [UN.MEŠ]

⁴ Only ¶ MUL is preserved on the obverse. Note that the sequence of omens in c diverges from that of a: omens c 18', 19', 20' and 21' occur before and interspersed with omens c 11' and 12'. Note that line 17' of ACh is my line 16'b. Therefore the numbers of all following lines have to be reduced by one line.

⁵ Line 9', the line that precedes the ruling, has ¶ MUL.UG₅.GA *ana* [MUL.KAL].NE TE [SU.KÚ GÁL-šī], restorations from 81-7-27, 137:25 (ACh 2nd Supp. 81).

a 18'.	¶ MUL MAN- <i>ma ana</i> ^d <i>En-me-šár-ra</i> TE	ŠÀ KUR DÙG-[⁶
c 15'.	¶ MUL MAN- <i>ma ana</i> ^d <i>En-me-šár-ra</i> TE	ŠÀ KUR DÙG- <i>ab</i> [
c 16'a.	¶ MUL MAN- <i>ma ana</i> MUL.AL.LUL TE	NUN BE : ⁷
c 16'b.	¶ MUL MAN- <i>ma ana</i> MUL [... TE	
c 18'.	¶ MUL MAN- <i>ma ana</i> MUL.SAG.ME.GAR TE	<i>ina</i> MU BI LUGAL BE- <i>ma</i> [
c 20'.	¶ MUL MAN- <i>ma ana</i> MUL <i>Dil-bat</i> TE	<i>ina</i> MU BI <i>ana</i> 6 ITI LUGAL ŠÚ BE- <i>ma</i> x [
b 12'.	¶ MUL MAN- <i>ma ana</i> MUL <i>Dil-bat</i> TE : ...	
c 23'.	[¶ MUL MAN- <i>ma ana</i> MUL] ^d <i>A-nim</i> TE	ḪA.A KUR [⁸
a 19'.	¶ MUL ^r <i>E</i> - <i>tu-ra-am-mi</i> SUKKAL ^d <i>A-nu-ni-tum</i> <i>ana</i> MUL ŠU.PA TE	<i>ina</i> MU [
b 1'.	¶ 'MUL' [...]	
a 20'.	¶ MUL BAL.TÉŠ.A SUKKAL ^d <i>Tišpak</i> <i>ana</i> MUL.GÍR.TAB TE	MU.3.KAM [
b 2'.	¶ MUL 'BAL'.TÉŠ.A SUKKAL ^d [<i>Tišpak</i>] 'ana MUL'.[GÍR.TAB TE	
b 3'.	GÁL- <i>ma ḫa-aḫ-ḫu u su-a-lu</i> [<i>m</i>	
a 21'.	¶ MUL ^d KAL SUKKAL ^d <i>Ba-ú</i> <i>ana</i> MUL.Á.MUŠEN TE	LUGAL BE [
b 4'.	¶ MUL ^d KAL SUKKAL ^d <i>Ba-ú</i> <i>ana</i> MUL.Á.MUŠEN TE	[
b 5'.	<i>ina</i> KUR GÁL SI.SÁ <i>me-ri-ši</i> : ŠÁ [
a 22'.	¶ MUL HÉ.GÁL- <i>a-a</i> SUKKAL ^d <i>Nin-lil</i> <i>ana</i> MUL.ÚZ TE	LUGAL GAL [
b 6'.	¶ MUL HÉ.GÁL- <i>a-a</i> SUKKAL ^r <i>d</i> ^d <i>Nin-lil</i> <i>ana</i> MUL.ÚZ TE	LUGAL [
b 7'.	<i>ina</i> KUR GÁL- <i>ši a-la-la</i> DÙG.GA <i>ina</i> KUR GÁL ^d <i>Šakkan u</i> ^d <i>Nisaba</i>	[<i>ina</i> KUR GÁL]
a 23'.	¶ MUL <i>Lu-lim</i> SUKKAL MUL.MUL <i>ana</i> MUL SIPA.ZI.AN.NA TE	<i>id-ra</i> -[<i>na-a-tum</i>
b 4'.	¶ MUL <i>Lu-lim</i> SUKKAL MUL.MUL <i>ana</i> MUL SIPA.ZI.[AN.NA TE]	
b 9'.	[<i>id-ra</i>]- <i>na-a-tum</i> <i>ina</i> KUR GÁL.ME- <i>ma</i> ^d IMIN.[BI	
a 24'.	¶ MUL Ú.SÈ+IR.GA MUŠEN KI.MIN MUL.LUGAL SUKKAL MUL.SA ₅ <i>ana</i>	MUL.NUN.KI TE <i>me-ri</i> -[
b 10'.	[¶ MUL Ú.SÈ+IR.GA MU]ŠEN KI.MIN MUL.LUGAL SUKKAL MUL.[SA ₅ <i>ana</i>	MUL.NUN.KI TE]
b 11'.	[<i>me-ri</i>]-š <i>e-e-tum</i> <i>ina</i> KUR DÙ.A.[BI	
<hr/>		
b 12'.	[<i>ana</i> M]UL.BAN TE BURU ₁₄ KUR SI.SÁ <i>me</i> -[
b 13'.	[]MEŠ-šú 3 ⁹ MU ŠÈG.ME <i>u</i> A.KAL.ME GÁL.ME- <i>ma</i> ŠE.GI[Š.Ī
<hr/>		
a 25'.	BE- <i>ma</i> MUL GAL <i>ana</i> MUL.MUL TE	^d [
b 14'.	[] <i>ana</i> MUL.MUL TE ^d IMIN.BI [
a 26'.	BE- <i>ma</i> MUL GAL <i>ina</i> ŠÁ ^d <i>Šin</i> DU	<i>la</i> [
b 15'.	[] ŠÁ ^d <i>Šin</i> DU <i>la le</i> -[
a 27'.	BE- <i>ma</i> MUL.GU.LA <i>im-ta-qut</i>	NU[N
b 16'.	[] <i>im-qú-ut</i> [
<hr/>		

⁶ Ruling in a. For the omen cf. Hermann Hunger, *Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings* (SAA 8; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1992) 503.

⁷ Omen cited in Hunger, SAA 8 452.

⁸ c breaks.

⁹ Ruling in a and b.

¹⁰ Ruling in b.

¹¹ Ruling in a and b. The remaining lines of the tablets do not deal with TE omens. To the reverse of *LBAT* 1565, K 10679 and Sm 851 are partial duplicates.

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a 28'. [BE-ma] MUL <i>it-tan-mar</i>	𐎶𐎵𐎶.GUG <i>bu-lim</i> LUGAL [
b 17'. [-m]ar	Ú.GUG <i>bu-lim</i> LUGAL [
<hr/>	
a 29'. [BE-ma ...] x KI ^d <i>Sin</i> DU.MEŠ	𐎶𐎵 ¹³ .[HI.A?
b 18'. [] DU.MEŠ	Ê.HI.A [
a 30'. [] Á ^d UTU <i>saḥ-ru</i> x [
b 19'. [] : Á ^d UTU <i>saḥ-ru</i> x [
b 20'. []-ma SILA (erasure?) DU.MEŠ	
b 21'. [<i>i-b</i>]ar-ru-šu <i>aḥ-rat</i> [BALA MAR.TU] ¹⁴	
b 22'. [] SAR PAP GAR [
b traces of two more lines to end of obverse.	

Translation

- a 1'–7' (fragmentary, possibly equating various stars with deities)
- 8'. If the Strange star comes close to the Field: the sea will dry up [...]
- 9'. If the Strange star comes close to Šulpae (= Jupiter): in that year the king of Akkad [...]
- 10'. If the Strange star comes close to Centaurus: the land [will see] hardship.
- 11'. If the Strange star comes close to the (Great) Twins: the king will die and [...]
- 12'. If the Strange star comes close to Venus: in that year within[?] six months a universal king will die and [there will be enmity.]
- 13'. If the Strange star comes close to the Fish: the bounty of fish will disappear from the land, disease[?] [...]
- 14'. If the Strange star comes close to a planet (Mercury?), variant: the Swallow: the possessions of the land [...]
- 15'. If the Strange star comes close to the star Nin-TU (variant: Ninmah): the offspring of people [...]
- 16'. If the Strange star comes close to the Old Man (variant in c: the star of the Tigris): someone will arise and kill the king [...]
- 17'. If the Strange star comes close to the Pleiades: destruction of the land, dispersal of the people.
- 18'. If the Strange star comes close to Enmešarra: the country's mood will be happy.
- c 16'. If the Strange star comes close to the Crab: the ruler will die.
- c 17'. If the Strange star comes close to Jupiter: in that year the king will die and [...]
- c 22'. If the Strange star comes close to the star of Anu: destruction of the land [...]
- 19'. If Eturammi, the messenger of Annunītu, comes close to Boötes: in [that?] year [...]
- 20'. If the Star of Dignity, the messenger of Tišpak, comes close to the Scorpion: for three years there will be [...] and cough and phlegm [...]
- 21'. If the ... star, the messenger of Bau, comes close to the Eagle: the king will die, [...] will be in the land, the arable land will prosper, variant: [...]
- 22'. If the Abundant One, the messenger of Ninlil, comes close to the She-Goat (Lyra): a great king [...], there will be [...] in the land, there will be sweet work-song in the land, there will be (plentiful) cattle and grain in the land.
- 23'. If the Stag, the messenger of the Pleiades, comes close to Orion: there will be salinity in the land, and the Seven gods [...]

¹² Ruling in a and b.

¹³ Or 𐎶𐎵.

¹⁴ Restored from Sm 1267:6 (*BPO* 2 Text VI).

- 24'. If the Raven, variant: Regulus, the messenger of the Red star comes close to the Star of Eridu, the arable fields in the entire land [...]
b 12'. [If ...] comes close to the Bow: the crop of the land will prosper, ... for three years there will be rains and floods, the linseed [...]
25'. If the Great star comes close to the Pleiades: the Seven gods [...]
26'. If the Great star stands in the middle of the Moon: [...]
27'. If a Great star falls: the prince [...]
28'. If a star[?] becomes visible: famine of the cattle, the king [...]
(Remainder fragmentary and no longer lists TE omens)

Protases Containing TE

The following list of protases is arranged alphabetically according to the name (usually the Sumerogram) of the celestial object (excluding planets) which is the subject of the phenomenon expressed by the verb *tehu*, 'to come close,' mostly written with the Sumerogram TE. Identifications of the celestial objects are according to Hunger-Pingree MUL.APIN.¹⁵ If an explanation of the phenomenon is added in the text, it is also included here.

- ¶ MUL.Á.MUŠEN *ana* MUL.NU.KUŠ.Ù TE ^dGUD.UD *ana* ^dDil-bat [...]
"if the Eagle comes close to the Tireless one"
K 2329:4, with explanation: "Mercury [...] to Venus"
- ¶ MUL.Á.MUŠEN *ana* MUL.MUL TE MUL a-*hu-ú* ^dŠal-bat-a-nu
"if the Eagle comes close to the Pleiades," with explanation: "the Hostile star is Mars"
R. Borger, "Keilschrifttexte verschiedenen Inhalts," in *Studies Böhl* 41:9' (LB 1321); K 5713+7129+:15'; K 2330:16 (EAE 57)
- ¶ MUL.AL.LUL *ana* MUL.APIN TE
"if the Crab comes close to the Plow"
Hunger, SAA 8 452; K 6645 ii 6'; K 2209:8' ff.
- ¶ MUL.AL.LUL *ana* MUL MAN-*ma* TE
"if the Crab comes close to the Strange star" (i.e., Mars)
81-7-27 137:2
- ¶ MUL.APIN u za-*ru-ú* *ana* MUL.GÍR.TAB TE.MEŠ
"if the Plow and the Seed funnel come close to the Scorpion"
Rm 308 r. 10; K 12815:5'
- ¶ MUL.APIN *ana* MUL.GÍR.TAB TE
"if the Plow comes close to the Scorpion"
Hunger, SAA 8 219 and 502

¹⁵ Hermann Hunger and David Pingree, *MUL.APIN. An Astronomical Compendium in Cuneiform* (AfO Beih. 24; Horn, Austria: Verlag Ferdinand Berger & Söhne, 1989).

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- ¶ MUL.AŠ.GÁN *ana* MUL.APIN TE
“if the Field comes close to the Plow”
K 1522 r. 1; K 6415:19; also, with explanations: ^d*Šalbatānu ana* MUL.AB.SÍN *ulu ana* MUL.AŠ.GÁN TE-*ma*, “Mars comes close to the Furrow or to the Field,” Rm 487:2’–4’ and dupls., and ^d*Šal-bat-a-nu ina* ŠĀ KUN [...] *lu-u ina* ŠĀ KUN.MEŠ [...], “Mars [...] inside the tail of [...] or inside the Tails (i.e., Pisces)” K 2329:11 f.
- ¶ MUL.BAL.TÉŠ.A ... *ana* MUL.GÍR.TAB TE
“if the Star of Dignity (Corona Borealis) comes close to the Scorpion”
K 2170 r. 31; K 6415 r. 8’
- ¶ MUL.BAN *ana* MUL.Á.MUŠEN KUR-*ud*
“if the Bow reaches the Eagle”
K 5713+:18, with explanation: MUL *Šalbatānu ana* MUL.AB.SÍN TE-*ma*, “Mars comes close to the Furrow”
- ¶ MUL.BIR *ana* MUL.UDU.BAD TE(-*hi*)
“if the Kidney (Puppis) comes close to a planet”
K 2990:29 and dupl. K 9489:8’ (EAE 55:25), wr. *iṭ-ṭe-hi*, with explanation: “Mercury in Aquarius comes close to Saturn” K 2064:6
- ¶ MUL.BIR *ana* MUL.MUL TE(-*hi*)
“if the Kidney comes close to the Pleiades”
K 2990:30 and dupl. K 9489:9’ (EAE 55:26)
- [¶ MUL BIR/Á.MUŠEN *ana*] MUL.MUL TE
“[if the Kidney (or: the Eagle)] comes close to the Pleiades”
K 13930 r. 7; Borger, *Studies Böhl* 41:9’
- ¶ MUL.BIR *ana* MUL.UDU.BAD *iṭ-ṭe-hi*
“if the Kidney comes close to a planet”
K 2064:6
- ¶ MUL *E-tu-ra-am-mi* SUKKAL ^d*A-nu-ni-tum ana* MUL.ŠU.PA TE
“if the Cattle Pen, the messenger of the goddess Annunītum, comes close to Boötes”
BM 47799:19 and
- ¶ MUL *E-tu-ra-me* SUKKAL MUL *A-nu-ni-tum ana* MUL.ŠU.PA TE
K 3780 (+) K 6227:8’
- ¶ MUL ^d*É-a ana* MUL.AŠ.GÁN TE
“if the star of Ea comes close to the Field”
Rm 308:26
- ¶ MUL ^d*É-a ana* MUL ^d*Pap-sukkal* TE
“if the star of Ea comes close to Papsukkal”
Rm 308:27

- ¶ MUL.EN.TE.NA.BAR.ĤUM *ana* 15 MUL *Ni-ri* TE
 “if Centaurus comes close to the right side of the Yoke”
LKU 104:9' and dupl. K 8648:7' (EAE 55:39)
- [¶] MUL.GÍR.TAB *ana* IGI *Sin* TE-*ma* DU-iz
 “if the Scorpion comes close to the front of the Moon and stops”
 Hunger, SAA 8 430
- ¶ MUL.ĤÉ.GÁL-*a-a* SUKKAL ^d*Ninlil* *ana* MUL.ÚZ TE
 “if the Abundant One, the messenger of Ninlil, comes close to the She-Goat”
 K 3780 ii 7'; K 2170 r.
- ¶ MUL.^dKAL SUKKAL ^d*Ba-ú* *ana* MUL.Á.MUŠEN TE [...]
 “if the star, the messenger of Bau, comes close to the Eagle”
 K 5894:7' (?)
- ¶ MUL.KU₆ *ana* MUL.AŠ.GÁN TE
 “if the Fish (Piscis Austrinus) comes close to the Field”
 K 7006 ii 2; Rm 308:7; K 6415 r.; K 6478 r. 6; K 7945:12'
- ¶ MUL.KU₆ *ana* MUL *Zibanītu* TE
 “if the Fish comes close to the Scales”
 Rm 308:8; Sm 1154:4; K 7945:14'
- ¶ MUL.KU₆ *ana* MUL.SIPA.ZI.AN.NA TE
 “if the Fish comes close to Orion”
 Sm 1154:5
- ¶ MUL.KU₆ *ana* MUL.BAN TE
 “if the Fish comes close to the Bow”
 K 2329:1; K 7621:15; K 2071 ii 6; Hunger, SAA 8 325
- ¶ MUL.KU₆ *ana* KU₆ *tap-pi-šú* TE
 “if the Fish comes close to its fellow Fish”
 K 6415:18, K 2310:12' and dups.
- ¶ MUL.LUGAL *ana* MUL.UR.BAR.RA TE
 “if the King (Regulus) comes close to the Wolf”
 81-2-4,429:5; K 1522+:11'; *LBAT* 1543:10'
- ¶ MUL.LUGAL *ana* MUL [...],
 with commentary: ^d*Šal-bat-a-nu* [...]
 K 2209:1 f.
- [¶] MUL.MAR].GÍD.DA *ana* MUL ^dAMAR.UD TE
 “if the Wagon comes close to the Star of Marduk”
 81-2-4,429:7
- ¶ MUL.MAR.GÍD.DA *ana* MUL.'MUL' TE
 “if the Wagon comes close to the Pleiades”
 K 3780 ii 2'

If Mars Comes Close to Pegasus ...

[¶] MUL.MU.BU.KÉŠ.D]A[?] *ana* MUL.ŠU.GI TE ^d*Dil-bat* KI ^d*En-me-šár-ra*
KUR-*ma*

“if the Hitched Yoke comes close to the Old Man,” with explanation:

“Venus rises with Enmešarra”

K 2329:16

[¶] MUL.MU.BU.KÉŠ].DA *ana* MUL.APIN TE ^d*Dil-bat* *ana* ^dGUD.UD TE-*ma*

“if the Hitched Yoke comes close to the Plow,” with explanation: “Venus comes close to Mercury”

K 2329:17

[¶] MUL.MUL *ana* Sin TE

“if the Pleiades come close to the Moon”

K 12606:2

¶ MUL.MUL *ana* MUL.AŠ.GÁN TE

“if the Pleiades come close to the Field”

Sm 197:8; K 6415:22; K 5713+:10' and dupl. K 2177+:13; with

explanation: *Šalbatānu ana* MUL.AB.SÍN TE-*ma*, “Mars comes close to the Furrow”

K 3558:8

¶ MUL ^dMUŠ *ana* MUL.AL.LUL TE ^d*Šal-bat-a-nu ana* MUL [...]

“if the Snake (Hydra) comes close to the Crab,” with explanation: “Mars [...] to [...]”

K 2329:28

¶ MUL NIN.MAḤ *ana* MUL.KAK.SI.SÁ TE ^d*Dil-bat* *ana* ^dGUD.UD IGI.B[I[?]
...] *ma-la* TE-ú IGI.B[I ...]

“if the star of Ninmaḥ comes close to the Arrow,” with explanation: “Venus [...] her face[?] toward Mercury, as much as she came close, ...”

K 2329:26

[¶] MUL.SIPA.ZI.AN.NA *ana* MUL.MUL TE

“if Orion comes close to the Pleiades”

K 3072:3; K 3780 ii 25

[¶] MUL.ŠU.PA *ana* MUL.GUD.AN.NA TE ^d*Šal-bat-a-nu ina* ŠÀ MU[L ...]

“if Boötes comes close to the Bull of Heaven (Taurus),” with explanation:

“Mars [...] inside [...]”

K 2329:2

¶ MUL.ŠU.PA *ana* MUL.MUL TE ... ^dSAG.ME.GAR *ina* MUL.MULD[U-*ma*]
“if Boötes comes close to the Pleiades,” with explanation: ‘Jupiter stands in the Pleiades’

K 6519:7 (EAE 55 Comm.)

[¶] MUL.UD.K]A.DU₈.A *ana* MUL.KU₆ TE

“if the Panther (Cygnus) comes close to the Fish”

K 7977:5'

- ¶ MUL.Ù.SÈ+IR.GA.MUŠEN KI.MIN MUL LUGAL SUKKAL MUL SA₅
ana MUL.NUN.KI TE
 “if the Raven (Corvus), variant: the King, the messenger of the Red Star
 comes close to the Star of Eridu”
 K 3780 ii 9’
- [¶ MUL.Ù.SÈ+IR.GA.MUŠEN *ana*] ^dŠul-pa-è-a TE
 “if the Raven comes close to Jupiter”
 K 2330:3 (EAE 57)
- [¶ MU]L.Ù.SÈ+IR.GA.MUŠEN *ana* MUL.NUN.KI TE
 “if the Raven comes close to the Star of Eridu”
 K 2330:14 (EAE 57), cf. Rm 415; K 3780 ii 9’, ii 19’, wr. UL.UG₅.GA
 Borger, *Studies Böhl* 41:26’
- [¶ M]UL.UG₅.GA *ana* UL.KAL.NE TE
 “if the Raven comes close to Vega?”
 81-7-27,137:25, K 8000:10, K 1522 r. 6(?)
- ¶ MUL.UG₅.GA *ana* ^dŠul-pa-è TE
 “if the Raven comes close to Jupiter”
 K 7129:21
- ¶ UL.UG₅.GA SUKKAL UL.KAL *ana* UL.NUN.KI TE
 “if the Raven, the messenger of ... comes close to the Star of Eridu”
 Borger, *Studies Böhl* 41:26’
- ¶ MUL.UR.BAR.RA *ana* MUL.UD.KA.DU₈.A TE ^dŠal-bat-a-nu *ina* ŠÀ MUL
 [...]”
 “if the Wolf comes close to the Panther”
 K 2329:7, with explanation: “Mars [...] inside [...]”
- ¶ MUL.UR.BAR.RA *ana* MUL.UR.G[U.LA TE?]”
 “if the Wolf comes close to the Lion”
 K 1522:10’
- ¶ MUL.ÙZ *ana* MUL.UR.BAR.RA T[E ...]
 “if the She-Goat (Lyra) comes close to the Wolf”
 Sm 1504:5b
- ¶ MUL.ÙZ *ana* MUL.AL.LUL TE-*hi* ... MUL.ÙZ ^dDil-bat
 “if the She-Goat comes close to the Crab,”
 with explanation: “the She-Goat is Venus”
 Hunger, SAA 8 175;
 with explanation: “Venus comes close to the Crab”
 Hunger, SAA 8 247
- ¶ MUL.ÙZ *ana* MUL.AŠ.GÁN TE [...]”
 “if the She-Goat comes close to the Field”
 K 2990:18

If Mars Comes Close to Pegasus ...

¶ MUL Zi-ba-ni-tum ana AGA ^dA-nim (variant writing: AGA.AN.NA) TE
 “if the Balance comes close to the Crown of Anu”
 K 3914 r. 9' (EAE 55), variant from K 3072:4'

¶ MUL ... ana] MUL.ŠU.PA TE.
 “if [...] comes close to Boötes,” with explanation: ^dŠalbatānu ana MUL
^dMarduk TE-ma, “Mars comes close to the Star of Marduk”
 Rm 487:5'

¶ MUL.UR.MAḪ[?] ana] MUL.UD.KA.DU₈.A TE
 “if the Lion[?] comes close to the Panther,” with explanation ^dŠalbatānu
 ana MUL.UD.KA.[DU₈.A TE-ma], “Mars comes close to the Panther”
 K 7977:8'f., cf. K 14366:5'

¶ MUL.UD.K]A.DU₈.A ana MUL.KU₆ TE
 “if the Panther comes close to the Fish”
 with explanation ^dŠalbatānu ana MUL.A[B.SÍN TE-ma], “Mars comes
 close to the Furrow” K 7977:5'–7' ^dŠal-bat-a-nu ana ^dGUD.UD TE-ma,
 “Mars comes close to Mercury” K 2329:15

¶ [...] ana] MUL.APIN TE
 K 7169:3'

Note the stylistic(?) variant, with inversion, as in the following omens, all
 referring to planets:

Dilbat ... UL (...)TE-šú, “Venus, star x comes close to (TE) her” passim

¶] MUL.UDU.BAD MUL.BIR TE-šú
 “a planet (Mercury?), the Kidney star comes close to (TE) it”
 K 2246+ 64

¶ MUL.UDU.BAD SA₅ ana Á-šú MUL MI it-ṭe-ḫi
 “the Red planet, the Black star comes close to its side”
 K 2246+:49
 and, probably said of the planet Mars:

¶ MUL.EN.TE.NA.BAR.ḪUM MUL MAN-ma KUR : it-ḫi-šú (variant: TE-šú)
 “Centaurus: Mars[?] reaches, variant: comes close to (TE) it”
 EAE 55:43, and

¶ MUL.AL.LUL MUL MAN-ma TE-šú
 “the Crab: Mars[?] comes close to it”
 Rm 308 r. 29

NOMADS, BARBARIANS, AND SOCIETAL COLLAPSE IN THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT SOUTHWEST ASIA*

John F. Robertson

As relatively recent generations of radio audiences, movie-goers, and science-fiction readers can attest, few themes grip the human imagination with more fear and fascination than invasion by aliens: strange, sometimes inhuman beings from distant, mysterious places.¹ It should hardly be surprising then that, of the events that have been identified throughout history as having triggered the collapse of civilized societies and the fall of great states, few have been found more compelling than barbarian invaders and migrating hordes. Those identified as barbarians are reviled as the epitome of “Otherness”: hordes or “waves” whose inexorable progress and mindless depredations bring down long-established states and even seem poised to quash the existence of civilization itself. Almost invariably, they are cast as virtually devoid of humanity and of the values and qualities that govern the existence of “civilized” human beings. Over the course of European history barbarian invaders loom large and menacing—among them, the Goths, the Vandals, the Huns (the “Scourge of God”), and the Norsemen.

One can compile for southwest Asia—or the Near East—as well an impressive list of barbarian invaders whose arrivals portended the demise

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¹ In a recent article discussing the 19th- and 20th-century perceptions of the “Sea Peoples” invasions of the late 13th–early 12th century BCE, Neil Asher Silberman (citing Cecil D. Eby, *The Road to Armageddon: The Martial Spirit in English Popular Literature, 1870–1914* [Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1987] and I. F. Clarke, *Voices Prophesying War: Future Wars, 1763–3749* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992]) notes how the European reading public of late Victorian and Edwardian times was “transfixed by a certain genre of popular fiction” in which “vivid, detailed invasion fantasies gave voice to the shared fears of imperial competition, a wildly escalating arms race, and massive migrations gone completely out of control.” In England alone, people devoured novels featuring stories of invasion from Germany, France, Russia, China, Japan, America, even the planet Mars. See N. A. Silberman, “The Sea Peoples, the Victorians, and us: modern social ideology and changing archaeological interpretations of the Late Bronze Age collapse,” in *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition, Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries BCE* (ed. S. Gitin, A. Mazar, and E. Stern; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1998) 271. That the public imagination can be transfixed by the fear of alien invasion was abundantly clear on 30 October 1938, when Orson Welles’ Mercury Theater on the Air performed a radio broadcast of an adaptation of H. G. Wells’ *War of the Worlds*. The broadcast caused mass panic among susceptible listeners who were convinced that the Earth was being invaded by aliens from the planet Mars.

of long-established states, even great empires. Among the more salient examples are Hulegu Khan's Mongol horde that devastated Baghdad in 1258 and extinguished the once-great Abbasid caliphate, and the Turko-Mongol armies of Timur-leng that brutalized Levantine cities and temporarily halted the rise of the Ottomans by defeating the armies of Sultan Bayezid at Ankara in 1402. The 7th-century invasions of the Muslim warriors from the relative backwater of the Arabian Peninsula, and their ensuing conquest of Byzantine Syria and Egypt and the Sassanid Persian state, were undoubtedly construed as the work of uncouth barbarians by the imperial authorities in Constantinople and Ctesiphon.

In these instances, though, one might ponder the mutability of the qualities that warranted characterizing these groups as "barbarians." Although they entered the Near Eastern historical stage as warrior Bedouin, the Arabs rapidly adapted the administrative apparatus of the empires they had conquered and, as the great caliphs of the Umayyad and Abbasid lines, ruled great empires whose powers and "civilized" sophistication were envied and feared by contemporary Europeans. Likewise, Hulegu's Mongols eventually settled down, converted to Islam, and ruled the flourishing Il-khanid state; for that matter, the Mongol khanates in general established a *pax Mongolica* during which caravans plied the Great Silk Road with reasonable safety, merchant vessels sailed the Indian Ocean, and the Near East and Europe were supplied with the goods of the exotic East. As Bennet Bronson has noted: "Definitions [of barbarians] are bound to be disputed: some might feel, for instance, that the later state-building achievements of the Arabs and Mongols qualify them as proto-states rather than barbarians even in the 640s and 1200s, in spite of their lack of bureaucracy, laws, taxes, currency, monopoly on the legitimate use of force, or most other statelike attributes."² To the 5th-century BCE Greeks, who as we know coined the term, a barbarian was someone who spoke "barbar"—i.e., who did not speak Greek. In one modern English dictionary, "barbarian" is defined as "of or relating to a land, culture, or people alien and usually believed to be inferior to one's own." The same dictionary defines "barbaric" as describing a person who possesses "a cultural level more complex than primitive savagery but less sophisticated than advanced civilization," as well as "a bizarre, primitive, or unsophisticated quality." On the other hand, a recent examination of the role of barbarians in the collapse of states argues for a comparatively limited definition of a "barbarian" as "simply a member of a political unit that is in direct contact with a state but that is not itself a state." Evidently, then, "barbarian-ness" lies in the eye of the beholder.

² Bennet Bronson, "The Role of Barbarians in the Fall of States," in *The Collapse of Ancient States and Civilizations* (ed. N. Yoffee and G. L. Cowgill; Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988) 208.

Arguably just as traumatic as the Arab and Mongol invasions in the history of the Near East were other “barbarian” invasions/migrations that occurred during antiquity, which will be defined here as the era ending with the Arab conquests of the 7th century CE. An exhaustive listing of all of those episodes will not be attempted here, although one might cite the Hyksos “invasion” and usurpation in Egypt in the 17th century BCE and the arrival of the Scythians in Mesopotamia in the 7th century BCE as two that the ancient sources lament more famously. In general, we can say that these invasions/migrations often contributed to and at least indirectly caused the collapse of powerful, well-established structures of political domination and administration. Unfortunately, one of the endemic occupational hazards of studying the ancient Near East is that our knowledge of the specific events of these invasions, and of the identity and origins of the invaders themselves, is often compromised by the cryptic and fragmentary nature of the sources upon which we must rely. A specific case in point concerns what is perhaps the earliest definably “barbarian” invasion in historical record: the irruption of an evidently pastoral nomadic (often described as “tribal”) group called the Guti, or Gutians, from the Zagros Mountains into Mesopotamia sometime around 2200 BCE. In traditional historiography, their invasion was regarded as having effectively ended the power of the imperial dynasty of Sargon and Narām-Sîn of Akkad that had dominated much of Iran, Syria, and northern Iraq, as well as the great cities of ancient Sumer, since around 2350 BCE. The Gutians went on to establish in Mesopotamia a rather imperfectly understood dynasty that evidently lasted anywhere from 50 to 150 years. Interestingly, even though the Gutians are described in ancient sources as the barbaric deliverers of divine retribution and, in even relatively recent accounts, as barbarous agents of destruction and political decentralization, the few royal inscriptions that remain to us from what one observer termed their “feeble and sporadic rule” evince, toward the end of that rule, a traditional Mesopotamian style.³ In other words, as seems to have so often happened in the wake of barbarian invasions, the invaders seem to have become acculturated.

Of all the episodes of barbarian invasion that have been claimed to have shaped the history of the ancient Near East, however, two in particular have received heightened attention in the recent decades: (1) the invasions of the Eastern Mediterranean by the so-called “Sea Peoples” at the end of the Late Bronze Age, during the late 13th—early 12th century BCE, and (2) the incursions of the people known as Amorites into Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine during the late 3rd and early 2nd millenniums BCE.

³ C. J. Gadd, “The Dynasty of Agade and the Gutian Invasion,” in *Early History of the Middle East* (vol. 1, part 2 of *The Cambridge Ancient History*; ed. I. E. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd, and N. G. L. Hammond; 3rd ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 417–63.

Two scholarly works dealing with the Late Bronze Age invasions of the Sea Peoples vividly and succinctly assess their impact. Robert Drews refers to these invasions simply as “the Catastrophe,” “one of history’s most frightful turning points,” and “arguably the worst disaster in ancient history, even more calamitous than the collapse of the western Roman Empire.”⁴ According to the Egyptologist Donald Redford, the migrations of the Sea Peoples “changed the face of the ancient world more than any other single event before the time of Alexander the Great.”⁵ Our Egyptian sources for these events inform us that on several occasions clustering at about 1230 and 1180 BCE (the precise dates are the subject of considerable disagreement owing to the continuing uncertainties of Egyptian New Kingdom chronology), the Egyptians were hard pressed to fend off invaders that comprised a number of distinct groups whom they describe, on one occasion, as “northerners, from all lands,” many of which lay beyond the Mediterranean, what the Egyptians called “the Great Green.” Those Egyptian sources tell us that by 1180 BCE Hatti, the Bronze Age Hittite kingdom in Asia Minor, as well as several powerful polities along the Eastern Mediterranean, had been laid waste, presumably by these barbarians. Since the late 19th century, a number of scholars have attempted to identify precisely who these marauders were, whence they came, and where they eventually settled. Their movements have been linked to various early Greek etiological myths and most notably to the allied Greek attack on Troy recounted in Homer’s *Iliad*. That many of the questions raised by the Egyptian accounts remain unsettled is evidenced in R. Drews, *The End of the Bronze Age*, wherein he proposes as an intriguing (and by no means universally accepted) explanation for the invaders’ success their supposed mastery of new military technology.

The other episode of barbarian invasion alluded to above was the Amorite incursions into Mesopotamia and Syria during the late 3rd and early 2nd millennium BCE. Traditionally, the Amorites were identified as one of several “waves” of invading “Semitic” nomads—along with the later Aramaeans and Arabs, and the earlier Akkadians—whose irruptions out of the inhospitable Arabian desert where they were nursed wrought havoc on the long-established state structures of the ancient Near East. The Amorites, specifically, were identified as perhaps the principal cause of the decline and collapse of the “Neo-Sumerian” state ruled by the Third Dynasty of Ur. By approximately 2100 BCE, this dynasty had established its hegemony in Lower Mesopotamia and soon developed a highly centralized imperial administrative apparatus that could successfully establish tributary relations

⁴ Robert Drews, *The End of the Bronze Age: Changes in Warfare and the Catastrophe ca. 1200 B.C.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995) 3, 4.

⁵ Donald B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) 244.

with regions in northern Mesopotamia, northwestern Syria, and western Iran. That pressure from the Amorites upon the administration of the Ur III state played an important role in its fatal weakening has come to be accepted by most scholars in the field. What I will focus on in the discussion to follow is the perception of the Amorites as barbarians and the impact that perception has perhaps had on our reconstruction of the political and social history of ancient Mesopotamia during the late 3rd and early 2nd millennium BCE.

Through the mid-20th century, Assyriologists and other historians of antiquity consistently characterized the Amorites almost exclusively as pastoral, nomadic, and tribal—all traits that would have led the sophisticated scribes of the city-based palace establishments to regard them, essentially, as barbarians. Crucial to any examination of the Amorites' identity and historical role, then, is the broader issue of the perception of the role and impact of pastoral nomads in ancient Near Eastern society.

One of the hallmarks of the study of ancient Near Eastern societies in recent decades has been the evolving realization that any valid reconstruction of the dynamics of those societies must take into account the non-urban, semi-sedentary, or non-sedentary pastoral and nomadic elements within the population.⁶ Unfortunately—although, given the scribes' prejudices, surely expectedly—the vast majority of the recovered textual sources has been consistently uninformative about these people. Among the more notable exceptions have been the early Old Babylonian letters from Tell Asmar⁷ and the archives discovered in the ruins of the palace at Mari.⁸ Comprising both the administrative records of the palace bureaucracy and letters to and from the rulers at Mari, the Mari archives have long been recognized as constituting our single most valuable source for the political history, interstate relations, and social configuration of ancient Mesopotamia and Syria for the early second millennium BCE. In particular, the Mari texts document the activities of non-urban, so-called “tribal” groups, some of them troublesome, with whom the Mari palace administration had to deal. The data gleaned from these texts have spawned a number of important works on pastoral nomads and their role in early Mesopotamian society. Among the more important were two published in the late 1950s by J.-R. Kupper⁹ that incorporated three fundamental assertions that guided many scholars of his generation: (1) no-

⁶ See recently, for example, G. Van Driel, “The Role of Nomadism in a Model of Ancient Mesopotamian Society and Economy,” *JEOL* 35–36 (1997–2000) 85–101.

⁷ Robert M. Whiting, *Old Babylonian Letters from Tell Asmar* (AS 22; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1987).

⁸ See most recently, Jean-Marie Durand, *Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari, tome II* (LAPO 17; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1998).

⁹ J.-R. Kupper, *Les nomades en Mesopotamie au temps des rois de Mari* (Paris: Société d'Édition “Les Belles Lettres,” 1957); “Le rôle des nomades dans l'histoire de la Mesopotamie ancienne,” *JESHO* 2 (1959) 113–27.

madism must precede sedentarization, which meant that the tribal groups encountered in historical texts such as the Mari archives must be in various stages of evolution from an original nomadic state to eventual sedentarization; (2) conflict between nomads and sedentary groups was and is “the normal condition—a historical constant;” and (3) sociopolitical change in the ancient Near East must be understood largely in terms of the impact of nomads upon the areas occupied by sedentary peoples.¹⁰ Kupper’s work, in turn, spawned a series of seminal articles by M.B. Rowton during the late 1960s and 1970s.¹¹ In these works, Rowton proposed the model of what he termed “dimorphic society,” characterized by a nomad/sedentary symbiosis that was marked by mutual hostility and mutual need and that was reflected in ancient Mesopotamian history by episodes of “dimorphic oscillation” with regard to the “relative importance of nomad and sedentary, tribe and town.” At the time, Rowton’s works marked a major advance, in that they played down previously held notions of unrelenting enmity between industrious urban dwellers and barbaric Semitic nomads and instead incorporated the insights from a growing body of ethnographic literature documenting the symbiotic relationship between sedentarists and pastoral nomads in Near Eastern populations. Around the same time, Robert M. Adams likewise criticized the then-prevailing overemphasis on the polar dichotomy and presumed hostility between urban-dwellers and pastoral semi-nomads. Instead, he preferred to focus on what he termed “the continuum of intergrading forms between these two ideal-typical constructs,”¹² with the relatively mobile semi-nomadic elements, practicing as they did a balanced subsistence base that incorporated both herding and limited cultivation, providing a socio-economic resilience that contrasted with the more stable, static subsistence base of the urban sedentarists. As Adams further pointed out, the records produced by these urban dwellers generally tended to ignore the existence of reciprocal economic ties with these semi-nomads, preferring to relegate them to the status of barbarians.¹³

More recent investigators have tended to incorporate this idea of continuum, and although they have given Rowton due credit for furthering our understanding of early Mesopotamian social relations, they have found his dimorphic-society model inadequate to explain the complex data derived

¹⁰ J. T. Luke, “Pastoralism and Politics in the Mari Period” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1965) 19.

¹¹ M. B. Rowton, “Urban Autonomy in a Nomadic Environment,” *JNES* 32 (1973) 201–15; “Enclosed Nomadism,” *JESHO* 17 (1974) 1–30; “Dimorphic Structure and Topology,” *OA* 15 (1976) 17–31; and “Dimorphic Structure and the Parasocial Element,” *JNES* 36 (1977) 181–98.

¹² R. M. Adams, “The Study of Ancient Mesopotamian Settlement Patterns and the Problem of Urban Origins,” *Sumer* 25 (1970) 119.

¹³ R. M. Adams, “Strategies of Maximization, Stability, and Resilience in Mesopotamian Society, Settlement, and Agriculture,” *PAPS* 122 (1978) 334.

from Mesopotamian texts, specifically citing his tendency to “dichotomize socioeconomic relations.” This criticism is echoed in a slightly later work of Adams, in which he characterized Rowton’s pastoralist/cultivator distinction as too polarized and the actual nature of interaction as more in flux. On the basis of the ethnographic evidence, Adams argued:

Predominant emphasis on husbandry or cultivation frequently must have been a shifting, pragmatic decision. Across the frontiers of cultivation there usually must have extended a structural and ethnic continuum, with the acculturation of particular groups proceeding backward and forward between nomadization and sedentarization according to circumstances. If so, the main effect of semisedentary groups upon the predominantly urbanized body politic of the lower Euphrates core lands ... was their embodiment of a practical and at times even preferable alternative for an oppressed rural peasantry and its counterparts in the semiurbanized working force, upon whose continuing, docile productivity the whole edifice of power, privilege, tradition, and ceremony that was lodged in cities ultimately depended.¹⁴

Obviously, then, the perception of the pastoral nomadic component of ancient Near Eastern society has come to reflect an increasingly complex, sophisticated, nuanced image, one that has evolved significantly beyond the image of barbarian swarms or “waves” that was current fifty years ago—and that, as we shall see presently, the cuneiform scribes of ancient Mesopotamia, with their profound bias towards the concerns and affairs of “civilized” urban dwellers and their institutions, certainly tended to foster.

This perception of pastoral nomads as barbarians likewise developed early in European thought and has persisted for thousands of years. Brent Shaw has elucidated the historical development of an “ideology” regarding pastoral nomads that was characterized by a perception of them as the ultimate barbarians, directly antagonistic to civilized sedentary agriculturalists. Shaw traces this development from Homer’s depiction of the Cyclopes in the *Odyssey*, to Herodotus’ description of the Scythians, to Ammianus Marcellinus’ description of the Huns, and on throughout antiquity and into the 18th-century works of Edward Gibbon and Adam Smith. By that time, however, pastoral nomads had come to be replaced on the lowest rung of the barbarian-to-civilized ladder by the recently discovered hunter-gatherers of the New World, the so-called American Indians.¹⁵ Given the millennia-long persistence of so denigrating an ideology, the fact that scholars’ perceptions of pastoral nomads of the ancient Near East have softened only relatively recently is surely understandable.

¹⁴ R. M. Adams, *Heartland of Cities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981) 136.

¹⁵ Brent Shaw, “‘Eaters of Flesh, Drinkers of Milk’: the Ancient Mediterranean Ideology of the Pastoral Nomad,” *Ancient Society* 13–14 (1982–83) 5–31.

With specific regard to the history of ancient southwest Asia, the “barbaric” invaders who undoubtedly have benefited the most in this evolution of perceptions are the people whom we call the Amorites. Individuals or groups identifiable as Amorites begin to appear in cuneiform records from southern Mesopotamia as early as about 3000 BCE. They are identified in cuneiform records by a specific designator, the Sumerian term MAR.TU, which corresponds to the Akkadian term *Amurru*, hence “Amorite.” This term came to mean “west” and refers to speakers of a West Semitic language who came from the west of Sumer and Akkad—at least, as well as the city-dwelling Sumerians and Akkadians could deduce. That the latter tended to view Amorites as more or less alien or “other” is evident on several counts. First, as was just noted, they identified Amorites with a specific, evidently ethnic designation to distinguish them from the rest of the population. Second, references to Amorites in Mesopotamian literature tend to ridicule their manners and customs. This is vividly reflected in the Sumerian myth known as “The Marriage of Martu,” named for the eponymous deity closely identified with the Amorites.¹⁶ In this story, Martu, having defeated a number of fighters in personal combat, refuses the silver and jewels offered him as a reward by the god Numušda (a local god of the Sumerian city Kazallu/Ninab) but instead demands in marriage the hand of Numušda’s daughter, the goddess Adġar-kidug. At the end of the story, Adġar-kidug’s girlfriend tries to deter her from marrying Martu, warning her:

Now listen, their hands are destructive and their features are those of monkeys; he is one who eats what Nanna forbids and does not show reverence. They never stop roaming about ... they are an abomination to the gods’ dwellings. Their ideas are confused; they cause only disturbance. He is clothed in sack-leather ... lives in a tent, is exposed to wind and rain, and cannot properly recite prayers. He lives in the mountains and ignores the places of gods, digs up truffles in the foothills, does not know how to bend the knee, and eats raw flesh. He has no house during his life, and when he dies he will not be carried to a burial place. My girlfriend, why would you marry Martu?¹⁷

¹⁶ Indeed, Klein describes Martu as a “deified chieftain” or sheikh, and notes the warlike demeanor and pastoral domain consistently associated with him in Sumerian literature. See J. Klein, “The God Martu in Sumerian Literature” in *Sumerian Gods and Their Representations* (ed. I. L. Finkel and M. J. Geller; CM 7; Groningen: Styx, 1997) 109.

¹⁷ 17 Translation of “The Marriage of Martu” from J. A. Black et al., *The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature*, (<http://www-etcsl.orient.ox.ac.uk/>) Oxford, 1998–. See also the detailed discussion of this text, with other discussion of the god Martu in Sumerian literature, in Klein, “The God Martu.”

Despite these warnings, Adġar-kidug asserts, “I will marry Martu!”—surely an ancient reflection of the fact that nomads and sedentarists, regardless of their differences, are dependent on each other.¹⁸

That the Amorites were perceived as more than crude bumpkins, indeed, as an actual threat to the city-dwellers of Sumer, is also evident in the cuneiform sources. Thus, in one of his inscriptions the Ur III king Šu-Sîn refers to Amorites as “vandals.”¹⁹ Undoubtedly the most celebrated attestation to the severity of the Amorite threat in Ur III times is Šu-Sîn’s year name that commemorates the construction of a great defensive project that was called “the wall that keeps away the Tidnum,” Tidnum being another, possibly even older name associated with the Amorites. Finally, some works of Sumerian literature reveal a perception of Amorites as a threat. In the Sumerian tale of the heroes Enmerkar and Lugalbanda, Enmerkar states that, after the god Enki had cut the reeds and drained the marshes of Unug, “for fifty years I [Enmerkar] built, for fifty years I gave judgments. Then the Martu peoples, who know no agriculture, arose in all of Sumer and Akkad. But the wall of Unug extended out across the desert like a bird net.”²⁰ Similarly, the Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur, which was composed in the wake of the collapse of the Third Dynasty of Ur around 2000 BCE, tells of how destruction was wrought by the “Tidnumites” who “daily strapped the mace to their loins.”²¹

Compounding the effects of the disparaging attitudes so evident in the ancient sources was the approach taken toward Amorites and nomads in general by many historians of the late 19th and 20th centuries. In particular, many of them subscribed to one or more of the following notions: (1) that the Amorites, as Semitic nomads, were one of a series of (rather foreboding-sounding) “waves” of migrations that emanated from the Arabian Peninsula—an image that lends itself quite easily to a perception of them as marauding hordes, but a reconstruction that much current scholarship finds extremely tenuous, at best; (2) the Amorites, as Semitic nomads, could best be understood as analogous in their lifestyles and customs to the bedouin of Arabia—an analogy for which earlier scholars had no real evidence and which, we now know, is rendered even more questionable by the circumstance that the Arab bedouin are camel nomads whereas the Amorites, to the extent that they were nomadic, were herders of sheep and goats, which poses a very

¹⁸ As also pointed out by G. Schwartz, “Pastoral Nomadism in Ancient Western Asia,” *CANE* 1 251.

¹⁹ Sum. lú ġa-lam-ma; M. Civil’s translation, as cited by P. Michalowski, *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* (MC 1; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1989) 93.

²⁰ Translation of “Enmerkar and Lugalbanda” from J. A. Black et al., *Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature*; see also J. Zarins, “Early Pastoral Nomadism and the Settlement of Lower Mesopotamia,” *BASOR* 280 (1990) 31–65.

²¹ Michalowski, *Lamentation* 53:256.

different set of constraints; and (3) that the Amorites, as Semitic nomads, were perceived as precisely that—as Semites and as nomads. As was noted earlier, by the early 20th century, nomads in general had been relegated to the second-lowest rung on the barbarism-to-civilization ladder. Moreover, at the time when some of the earliest standard treatments of the early history of ancient Mesopotamia were being written, anti-Semitism and theories of racial superiority were broadly current, both among the general public and, as Martin Bernal very effectively pointed out in the first volume of his *Black Athena*, among ancient historians. Many of these early accounts, even if not blatantly anti-Semitic, repeatedly couch their discussion of the dynamics of early Mesopotamian civilization in terms of a supposed conflict between the Sumerian and Semitic races, with the Sumerians invariably cast as the bearers of true civilization.²²

To recapitulate then, owing to a distinctly pro-city-dweller bias in the primary cuneiform documentation, to earlier historians' poorly informed perceptions of nomadism, and to the ethnocentric and often racist thinking of their era, there developed by the early 20th century, and lingered until relatively recently, a tradition of casting the Amorites in the role of, quite simply, barbarians. They were perceived, in rather essentialist fashion, as tribal, marauding bedouin Semitic invaders who advanced in waves that the rulers of the highly centralized, "civilized" Ur III state were hard pressed to stem and whose breaking upon that state's boundaries contributed significantly to its collapse. The centuries immediately following the collapse, during which the Amorites played a significant role, were similarly viewed as dominated by continued incursions of these nomadic migrants. Eventually, their migrations culminated in their sedentarization and in the formation of so-called "tribal" kingdoms (among them Hammurapi's Babylon), as well as in their becoming civilized through acculturation to the superior culture of the urbane, more highly civilized Sumero-Akkadian population.

By the late 1960s, however, closer examination of the cuneiform sources yielded evidence that has led to a dramatic reassessment of this simplistic and unidimensional view of the Amorites' role in, and impact on, ancient Mesopotamian history, as well as their place in Mesopotamian society. One recent study, for example, notes the presence of the quite possibly Amorite designation Tidnum in a document known as the Archaic City List from Uruk that dates as early as 3000 BCE; indeed, the author of this study asserts that such terms as MAR.TU, the general Sumerian term for Amorite, "are merely convenient terms for populations that had existed in the region since the end of the seventh millennium BCE. Therefore, the 'layering' of Semitic

²² Martin Bernal, *Black Athena: the Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization*, Vol. I: *The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785–1985* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1987).

populations” in the Mesopotamian floodplain “must be more complex and older than previously thought.”²³ Also, by 1966, Giorgio Buccellati had demonstrated that, even during the Third Dynasty of Ur, when Amorite groups were causing rulers in Sumer to undertake defensive measures, Amorites were already inhabiting the urban centers of Lower Mesopotamia in significant numbers.²⁴ Later studies exposed the inappropriateness of the “wave model” of successive nomadic inundations of Mesopotamia and Syria. Indeed, the textual data on the whole demonstrate that “Amorites were not uniformly tribal, hostile to urbanites, or nomadic. They came to power not as crude foreigners taking over from effete urbanites, but as powerful components in the flux of changing political circumstances in the collapse of a strongly centralized state.”²⁵ Likewise, the traditional view of the Amorites as almost exclusively nomadic pastoralists is directly contradicted by the evidence, noted earlier, that, by the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur, Amorites were “fully integrated in every facet of the Mesopotamian social landscape” as “pastoralists, agriculturalists, country dwellers and city dwellers.”²⁶ With the benefit of new evidence and re-examined assumptions, what we can now begin to discern are “differing modes of interaction with population groups which consisted of a variety of elements, some settled, some in various nomadic patterning, some newly arrived and some which had lived in the area for generations.”²⁷ Put more succinctly, Amorites are “nomads, farmers, and kings,” all of them members of a distinct ethnic group identified and defined not only by their labeling as “Amorites” in texts, but also, as early 2nd-millennium BCE and later texts make clear, by their self-perceived common origin, their shared belief system, their distinct language, and their respect for the same leaders.²⁸

Evidently, then, the Amorites, as a specific ethnic group, in at least that regard comprised a distinct entity within Mesopotamian society of the late 3rd and early 2nd millennium BCE. That individuals are designated specifically as MAR.TU in texts of this period surely indicates that at least the scribes who composed those texts perceived them as sufficiently different or special to warrant such designation. Furthermore, that Amorite groups played a significant role in contributing to the collapse of the highly centralized Ur III state seems beyond refuting. Yet what has been made just as apparent in

²³ Zarins, “Early Pastoral Nomadism” 55.

²⁴ Giorgio Buccellati, *The Amorites of the Ur III Period* (Istituto Orientale di Napoli, Pubblicazioni del Seminario di Semitistica, Recherche I; Naples: Istituto Orientale di Napoli, 1966).

²⁵ K. Kamp and N. Yoffee, “Ethnicity in Ancient Western Asia During the Early Second Millennium B.C.: Archaeological Assessments and Ethnoarchaeological Perspectives,” *BASOR* 237 (1980) 99.

²⁶ Kamp and Yoffee, “Ethnicity” 98.

²⁷ P. Michalowski, “History as Charter: Some Observations on the Sumerian King List,” *JAOS* 103 (1983) 245 ff.

²⁸ Kamp and Yoffee, “Ethnicity” 94, 98.

recent years is that old assumptions that people designated MAR.TU in late 3rd-millennium sources represent essentially nomadic, tribal elements—for all intents and purposes barbarians—within the population are no longer warranted as a matter of course. Rather, individual Amorites might be found virtually anywhere along the spectrum of power, status, and mode of subsistence and settlement: from king to commoner, from long-settled urbanite to semi-settled laborer to pastoral transhumant of the steppe.

In conclusion, our notion of who the Amorites were has become, at the same time, both better *and* less defined. Likewise, an increasingly nuanced and sophisticated appraisal of the Amorites' role in the history of ancient Mesopotamia and Syria calls for a similarly nuanced and sophisticated reappraisal of both the evidence and the cultural assumptions that led to their labeling as barbarians—and perhaps, in a more macro or *longue durée* framework—to a re-evaluation of the role of “barbarians” as causes of the collapse of states and empires in the ancient Near East. Romantic, but simplistic, paradigms that invoked waves of marauding barbarian hordes bent on destruction and conquest which have been attractive in Western historiography for decades no longer provide satisfactory explanations for the collapse of ancient states and societies in the ancient Near East. Instead, students of the ancient Near Eastern past will be better served by explanatory frameworks that, rather than focus excessively on catastrophic upheaval and discontinuity, emphasize “continuity and economic reorganization of indigenous populations” and incorporate “new understandings of social tensions, economic fluctuations and adaptive change.”²⁹

²⁹ Neil Asher Silberman, “Desolation and Restoration: the Impact of a Biblical Concept in Near Eastern Archaeology,” *BA* 54 (1991) 83.

OLD BABYLONIAN CELESTIAL DIVINATION

F. Rochberg

I first made acquaintance with Mesopotamian divination through Erle Leichty, whose lectures on Mesopotamian culture at the University of Pennsylvania conveyed not only information and resources but a vibrancy and love of the field that was infectious. This paper is but a token of my great debt of gratitude to Professor Leichty for introducing me to the world of ancient Mesopotamia and the endless fascination of its scholarly divination traditions.

Because celestial divination was part of a wider effort to interpret signs in the physical world as divine warnings of things to come, we see a common rationale for all forms of Mesopotamian divination, linking the various omen series to one another and placing celestial divination within a broader textual and cultural context. In similar fashion to other divinatory series such as *Šumma izbu*, the Dreambook, or the repertoire of the haruspex, *bārûtu*, the earliest collections of celestial omens emerge in the Old Babylonian period and reflect a purely Akkadian genre. That no Sumerian proto-types are known has been observed before, although, as already noted by Falkenstein, the practice of divination in some form as early as the Early Dynastic period is indicated by a number of professional titles in the Early Dynastic lexical list Lu, such as *ugula.azu*, *maš.šu.gíd.gíd*, and *ugula maš.šu.gíd.gíd*.¹ We must admit, though, that we do not know what this amounts to. Urnanše consults the *ugula.azu* in connection with building a temple.² Otherwise, Sumerian terms for cultic functionaries associated with divination and dream incubation are known in Ur III economic texts.³ Late third millennium Sumerian literature also attests to the association of divination and cult. Perhaps the best, or only intelligible, example is Cylinder A of Gudea of Lagaš, which suggests some acquaintance with dream omens, extispicy, and even celestial signs, and places divination in the context of a temple building ritual.⁴

¹ A. Falkenstein, “‘Wahrsagung’ in der sumerische Überlieferung,” in CRRAI 14 (1966) 45–68 and Early Dynastic Lu 130 (MSL 12 19). See also J. Renger, “Untersuchungen zum Priestertum der altbabylonischen Zeit,” ZA 59 (1969) 203 n 940.

² Falkenstein, “‘Wahrsagung,’” 47, also J.J. Finkelstein, “Mesopotamian Historiography,” PAPS 107 (1963) 464 note 12.

³ As cited in the discussion section of CAD B 125 s. v. *bārû*, *maš.šu.gíd.gíd.da* in Ur III texts may be found in A. L. Oppenheim, *Eames Coll.* 37 f. Cf. *maš.šu.gíd.gíd* ITT 2/2 3108 rev. 2 and *maš.šu.gi₄.gi₄* Nikolski 2 83:6. Later, of course, in OB these professions are better attested, as outlined in detail by Renger, “Untersuchungen,” and even occur in omen protases: “If he sees a diviner (*bārû*) / an exorcist (*āšipu*) / a physician (*asû*).”

⁴ Gudea Cyl.A xii 16–7; xiii 16–7; xx 5 refers to the performance of extispicy; dreams

The poetic inscription describing Gudea's building of Ningirsu's temple Eninnu refers to the goddess Nisaba consulting a tablet, dub mul-an, "the tablet 'stars of heaven,'" which rests on her knee.⁵ Also in the Sumerian composition "The Blessing of Nisaba," the goddess consults a tablet, there described as made of lapis-lazuli.⁶ Whether the blue tablet and the tablet of "heavenly stars" (mul-an) refer to the same object is not clear, but in both contexts, Nisaba's tablet appears to be a symbol of learning and wisdom.⁷ Thorkild Jacobsen translated the latter as "a tablet (treating) of the stars above,"⁸ W. Horowitz suggested it is a "replica or chart" of the sky, conceived of as a big blue cosmic tablet, taking the lapis lazuli tablet as referring to the same. Å. Sjöberg suggested a translation of this mul as "script," thus "the tablet of heavenly writing,"⁹ an insightful interpretation when we think that Mesopotamian literati of the middle of the first millennium expressed the notion of the patterns of stars covering the sky as a celestial script. The poetic metaphor of the "heavenly writing" (*šīṭir šamê* or *šīṭirti šamāmi*) appears on occasion in later Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions to refer to temples made beautiful "like the stars" (*kīma šīṭir šamê*, literally, "like the heavenly writing").¹⁰ In these Babylonian inscriptions, the metaphor is not used explicitly for astrology, or celestial divination, but the notion of the stars as a heavenly script implies their capacity to be read and interpreted. A seventh century scholarly text from Assur explains the starry sky as the "lower heavens" (*šamû šaplūti*), made of jasper, and on whose surface the god

(māš-gi₆, "night vision") are found in i 17–8; i 27 and note the use of the word giskim, "sign," viii 19; ix 9, and xii 11, see D.O. Edzard, *Gudea and His Dynasty* (RIME 3/1; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997). See also U. Koch-Westenholz, *Mesopotamian Astrology* (CNIP 19; Copenhagen: The Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Near Eastern Studies, Museum Tusculanum Press, 1995) 32–3.

⁵ Gudea Cyl.A iv 26 and v 23, see Edzard, RIME 3/1 72.

⁶ For "The Blessing of Nisaba," see W. W. Hallo, "The Cultic Setting of Sumerian Poetry," in CRRAI 17 (1970) 125:29–31, and see also Å. Sjöberg and E. Bergmann, *The Collection of the Sumerian Temple Hymns* (TCS 3; Locust Valley, N.Y.: J.J. Augustin, 1969) 49:538–9, also cited in W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (MC 8; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1998) 166–7.

⁷ See the passage TCL 16 88 v 20–4, cited in Sjöberg and Bergmann, *Sumerian Temple Hymns* 148, note to line 538.

⁸ Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Harps That Once Sumerian Poetry in Translation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987) 393.

⁹ Sjöberg and Bergmann, *Sumerian Temple Hymns* 138b, citing MSL 2 132 VI 57 mul = *šīṭirtum*. Nisaba also holds the "holy tablet of the heavenly star/writing" (dub-mul-an-kù) in the composition "Nisaba and Enki" lines 29–33, see Hallo, "Cultic Setting," 125, 129, and 131.

¹⁰ In the following inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar: VAB 4 187 i 39, also 74 ii 2; YOS 1 44 i 21; cf. BBSt. No. 5 ii 28. Also in the form *šīṭir burūmê*, literally "writing of the firmament," for which, see CAD B s.v. *burūmū* usage b, predominantly in Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions, but also in a hymn to Aššur, see A. Livingstone, *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea* (SAA 3; Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 1989) 4 Text no. 1:21. See also Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* 15 n. 25 and 226.

Marduk drew “the constellations of the gods” (*lumāši ša ilāni*).¹¹ The image of the heavens as a stone surface upon which a god could draw or write, as a scribe would a clay tablet, complements the metaphoric trope of the heavenly writing. In their discussion of the term *lumāšu*, “constellation,” used in the sense of a form of writing with astral pictographs or “astroglyphs,” as they have been called, M. Roaf and A. Zgoll note that Sumerian *mul*, “star” (or *mul-an*, “heavenly star”), “can refer both to a star in the sky and to a cuneiform sign on a tablet.”¹² They further remark on the relationship between the arrangement of stars in certain constellations and that of the wedges in cuneiform signs.¹³ The metaphor of the heavenly writing, therefore, related the constellations to cuneiform signs from which one could read and derive meaning, and thus expressed the idea that written messages were encoded in celestial phenomena.¹⁴

In the first discussion of the history of the celestial omen series *Enūma Anu Enlil* (EAE), E. Weidner knew of only one such tablet from the Old Babylonian period.¹⁵ This text was first published by Schileico in 1927, then by Bauer in 1936, and most recently by Horowitz in 2000.¹⁶ The fact that this text combines disparate subjects makes it difficult to see it as any kind of forerunner to a specific tablet of *Enūma Anu Enlil*. Nine omens concerning the appearance of the sky, some lunar phenomena, and a couple of atmospheric phenomena are assembled in a rough sort of order, at least the lunar omens follow in sequence by day of the month (i.e., the day of disappearance, the 6th, 7th, and 25th), but these are interspersed with omens for *pāni šamē*, “the face of heaven.” The first two omens are for the sky’s appearance. A “dull” (*ešū*)¹⁷ sky signals *šattum lemnat*, “a bad year,” while a sky shining like the rising moon signals *šattum damqat*, “a good year.” Another omen for the sky (line 13) compares its appearance to water, reminiscent of the later scholarly etymology of *šamē*, “sky” as *ša mē*,

¹¹ KAR 307:33; see Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* 3 and 13–5, also plate I for text copy. Other references to the “drawing” of stars (*kakkabāni ešēru*) may be found in CAD E s.v. *ešēru* A meaning 1 b and c.

¹² Michael Roaf and Annette Zgoll, “Assyrian Astroglyphs: Lord Aberdeen’s Black Stone and the Prisms of Esarhaddon,” *ZA* 91 (2001) 289 and n. 68.

¹³ Roaf and Zgoll, “Assyrian Astroglyphs” 289.

¹⁴ The notion of the god (often Šamaš) “writing” the signs on the exta of sheep is well-known, see, e.g., *ina libbi immeri tašattar šērē tašakkan dīnu*, “you (Šamaš) write upon the flesh inside the sheep (i.e., the entrails), you establish (there) an oracular decision,” OECT 6 pl.30 K 2824:12.

¹⁵ E. F. Weidner, “Die astrologische Serie Enuma Anu Enlil,” *AfO* 14 (1941–44) 172–95 and 308–18.

¹⁶ W. Horowitz, “Astral Tablets in the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg,” *ZA* 90 (2000) 203–6.

¹⁷ Schileico and Bauer read *iš-su-[ú]*, while Horowitz reads *uš-su-[ú]*, taking the verb as the D-stem of *ešū* in the meaning “confused.” The sign in the copy (Schileico) looks like a hybrid of IŠ and UŠ.

“of water.”¹⁸ These lunar omens also differ from *Enūma Anu Enlil* and even the other Old Babylonian celestial omens in the manner of writing the moon as *ilum*, “the god,” or even ^dŠEŠ.KI = Nanna, the Sumerian name for the moon god. In the later texts, *ilum* still occurs, only rarely, as in the phrase, *ilu itbal*, “the moon set (literally, ‘the god disappeared’).” Otherwise, in the Old Babylonian lunar eclipse texts, the moon is written ^dEN.ZU, and *Enūma Anu Enlil* uses ^d30 fairly consistently.

For the period before the first millennium direct Old Babylonian forerunners to the series *Enūma Anu Enlil* were, therefore, unknown at the time of Weidner’s writing, although indications that an Old Babylonian origin might still be found were apparent in celestial omen texts from a variety of areas on the peripheries of Mesopotamia, that is, Anatolia (Ḫattuša), the Levant (Emar, Qatna, Alalakh, and Ugarit), and Iran (Susa), dating to the second millennium. In addition, uncontracted writings and vestiges of the Old Babylonian syllabary (such as the signs *qá*, *e₄*, and *pī*) found in the Neo-Assyrian *Enūma Anu Enlil* texts were generally regarded as orthographic evidence of a likely Old Babylonian origin for the series. Given that other forms of divination have Old Babylonian exemplars, especially extispicy (*bārūtu*¹⁹), but also divination from physiognomy (*alamdimmu*²⁰), and malformed births (*izbu*²¹), the absence of similar Old Babylonian sources for *Enūma Anu Enlil* was surprising.

Since the time of Weidner’s researches, Douglas Kennedy identified four Old Babylonian celestial omen tablets in the British Museum. Kennedy’s tablets contained lunar eclipse omens which prove to be forerunners to the lunar eclipse omen section of the “canonical,” or main text of *Enūma Anu Enlil*. Other Old Babylonian celestial omen texts containing solar and weather omens may also be included among the earliest attested celestial omen texts, namely the Schileico tablet just mentioned, a British Museum tablet kindly brought to my attention by C.B.F. Walker, and a solar eclipse tablet published by M. Dietrich.²² Admittedly the disparity in the number

¹⁸ See iNAMgišurankia (K 170+) rev. 6, A. Livingstone, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986) 32.

¹⁹ CT 44 37; Ulla Jeyes, *Old Babylonian Extispicy: Omen Texts in the British Museum* (PIHANS 64; Istanbul / Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut / Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1989) no. 11; Thomas Richter, “Untersuchungen zum Opferschauwesen I. Überlegungen zur Rekonstruktion der altbabylonischen *bārūtu*-Serie,” *OrNS* 62 (1993) 121–41.

²⁰ YOS 10 54 and 55; Kraus, *Texte* 62, all three of which are re-edited in Barbara Böck, *Die babylonisch-assyrische Morphoskopie* (AfO Beih. 27; Vienna: Institut für Orientalistik der Universität Wien, 2000) 296–305; as well as Franz Köcher and A.L. Oppenheim, “The Old-Babylonian Omen Text VAT 7525,” *AfO* 18 (1957–58) 63–7.

²¹ YOS 10 12 and 56, edited in Erle Leichty, *The Omen Series Šumma Izbu* (TCS 4; Locust Valley, N.Y.: J.J. Augustin, 1970) 201–7.

²² M. Dietrich, “Altbabylonische Omina zur Sonnenfinsternis,” *WZKM* 86 (1996) 99–106, apud Hermann Hunger and David Pingree, *Astral Sciences in Mesopotamia* (HdO 1/44; Leiden:

of sources, barely more than a handful from the Old Babylonian period as against the voluminous mass of later sources, makes a “history of Babylonian celestial divination” difficult to formulate. Not only that, but bridging the gap between the Old Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian (and Neo-Babylonian) *Enūma Anu Enlil* relies on fewer than ten exemplars of Middle Assyrian or Middle Babylonian date. Nevertheless, and particularly with respect to Kennedy’s tablets, the relationship of the Old Babylonian forerunners to the later standardized series adds considerably to our knowledge of the development of celestial divination as of the Mesopotamian intellectual tradition itself.

The most extensive and best preserved of the Old Babylonian celestial omens (BM 22696 and BM 86381) deal with lunar eclipses.²³ In relation to versions of *Enūma Anu Enlil* from Middle Assyrian and Middle Babylonian sources, with parallels in Hittite sources and Akkadian texts from Boğazköy, as well as other “peripheral” texts such as those of Emar from the 13th century, the Old Babylonian texts serve to outline a literary development from a stage before standardization to the more or less standard series *Enūma Anu Enlil* that ultimately provided the reference work for the scholar who specialized in celestial divination, i.e., the *ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlil* in the employ of the Neo-Assyrian court. Cautionary remarks as to the conceptualization of such an official or canonical *Enūma Anu Enlil* text are probably no longer necessary, as it is well-known that *Enūma Anu Enlil* not only circulated in various recensions, but included other omens—termed *aḫû*, “extraneous,” or alternative omens—within a generally accepted repertoire.²⁴ The sense in which we characterize the series as “standard” has to do with the fact that catalogues arranged the numbered tablets in a certain order, and that commentaries refer to these tablets by their numbers, even though there are discrepancies in the assignment of such tablet numbers. Because the fundamental thematic elements found in the protases of all four Old Babylonian eclipse omens continue throughout later redactions, they may be viewed as forerunners to the lunar eclipse section of *Enūma Anu Enlil*, especially Tablets 17–18. Although variants among the Old Babylonian exemplars are numerous and one of the texts is an excerpt tablet, all four texts draw upon a single set of omens. The Old Babylonian omens appear to provide the foundation for the expansion of this collection of omens in the Middle Assyrian, Middle Babylonian, and Neo-Assyrian works.

Brill, 1999) 8 and n. 9.

²³ I thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to cite these unpublished tablets.

²⁴ See William W. Hallo, “The Concept of Canonicity in Cuneiform and Biblical Literature: A Comparative Appraisal,” in *The Biblical Canon in Comparative Perspective: Scripture in Context* 4 (ed. K. Lawson Younger, Jr., William W. Hallo, and Bernard F. Batto; Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1991) 1–19.

This contrasts with the Old Babylonian *izbu* material, for example (YOS 10 12 and 56, Leichty, *Izbu* 201–7), which do not parallel the Neo-Assyrian *izbu* compendium so closely. Aside from obvious structural differences due to the smaller number of omens in Old Babylonian sources, other differences from the Neo-Assyrian recension are found in formulary and orthography.

The orthography of the Old Babylonian eclipse omens can be characterized as typically Old Babylonian in the use of syllabic spellings, *plene* writings, *sandhi* writings, and the preservation of mimation. The particular orthographic characteristics of these texts cannot, however, be identified with respect to a more specific form of Old Babylonian, such as the Northern or Southern “dialects” of the Old Babylonian language described by A. Goetze in Sachs and Neugebauer’s *MCT*. To expect the orthography of this corpus to conform to such characteristics as defined by Goetze on the basis of Old Babylonian letters, economic, or legal documents, is perhaps unwarranted, if indeed the specialized “literary-scholarly” tradition which produced these texts does not exhibit the same set of characteristics. The celestial omens exhibit both so-called Northern and Southern writing conventions, for example, DI for /ti/ as in *bu-ta-al-lu-(DI)ti-im* (A:39), which according to Goetze is a sign of Southern Old Babylonian dialect whereas TU for /tu/ (instead of DU) as in *ub-bu-(TU)tu* (A:18) is typical of the Northern dialect.²⁵ We also find for syllables beginning with /s/, the signs ZI and ZU for /si/ (*i-sa-ab-as-[ZI]si* A r.41) and /su/ (*ha-as-[ZU]sú* A r. 33), also supposedly indicative of Southern writing conventions.

Despite a preponderance of syllabic spellings, in comparison with other Old Babylonian omen texts, this corpus makes use of relatively many logograms. In contrast to the much larger volume of texts in the series *Šumma izbu*, in which only about twenty logograms are used, all of which are substantives, the eclipse omens have three times that number, of which, however, only seven are verbs. The logograms appearing in the Old Babylonian celestial omens are for the most part the same as those used in the canonical series of the later period, with only a few exceptions. The most obvious exception is in the writing of the word “eclipse,” *attalû* (*antalû*). In no case is this spelled syllabically, as elsewhere in Old Babylonian,²⁶ but only with the logogram AN.TA.LÛ. This is also the practice known in texts from Boğazköy and Elam (although there is a syllabic spelling at Boğazköy).²⁷

Both the derivation and the etymology of the logogram AN.TA.LÛ are obscure. One may of course read it as a pseudo-logographic phonetic

²⁵ *MCT* 146.

²⁶ G. Dossin, “Lettre du devin Asqudum au roi Zimrilim au sujet d’une éclipse de lune,” in *CRRAI* 2 (1951) 47:5 f., and see CAD A/2 s.v. *attalû* (d).

²⁷ KUB 37 160:5', 7', and 10'; see CAD A/2 s.v. *attalû* (d) 2'.

rendering of the Akkadian word *antalû*, or as a learned pseudo-etymology, in which AN.TA (*eliš*), “above” is combined with LÛ (*dalāhu*), “to disturb” to mean “disturbance above,” or the like. The latter derivation is supported by a late commentary to *Enūma Anu Enlil* Tablet 1: “AN.KU₁₀ is darkness and AN.KU₁₀ is disturbance, ... variant, disorder, and troubles.”²⁸ The association of AN.KU₁₀ with disturbance is seen again in an astrological report: “an eclipse will occur; AN.KU₁₀ means troubles.”²⁹ Goetze found etymological explanations of *antalû* in terms of Sumerian also unlikely; he felt that *antalû*, and its Old Babylonian variant *namtallûm* (*nantallûm*), attested in Old Babylonian extispicy and hemerologies was possibly of foreign origin.³⁰ *Antalû* was later borrowed into Aramaic as *ʾātalyā*, and into Mandaic as *talia*. The Aramaic and Mandaic terms refer to a mythical dragon that caused eclipses by devouring or wrapping itself around the moon, and also become the names for the constellation Draco. Perhaps in the remote background are the seven evil gods or demons of the bilingual *udug.ḫul* / *utukkū lemnūti*, who “kept passing (Akkadian, “kept encircling,” from Gtn *lamû*) furiously in front of the divine crescent, Sîn.”³¹

The two best preserved of the Old Babylonian eclipse omens, which will be referred to here as Texts A and B,³² use the form AN.TA.LÛ, and most likely so does Text D, although its line beginnings, where this word occurs, are not preserved. Text C uses an abbreviated form AN.TA consistently. The form AN.TA.LÛ is also preserved in Standard Babylonian texts which retain Old Babylonian orthography, e.g., *Enūma Anu Enlil* Tablet 22.³³ The logogram AN.KU₁₀ seems to appear for the first time only after the Old Babylonian period. From a paleographic standpoint, the Old Babylonian celestial omens (including BM 97210 with solar and weather omens) show a standard Old

²⁸ Late Babylonian astrological commentary VAT 782, Ernst F. Weidner, “Die astrologische Serie Enūma Anu Enlil,” *AfO* 14 (1941–44) pl. 4 I 16–7: AN.KU₁₀ KA_xMI AN.KU₁₀ *du-lu-uh-ḫu-ū* : AN.TA.LÛ.LÛ / [x]NJE LÛ.LÛ : *e-šá-a-tu₄* : *a-šá-a-tu₄* *dal-ḫa-a-tu₄*.

²⁹ Hermann Hunger, *Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings* (SAA 8; Helsinki: University of Helsinki Press, 1992) 55:4–5: AN.KU₁₀ *iššakkan* AN.KU₁₀ *duluḫḫū*.

³⁰ CAD A/2 s.v. *attalû* (d), YOS 10 42 iv 38. It is also unlikely that *namtallûm* has anything to do with Sumerian *nam.talla* (A. Goetze, “Akk. *antalû* and *namtallûm* ‘eclipse,’” *JCS* 1 [1947] 251–2). Various Sumerian equivalents, non-etymologically related to the Akkadian word, are attested for *antalû*: BAR.giš.na, UD.mud.nun.ki, as well as an.MI (Antagal G 199–201, MSL 17 226; Igituḫ I 136–8; B. Landsberger and O. R. Gurney, “igi-duḫ-a = *tāmartu*, Short Version,” *AfO* 18 [1957–58] 82 116).

³¹ *dub.sag.ta ud.sar den.zu.na šur.bi ba.an.dib.bi.eš* : *ina maḥar* ^dNannari ^dSîn ezziš *iltanammū* CT 16 20:73 f.; CT 16 21:148 f. For a translation of portions of this myth, see A. D. Kilmer, “A Note on the Babylonian Mythological Explanation of the Lunar Eclipse,” *JAOS* 98 (1978) 372–4.

³² Text sigla are carried over from F. Rochberg-Halton, *Aspects of Babylonian Celestial Divination: The Lunar Eclipse Tablets of Enūma Anu Enlil* (*AfO* Beih. 22; Horn: Verlag Ferdinand Berger & Söhne, 1988) 19.

³³ See F. Rochberg-Halton, *Aspects of Babylonian Celestial Divination* (= ABCD) 251–72.

Babylonian script, conforming to the so-called younger cursive, as defined by Goetze in YOS 10. Goetze identified this later Old Babylonian script as that employed in documents of the “Hammurabi chancellory.”

The relationship between the Old Babylonian lunar eclipse omens and *Enūma Anu Enlil* Tablets 17–18 can best be shown using Text A, which serves as a convenient reference. Note, however, that all four Old Babylonian tablets contain the same material. Tablets 15 and 16 of the lunar eclipse omen section also relate in part to the Old Babylonian material. These parallels will be enumerated first.

Enūma Anu Enlil Tablet 15³⁴ parallels the Old Babylonian texts only in its focus on the passing of the eclipse shadow over the moon. The location of the eclipse shadow on the “right side” is found in the Old Babylonian text, and is preserved in an excerpt of EAE 15: DIŠ AN.KU₁₀ ZAG-šú BAL-at (EAE 15 text a:6–13//A:4f.). The various directions of the shadow as it moves across the lunar disk form the content of the best-preserved part of EAE 15, i.e., col. iii. As such, it seems to be an expansion of Text A:8–11. EAE 15 contains some apodoses also seen in Text A, e.g., *abūb mithāriš išakkan*, “devastating flood waters will occur” (A:4–5, cf. EAE 15 Sources F:1', 6', 9' and G:1', 5'), and *miqitti* (Old Babylonian RI.RI.GA, Neo-Assyrian ŠUB-ti) *Akkadi* (*Šubari*, *Amurri*, *Elamti*), “downfall of Akkad (Subartu, Amurru, Elam)” (A:8–11, cf. EAE 15 col. iii passim). EAE 16 organizes its omens by the calendar year of 13 months. The first four omen protases of the EAE 16 schema parallel Text A:8–11 “If an eclipse occurs on the 14th day of MN, and it begins and clears in the south (north, east, west).” The next protasis in the schema is also found in Text A, although not in the same sequence: “If an eclipse occurs on the 14th of MN and a meteor falls.” The general arrangement of eclipse omens in the Old Babylonian texts by day 14, 15, 16, 19, and 20 of each of the 13 months is also preserved in EAE 16. When it comes to the apodoses, however, the parallelism falls apart. Where apodoses are preserved in EAE 16, (months II, III, IV, V, VII, IX, X, XI, XII, XII*) there are no parallels to Text A (with a single exception, Text A rev. 54, the omen for Month XII* day 14 has the apodosis *nīšu šerrīšina ana kaspi ipaššarā*, “people will sell their children,” found in EAE 16 §XII* I rev. 4' UN.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ-ši-n[a ana KÙ.BABBAR BÚR.MEŠ]).

Close parallels between EAE 17 and the Old Babylonian forerunners have been cited before.³⁵ Here it will have to suffice to give a few examples, and to make the point that the parallelism between EAE 17 (and 18) with the Old Babylonian material is complete. The following are omens from EAE 17 §IV.7–9 and Text A:42–45.

³⁴ References to this text refer to Rochberg-Halton, *ABCD* 67–81.

³⁵ Rochberg-Halton, *ABCD* 114–5.

Old Babylonian Celestial Divination

EAE 17 §IV.7 (F 11') DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}ŠU UD.16.KAM AN.KU₁₀ GAR SU.KÚ IN.NU
GÁL-*ma* [ŠUB-*tim* GU₄.ĪI.A GÁL]

A:42–3 AN.TA.LÙ ^{iti}ŠU.NUMUN.A UD.16.KAM GAR *ḥu-ša-aḥ-ḥi* IN.NU
iš-ša-ak-ka-an RI.RI.GA GUD^l.ĪI.A *ib-ba-aš-ši tar-ba-šu i-l[a]-wi*

“An eclipse on the 16th of Du’ūzu: There will be want of straw;
downfall of cattle will occur; the cattle pen will be surrounded
(besieged?).”

EAE 17 §IV.8 (F 12') DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}ŠU UD.20.KAM AN.KU₁₀ GAR ŠUB-*tim*
NIM.MA^{ki} *u Gu-ti-i*

A:44 AN.TA.LÙ ^{iti}ŠU.NUMUN.A UD.20.KAM GAR RI.RI.GA NIM.MA^{ki}
i-na KÁ KUR i-ḥa-[li-iq]

“An eclipse on the 20th of Du’ūzu: Downfall of Elam; it will perish at
the gate of the land.”

EAE 17 §IV.9 (F 13') DIŠ *ina* ^{iti}ŠU UD.21.KAM AN.KU₁₀ GAR ^dİŠKUR
A.AB.BA RA A.MEŠ *ina* AN-[*e* A.KAL *ina* BE TAR.MEŠ]

A:45 AN.TA.LÙ ^{iti}ŠU.NUMUN.A UD.21.KAM GAR ^dİŠKUR *ḥi-ši-ib*
ia-a-ba u-ḥal-[liq]

“An eclipse on the 21st of Du’ūzu: Adad will destroy the produce of the
sea.”

This relationship between EAE 17–18 and the Old Babylonian tradition extends throughout. Far less striking, but noteworthy, is the incorporation into EAE 19 of omens for the time of the eclipse in watches seen in Text A. EAE 21 is for the most part not parallel. A few omens of Text A, however, seem to have been taken into Tablet 21, but these are omens that also overlap with EAE 17–18. EAE 22 Part I exhibits some connection to the Old Babylonian texts, although not to the extent shown for EAE 17–18. Elamite writings and parallels with other peripheral exemplars of eclipse omens have pointed toward a Susite or at least extra-Mesopotamian intermediary for this tablet.³⁶ Comparison between EAE 22 and the Old Babylonian texts confirms the ultimate origins of Tablet 22 Part I in Mesopotamia proper, not in Elam or the Hittite Empire. However, as W. Farber argued, the orthography of this tablet quite likely preserves the form of the Elamite source from which the Neo-Assyrian EAE 22 was taken.³⁷ The omens of EAE 22 Part II, for an

³⁶ Rochberg-Halton, *ABCD* 31, 251–2; W. Farber, “Zur Orthographie von EAE 22: Neue Lesungen und Versuch einer Deutung,” in *Die Rolle der Astronomie in den Kulturen Mesopotamiens* (ed. H. D. Galter; Grazer morgenländische Studien 3; Graz: GrazKult, 1993) 247–57; Koch-Westenholz, *Mesopotamian Astrology* 49–51.

³⁷ Farber, “Zur Orthographie von EAE 22” 247–57.

eclipse occurring each month “from the 1st to the 30th day,” and for thunder, earthquake, and mudslide seem to have no Mesopotamian Old Babylonian foundation.

The only tablet not so far mentioned is *Enūma Anu Enlil* Tablet 20. This tablet is exceptional in its complexity and detail, as the following example shows:

If an eclipse occurs on the 14th day of Țebētu, and the god (=the moon), in his eclipse, becomes dark on the east upper part of the disk and clears on the west lower part; the west wind (rises and the eclipse) begins in the last watch and does not end (with the watch); his cusps are the same (size), neither one nor the other is wider or narrower. Observe his eclipse, i.e., of the moon in whose eclipse the cusps were the same, neither one being wider or narrower, and bear in mind the west wind. The prediction (literally: “verdict”) applies to Subartu. Subartu and Gutium brother will smite brother; the people will suffer defeat(?); there will be many widows; the king of Subartu will make peace with the lands ... It (the eclipse) began in the middle watch and did not end (it). Thus is its omen and its consequence (literally: “verdict”).³⁸

In short, Tablet 20 is the *only* eclipse tablet that has no connection to the Old Babylonian material. Because of the comparatively many details of eclipses given in the protases of Tablet 20, the idea could have gained ground that these reflect a firmer empirical basis than can be established for the other eclipse tablets with their generic and schematic protases; these details might have thereby constituted more secure evidence for chronology, had we been able to establish a solid textual connection to the Old Babylonian period.³⁹ Unfortunately we still do not have a textual basis in Old Babylonian for EAE 20.

The obvious historical question, “How far back can we push the beginning of the celestial omen tradition?” has two answers, I suppose. Conservatively, taking the question in a literary-historical sense, there are no celestial omens attested before the Old Babylonian period. Thus the beginnings of this tradition cannot be pushed beyond the Old Babylonian period, and, given the late Old Babylonian script noted above, it is safer to set a date towards the latter part of the 17th century BC. From a liberal standpoint, taking the question in a broader cultural sense, it appears that the idea of signs in the heavens was already current at Lagaš in the late third millennium, taking the evidence from Gudea as the clearest case. Besides Nisaba’s “tablet,” the meaning of other key passages in Gudea’s cylinder with respect to divination

³⁸ Rochberg-Halton, *ABCD* 209.

³⁹ For a discussion of the chronological potential of the eclipses described in EAE 20s omens, see Peter J. Huber, “Dating by Lunar Eclipse Omina, with Speculations on the Birth of Omen Astrology,” in *Studies Aaboe* 3–13.

depend on our understanding the use of Sumerian eš.bar kin, eš.bar.kin du₁₁, “to pronounce an oracular decision” and giskim, “sign” in such literary contexts. Additional examples are found in the Keš Temple Hymn, where the temple is “given an oracle by mother Nintu” (ama ⁴⁰nin-tu-ra eš-bar-kin du₁₁-ga).⁴⁰ The idea that omens conveyed divine decisions (eš.bar/*purussû*) persists in later texts, where the word *purussû* comes to refer specifically to the omen apodosis.⁴¹ Finally, in Ningirsu’s promise to Gudea in the dream, the god says:⁴² “Gudea, for building my house let me give you its giskim. Let me tell you the pure stars above (mul-an-kù-ba) (the heralds) of my appointed tasks.”⁴³ But for pursuing the origins of scholarly celestial divination, i.e., omen texts, back before Late Old Babylonian times, such texts do little but attest to the use of giskim in the same context, or nearly, as the mention of stars. Even were we to assume that such a thing as celestial divination existed in the third millennium, we have no texts with which to give it any form, content, or extent.

Because the age of the beginnings of astronomical observation and the systematization of astronomical phenomena is directly correlated with the existence of celestial omens, our tracing the formation of scholarly celestial divination is of no small significance. Already well-known are the early strands of Babylonian astronomy embedded in *Enūma Anu Enlil* Tablets 14 (on lunar visibility), 59–60 (on the planet Jupiter) and 63 (on the synodic phenomena of Venus), but none of these Tablets is extant in Old Babylonian form. It is easily shown that the principles of organization of the protases of the Old Babylonian lunar eclipse omens reflect systematic study of this lunar phenomenon. Continuity, therefore, between the celestial omen tradition reaching back to the early second millennium (1800 BC serves as a convenient date) and the earliest astronomical tradition is fully justified even if viewed conservatively as tied solely to the lunar eclipse tablets. In addition to the astronomy of the omen texts, an early astronomical tradition preserved in non-divinatory texts of the end of the second and early in the first millennium attests to a foundation of astronomical observation and the early construction

⁴⁰ Gene B. Gragg, “The Keš Temple Hymn,” in Åke W. Sjöberg and E. Bergmann, *The Collection of the Sumerian Temple Hymns* (TCS 3; Locust Valley, N.Y.: J.J. Augustin, 1969) 169:39 and 171:61, and for commentary see 128 and 181–2.

⁴¹ As for example in the reports of the diviners to the Neo-Assyrian kings, in which *Enūma Anu Enlil* is quoted: ⁱⁱⁱSIG₄ KUR.MAR.TU^{ki} ^ù pu-ru-us-su-ù a-na ŠEŠ.UNUG^{ki} na-din, “Simānu means the Westland and a decision (*purussû*) is given for Ur.” Hunger, *Astrological Reports* 316:6. Cf. the usage in the Seleucid astronomical/astrological text TCL 6 11 r. 37 BE-ma EŠ.BAR 3,20 ana IGI-ka ša ⁴UDU.IDIM.MEŠ ina lu-maš KIN.KIN-ma, “In order for you to see an ominous decision about the king, you seek (the position) of the planets within the (zodiacal) constellations,” see Lis Brack-Bernsen and Hermann Hunger, “TÜ 11: A Collection of Rules for the Prediction of Lunar Phases and of Month Lengths,” *SCIAMVS* 3 (2002) 12, 17.

⁴² *Cyl A* viii 19, ix 7–xii 9.

⁴³ *Cyl A* ix 9–10, Jacobsen’s translation in *The Harps That Once* 399.

of schemes (mostly not yet quantitative) for a variety of phenomena related to problems of time-keeping (seasonal appearances of fixed-stars) and calendaric reckoning (the length of daylight and intercalations). I refer here of course primarily to MUL.APIN and the Astrolabe texts. The history of Babylonian celestial divination is therefore inseparable from the history of Babylonian astronomy, and the shadowy beginnings of one must in fact be those of the other as well.

ELDER ABUSE: LH §195

Martha T. Roth

The socially expected behavior of a child toward a parent includes respect and obedience. This was articulated in Mesopotamian legal material in the obligations outlined in the constructed relationship of adoption, whereby the adoptee undertakes to serve, support, honor, and bury the adopter.¹ The reward for fulfilling these obligations, whether natural or constructed, is inheritance of the parent's estate. But, as Harris notes, "the prescriptions imply that the reverse was not uncommon,"² that is, children fell short of the expected standards specifically by failing to perform any of the required duties or less tangibly by failing to demonstrate a respectful attitude. Thus a mother wrote to her son requesting food rations, trying to shame him into fulfilling his duties: "Give one kor of barley for your mother, so that she not live destitute (lit., in her nakedness). (Otherwise) will not people treat you with scorn? Is it not a grievous thing to hear insults and scorn?"³ Such failings—and the public shame and disapproval of them—are probably behind the notion of the severe offense characterized by *arnum kabtum* in the Laws of Hammurabi §§ 168 and 169, which, if proven, warrants disinheritance.

Disinheritance is the anticipated consequence of a son's disrespectful behavior. The expected, respectful behavior is indicated by the verb *palāḫū*, as, for example, in the following two texts from Emar (Beckman, *Emar* RE 10 and RE 13).

Beckman, *Emar* RE 10: (1) PN spoke as follows: (2–3) "There is no one to honor me (*ša i[pallaḫ]anni*). Now, I have taken PN₂ (in adoption) to honor me (*ana palāḫija*) ... (4–9) As long as (I) PN and (my) wife PN₃ live, let PN₂ honor us (*liplaḫannāši*). Since he will honor us (*ipallaḫannāši*), after we die let him take ... my house and all my property ..."

Beckman, *Emar* RE 13: (1) PN spoke as follows: (2–3) "I took PN₂, son of PN₃, to honor me (*ana palāḫija*). (4–6) But now he no longer agrees to honor

¹ See J. C. Greenfield, "Adi balṭu—Care for the Elderly and Its Rewards," in CRRAI 28 (1982) 309 ff.; K. R. Veenhof, "A Deed of Manumission and Adoption from the Later Old Assyrian Period, Its Writing, Language, and Contents in Comparative Perspective," in *Studies Kraus* 359 ff.; the essays in *The Care of the Elderly in the Ancient Near East* (ed. M. Stol and S. Vleeming; SHCANE 14; Leiden: Brill, 1998).

² R. Harris, *Gender and Aging in Mesopotamia: The Gilgamesh Epic and Other Ancient Literature* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000) 71.

³ D. D. Luckenbill, "Old Babylonian Letters from Bismya," *AJSL* 32 (1916) 271 f. no. 5:10–8, re-edited in M. Stol, *Letters from Collections in Philadelphia, Chicago, and Berkeley* (AbB 11; Leiden: Brill, 1986) 90 f. no. 139.

me (*ana palāhija la imaggur*). Therefore I have taken my brother PN₄ to honor me (*ana palāhija*) and to satisfy my creditors. (6–7) As long as (I) PN and (my wife) PN₅ live, let PN₄ honor us (*liplahannāši*). (7–11) Since he will honor us (*ipallahannāši*), after we die let PN₄ take ... my house and all my property ...”

This appropriate respectful behavior is contrasted with actively disrespectful behavior (rather than with the simple absence of respect) in *ASJ* 13 no. 31, in which a man designates his wife as the sole heir to all his property, apparently because his only living son is resident abroad. That son is named his mother’s successor heir, conditional upon (a) his return and (b) his appropriate treatment of his mother.

ASJ 13 no. 31: (7–9) Now then, my son PN is residing in a foreign land. If he shows up here, let him honor (*liplah*) his mother PN₂. (9–11) Should he indeed honor her (*ipallahši*), after she dies, let him take (as heir) my house and everything of mine. (12–13) But if he is disrespectful (*ida’in*)⁴ toward his mother [PN₂], he shall have [no share of the inheritance]. (14 ff., fragmentary clauses, witnesses, seals)⁵

This disrespectful behavior is specified as verbal abuse in another Emar text that records the disinheritance of a son (or perhaps the annulment of an adoption). This interesting document, ME 105,⁶ records on its obverse the fact of a father disinheriting one of his sons in the presence of his extended kin,⁷ and on its reverse the salient legal factor⁸ allowing this action, the son’s disrespectful speech.

ME 105: (1–6) Ištabu ... in soundness of body and mind, seated his extended kin and determined the disposition of his house and his children. He declared as follows:

⁴ I agree with Tsukimoto that *ana PN i-da-in* (lines 12 f.) probably is an Assyrianism containing *danānu*, here and in other Emar texts, e.g., *ibid.* no. 20:5', with a meaning such as “to be disobedient to (*ana*).” Also, e.g., in *ibid.* no. 29 r. 5 (*mannumē ana panīši i-da'-an SAG.DU-šū liptūr*); Beckman, *Emar RE* 26:19 (*šumma PN ... ana panī PN₂ u PN₃ i-da-in ...*).

⁵ A. Tsukimoto, “Akkadian Tablets in the Hirayama Collection (II),” *ASJ* 13 (1990) 294 f. (copy 323) no. 31:7–13.

⁶ ME 105, published in transliteration and translation by D. Arnaud, “La Syrie du moyen-Euphrate sous le protectorat hittite: contrats de droit privé,” *AuOr* 5 (1987) 211–41, 239 ff. no. 17; copy in Tsukimoto, *ASJ* 13 (1990) 320 no. 28, with corrections to Arnaud’s edition given on 290. The seal impressed upon ME 105 (see Arnaud 239 with n. 41, “sceau dynastique”) is not included in D. Beyer, *Emar IV: Les sceaux* (OBO.SA 20; Göttingen: Editions Universitaires Fribourg Suisse, 2001) and apparently remains unpublished.

⁷ On the “brothers” as extended kin in Emar, see C. Wilcke, “AH, die ‘Brüder’ von Emar: Untersuchungen zur Schreibtradition am Euphratknie,” *AuOr* 10 (1992) 138 ff. and N. Bellotto, “I LÚ.MEŠ.ah-ḫi-a a Emar,” *AoF* 22 (1995) 210–28.

⁸ See M. Roth, “The Because Clause: Punishment Rationalization in Mesopotamian Laws,” in *Studies Veenhof* 407–12.

(6–9) “Ḫuḫa is not my son (any longer). His staff is broken.⁹ Zu-Aba, Dagan-abu, and Yarib-Dagan are (still) my sons. (10–14) Forever, Ḫuḫa has no share in my properties or my debts. (15–18) In the future, anyone who [...]”

(18–20) [...] was seated, and in the presence of [...] he uttered disrespectful speech (*megirtam idbub*).¹⁰ (21–24) Because (Ḫuḫa spoke) thus, he (Ištābu) broke his staff; he removed him from his status as son; verily his (only) inheritance portion is the gutter(?) and distress(?).¹¹ (24–26) Furthermore, should Ḫuḫa initiate legal proceedings against the (other) sons of Ištābu, he shall pay one thousand (shekels) of silver.

(27–35) (names of eight witnesses, scribe) (36–37) Month Ḫalma, year Dagan-malik, first time. Seal of Dudu.¹²

The disrespectful child thus clearly risks disinheritance. But behavior more extreme than simple disrespect warrants consequences more extreme than disinheritance. The most egregious breach of proper filial behavior is, of course, parricide. To my knowledge, parricide appears in the cuneiform sources only in cases of actual or feared regicide: King Sennacherib was indeed murdered by his son Arda-Mullissi,¹³ and although the latter never gained the throne, his motivation presumably was that commonplace offered in the omen literature from at least the Old Babylonian period: *māru abašu idākma kussā išabbat*, “The son will kill his father and will seize the throne.”¹⁴

The relatively uncommon crime of a child, impatient for his inheritance, planning and carrying out the murder of a parent is vastly outnumbered in the modern legal literature by simple and aggravated assault of aged parents by adult children (among others).¹⁵ This domestic elder abuse is a shadow crime,

⁹ As Arnaud, “La Syrie du moyen-Euphrate” 240 n. 44 states, this symbolic gesture also appears in Arnaud, *Emar* 6 256 (typographical error there is to “246”); it is also possibly in the damaged text published as Arnaud, *Emar* 6 250. See M. Sigrist, “Gestes symboliques et rituels à Emar,” in *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East* (ed. J. Quaegebeur; OLA 55; Leuven: Peeters, 1993) 388.

¹⁰ Line 20: *me-gi-ir-tam id-bu-ub*, which I associate with *magirtu* (*migirtu*) (CAD M/1 44f., to be cross-referenced to *magrītu* and *magrū*) “insult, blasphemy;” Arnaud translates “déclara son accord,” connecting to *migrū* (*migirtu*) “consent, agreement.”

¹¹ Lines 23–4: ‘NA₄’ *bi-ú ú du-un-nu-tum lu-ú* ḪA.LA-*šu*. The expression is unknown to me; the first term might be *bī’u* “drainage opening”; *dunmutu* for KALAG.GA / *dannatu*.

¹² Reading line 37 with Tsukimoto, *ASJ* 13 (1990) 290.

¹³ See S. Parpola, “The Murderer of Sennacherib,” in *CRRAI* 26 (1980) 171–81; see also D. Wiseman, “Murder in Mesopotamia,” *Iraq* 36 (1974) 249–60 (both cited in Harris, *Gender and Aging* 205 n. 18).

¹⁴ YOS 10 39 r. 3, cf. YOS 19 40:21 (both OB), CT 27 12:7 (SB Šumma Izbu), and passim, see CAD A/1 s.v. *abu* A mng. 1a.

¹⁵ According to the September 1998 “National Elder Abuse Incidence Study,” prepared for the Administration on Aging and the Administration for Children and Families, “the best national estimate is that a total of 449,924 elderly persons, aged 60 and over, experienced abuse and/or neglect in domestic settings in 1996. ... The standard error suggests that nationwide as many as 688,948 elders or as few as 210,900 elders could have been victims of abuse and/or neglect in domestic settings in 1996.” The full report is available at www.aoa.gov/abuse/report/default.htm.

generally hidden by the family (even by the shamed victim); the physical evidence of the crime is easily explained away and dismissed. Nonetheless, when elder abuse does come to public light today, it causes enormous popular outrage. Just such social repugnance, I suggest, also is behind the ancient Mesopotamian ruling of LH § 195. That provision contemplates a situation in which a person physically assaults his father. This assault brings about intervention by authorities beyond the household. As a result, the offender is subjected to a vivid corporal sympathetic punishment. The provision reads:¹⁶

LH § 195 *šumma mārūm abašu imtaḥaṣ rittašu inakkisu*

If a child/son should strike his father, they shall cut off his hand.

To my knowledge, scholarship has not addressed a troubling point: Why could not the behavior of this child be handled within the family structure and authority? Why does what appears to be a strictly internal family matter—a child's tantrum and loss of control—demand resolution by an outside authority? The common sense answer that I offer is that the "child" referred to in this provision is not a youngster, but a man of sufficient age, physical stature, and emotional maturity to be a physical threat. The parent, moreover, is ineffectual in his attempts to demand or coerce the respect and appropriate behavior from his grown offspring that he used to expect as his due. The social norms are thus inverted: the younger generation disrespects the elder generation, the child strikes the parent. Surely just such "wrongs" are challenges to the king's fulfilling his role as just ruler and must be addressed and remedied.¹⁷

The history of the scholarship devoted to LH § 195 is brief. In the still-standard 1952 commentary of Driver and Miles, the provision is taken as the opening rule in a larger grouping, §§ 195–208, dealing with bodily assaults.¹⁸ The only question posed by Driver and Miles is: "Is the loss of the hand the sole penalty or can the father also disinherit his son?"¹⁹ To answer their question, they bring into consideration LH §§ 168 and 169, which deal with the circumstances under which a father may disinherit his son.²⁰ Certainly,

¹⁶ The LH is cited from M.T. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor* (SBLWAW 6; 2nd rev. ed.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2000) 120.

¹⁷ See M.T. Roth, "Hammurabi's Wronged Man," *JAOS* 122 (2002) 38–45.

¹⁸ G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws*, vol. 1: Legal Commentary (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952) 406–13. In this they are followed by all commentators, e.g., A. Finet, *Le code de Hammurapi* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1973) 110: "Avec cet article commencent les 21 paragraphes traitant des lésions corporelles, punies, soit du talion, soit d'un talion restreint à la partie du corps coupable, soit d'une compensation pénalisante."

¹⁹ Driver and Miles, *Babylonian Laws* I 411.

²⁰ LH § 168: *šumma awīlum ana mārišu nasāḥim panam ištakan ana dajānī mārī anassah iqtabi dajānū warkassu iparrasuma šumma mārūm arnam kabtam ša ina aplūtīm nasāḥim la ublam abum mārašu ina aplūtīm ul inassah*, "If a man should decide to disinherit his son and

Driver and Miles are correct to consider disinheritance—the usual option for a child’s failure to respect, support, and bury a parent, as seen in the documents cited above—as a parental option for this more extreme behavior. But is disinheritance a sufficient remedy?

Other more recent scholarship approaches LH § 195 with different questions in mind. Otto’s 1991 detailed commentary to the bodily injury rules in Near Eastern and biblical law collections includes LH § 195, but Otto’s concern with § 195 is largely literary and structural; there is no comment on the legal circumstances posed by the protasis.²¹ In my contribution to a 1995 conference, I focused my attention within the bodily injuries laws §§ 195–214 on the “cheek-slapping” provisions of LH §§ 202–25.²² The only observation I made there to LH § 195 concerned literary structure, in line with Otto’s literary structure observations: “The literary principles of attraction ... are transparent. The case of the disobedient son is certainly influenced by the preceding paragraphs concerned with adoption, apprenticeship, and wet-nursing—that is, with familial and filial duties. In its turn, the provision with the son who ‘strikes’ his father then attracts the bodily injury talio rules.”²³ Although it is not explicitly stated, my harking back to the cases involving infants and youngsters reveals that at that time I assumed LH § 195 dealt with a young person, and not with an adult.

Certain biblical laws that have been deemed comparable have received more attention. The Covenant Code (Exod 21:1–23:12) contains a straightforward injunction that, in its simple formulation and in the absence of details, recalls the Hammurabi provision: “He who strikes (*makkēh*) his father or his mother shall be put to death” (Exod 21:15). Two verses later, there is an expansion or variation: “He who belittles (*mēqallēl*) his father or his mother shall be put to death” (Exod 21:17).²⁴ A later provision²⁵ in the

declares to the judges, ‘I will disinherit my son,’ the judges shall investigate his case and if the son is not guilty of a grave offense deserving the penalty of disinheritance, the father shall not disinherit his son.”

LH § 169: *šumma arnam kabtam ša ina aplūtīm nasāḥim ana abišu itbalam ana ištiššu panīšu ubbalu šumma arnam kabtam adi šinīšu itbalam abum mārašu ina aplūtīm inassah*, “If he should be guilty of a grave offense deserving the penalty of disinheritance by his father, they shall pardon him for his first one; if he should commit a grave offense a second time, the father may disinherit his son.”

²¹ E. Otto, *Körperverletzungen in den Keilschriftrechten und im Alten Testament* (AOAT 226; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1991) 56–70.

²² M. T. Roth, “Mesopotamian Legal Traditions and the Laws of Hammurabi,” *Chicago–Kent Law Review* 71 (1995) 13–39, esp. 24–37.

²³ Roth, “Mesopotamian Legal Traditions” 26 f.

²⁴ These were viewed by Alt as participial apodictic provisions; see A. Alt, “The Origins of Israelite Law,” in *Essays on Old Testament History and Religion* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1966; repr. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989) 81–132.

²⁵ B. Levinson argues that the system of city-gate/elders justice is earlier than Deuteronomy’s imposed professional judiciary, and the two never coexisted; see B. Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) 124 ff. and

Deuteronomic legislation elaborates upon both the offense and its remedy, although the child's behavior notably does not include physical assault upon the parent. But Deut 21:18–21 sets out prior conditions (previous attempts at parental discipline); it gives attention to a judicial process (involving the administration of justice by a body of elders); it provides grounds (disloyalty, wayward behavior); and it specifies the means of execution (stoning by the townspeople).

Deut 21:18–21 If a man has a wayward and defiant son, who does not heed his father or mother and does not obey them even after they discipline him, his father and mother shall take hold of him and bring him out to the elders of his town at the public place of his community. They shall say to the elders of his town,²⁶ "This son of ours is wayward and defiant; he does not heed us. He is a glutton and a drunkard."²⁷ Thereupon all the men of his town shall stone him to death.

The puzzle for me arising from LH § 195 (and also from the Exodus passages) is that a parent should, under normal circumstances, have been fully within his rights and responsibilities to control and discipline his own child. Why bring any layer of officialdom into a private domestic matter? Clarification comes from the details of the son's behavior as expressed to the elders in Deut 21:20. This behavior is not that of a youngster, but that of an adult: defiance, disrespect, and excess. It is clear that despite their best efforts and intentions, the parents cannot exercise control over their fully grown child.²⁸

So, too, in LH § 195 the parent is physically outmatched by the adult son. "Child" (*mārum*) is not chronologically determined, but a socially relative term. It expresses not the age of an individual but his or her relationship: years of physical dependency upon the parent and a lifetime of social/familial inferiority to the senior generation. In fact, the *mārum* in LH § 195 must be old enough for his offense to be more than a display of childish tantrum.

especially 125 f. nn. 70 and 71 with summary and bibliography of other positions, particularly those of E. Otto (coexisting systems) and J. Gertz (arguing for a post-exilic date for the laws in which the elders judge).

²⁶ Targum Pseudo-Jonathan adds at the beginning of the parents' speech: "We have transgressed the decree of the Memra of the Lord; because of this, this son of ours ..." thus accepting responsibility for the son's behavior. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Deuteronomy* (trans. E. G. Clarke; The Aramaic Bible vol. 5B; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1998) 59.

²⁷ Targum Pseudo-Jonathan adds a clause allowing for the son to plead: "And it shall be, if he fears and heeds the instruction (offered) to him and pleads for his life, they shall let him live. But if he rebels anew, all the cities' men ..." Clarke, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Deuteronomy* 59.

²⁸ The medieval biblical commentators (Rashi, Rambam, etc.) are silent about the age of the "son" (*bēn*) of Deut 21:18, of the "one who strikes" of Exod 21:15, and of the "one who belittles" of Exod 21:17, apparently assuming his adult status; see, too, the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds, Tractate Sanhedrin.

His behavior must be perceived as a display of adult arrogance unacceptable—even repugnant—to the community.

I maintain, therefore, that the protasis of LH § 195, *šumma mārūm abašu imtaḥaš*, indicates that an adult child has physically battered an aged parent. It might also be taken as elliptical for *šumma mārūm lēt abišu imtaḥaš*, “If a child should strike the cheek of his father,” which invokes the motif of disrespect or dishonor directed against a social superior.²⁹ Although the extent of the physical abuse is not specified in LH § 195, in dealing with Exodus 21:15 the rabbinic tradition is concerned with whether or not the non-fatal blow leaves a bruise.³⁰ Such bruising apparently was decisive in a Neo-Babylonian case from the time of Nabonidus, in which silver compensation was owed for an assault to the face that resulted in a severe wound: *kaspu ša kūm ṭarrē ša Iddinaja Iqīšaja iṭrū u ina muḥḥi pani imḥašūšuma simmu maršu iškunušu u ina maḥar dajānē eli ramanišu ukinnuma*, “The silver is in compensation for the beating which Iddinaja gave Iqīšaja, in the course of which he struck him in the face and inflicted upon him a terrible wound, and (for which) he confessed before the judges.”³¹

Whether or not there is physical evidence of the abuse—lacerations, broken bones, scarring—that the act was viewed as extreme by the social group is clearly indicated by the apodosis of LH § 195. Such physical mutilations as the cutting off of the hand serve not simply as retributive punishment but also (or more so) as expressions of public outrage and intended deterrents.³²

²⁹ See Roth, “Mesopotamian Legal Traditions” 25 ff.; K.R. Veenhof, “Old Assyrian and Ancient Anatolian Evidence for the Care of the Elderly,” in *Care of the Elderly* 136 with n. 37. The idiom *lēta maḥāšu* also appears in Emar disinheritance clauses: Beckman, *Emar* RE 15:26 (lines 22–9: *šum-ma* ¹PN ² ¹PN₂ 2 DUMU.SAL.MEŠ-ia ¹PN₃ AMA-šu-nu la it-ta-na-bal ¹PN₃ le-tā-ši lu-ū ti-im-ḥa-aš ² ¹... a-šar it-ta-na-bal-lu-ši lu-ū ti-din, “If (either of) my two daughters, ¹PN or ¹PN₂, does not support their mother ¹PN₃, ¹PN₃ shall strike her cheek and she shall give [her possessions as inheritance instead] to whoever supports her”); S. Dalley and B. Teissier, “Tablets from the Vicinity of Emar and Elsewhere,” *Iraq* 54 (1992) 103 no. 6:15 (lines 11–6: *ša a-na ŠA-bi* 3 DUMU.MEŠ-ia AMA-šu ¹PN ² ¹ul it-ta-na-bal a-na HA.LA-šu i-te-li le-et-ta-šu lu-ū ta-am-ḥa-aš a-na SILA-qī.MEŠ lu-ū ta-as-li-šu, “Whichever of my three sons does not support his mother ¹PN will forfeit his inheritance share. She shall strike his cheek; she shall throw him out into the street”); A. Tsukimoto, “A Testamentary Document from Emar,” *ASJ* 16 (1994) 231:13 (lines 11–5: *šum-ma* PN a-na pa-ni um-mi-šu ² ¹ul um-mi i-qa-bi le-ta-šu lu ta-am-ḥa-aš-ma ² ¹ina KÁ-bi lu tu-ka-ši-da-šu “Should PN declare to his mother ‘[You are] not my mother!’ she shall strike his cheek, she shall drive him out through the doorway”).

³⁰ See the comments of Rashi and Rashbam on the biblical verse (the battery leaving a visible wound), and see further J. Neusner, *The Mishnah: A New Translation* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988) 521 ad Baba Qamma 8.3 and 8.5.

³¹ BM 79049:3–8, see C. Wunsch, “Die Jugendsünden eines Babyloniers,” *AoF* 24 (1997) 231–41.

³² In a presentation to the American Oriental Society in Baltimore, March 23, 1999, in a plenary session on “Crime and Punishment,” I discussed some implications of physical penalties, unusual penalties, sympathetic penalties, etc., for our understanding of Mesopotamian notions of deterrence and punishment; a revision of that essay is in preparation.

The only other cuneiform evidence known to me of assault of a parent is found in one Middle Babylonian text from Nippur, PBS 2/2 116.³³ There, among a dozen persons held in captivity, several because of offenses committed against the governor of Nippur, we find two individuals held for assault against family members:³⁴

(8) ... *Ūši-annē'a mār* [...] (9) *aššum ummašu iṭṭū* ... (15) *Ḫulālu mār Ilīma-ili aššum aḫašu rabām imḫašu*

(8–9) Uši-anne'a, son of [...], because he beat his mother ... (15) Ḫulālu, son of Ilīma-ili, because he struck his older brother.

There are two different verbs used in PBS 2/2 116 to express the assaults. The first, *naṭū*, used to express aggressive physical assault, both officially sanctioned punishments (e.g., LH § 127) and spontaneous outbursts of aggression,³⁵ here characterizes the battery of a mother. The second, *maḫāšu*, the common verb “to strike,” used in various specialized and idiomatic usages, and used in the Hammurabi passage under discussion to signify the assault on a parent, here in PBS 2/2 116 characterizes the assault upon a sibling. But note that because the sibling is identified as an “older brother”—potentially a father-figure and possibly the head of the household—the crime evokes the underlying theme of disrespect for elders of LH § 195.

Physical battery of a parent by grown offspring is, regrettably, one of the social abnormalities with which human cultures contend. The Hammurabi law collection confronts this theme of intergenerational conflict and disrespect by bringing the abuse out of the privacy of the domestic realm and into the public eye, where it is dealt with decisively and dramatically.

³³ The text is mentioned in E. Ebeling, “Gefangener, Gefängnis,” *RIA* 3 181; it is included in my forthcoming *Law Cases from Mesopotamia*. I thank Daniel Nevez for supplying me with study photographs of CBS 12904.

³⁴ Note the use of *aššum* to mark the offense; see Roth, “The Because Clause” 407–12.

³⁵ See CAD N/2 s.v. *naṭū* v. mngs. 1 and 4.

A WEAKNESS FOR HELLENISM*

JoAnn Scurlock and Farouk Al-Rawi¹

Regulars in the Student's Room at the British Museum know it as a very special place where one encounters a degree of generous sharing of information and collegiality that is unparalleled. When Scurlock and her husband, Richard Beal, made their first extended visit, Erle greeted them with a smile and said "You'll be back!" and he was right. While burrowing in the Sippar collection with the help of Erle's wonderful catalogue, Scurlock ran across an interesting example of what is usually termed a *Kalendertext*, which she thought he would enjoy. This late Persian or early Seleucid text,² of which only part of the reverse is preserved, recommends ingredients for an amulet, fumigant, and salve to be employed under the influence of various signs of the zodiac.

BM 76483³ (Fig. 1)

- 1' [ú...] 'x' SAĤAR 'KÁ ^dIš-tar' [ina Ì.BUR EŠ-su nap-šal-tú šá TA
UD.22.KÁM]
2' [E]N UD.28.KÁM APIN UD.15.KÁM x [...]
-

* Or: A (Seven Day) Week(var. Weak)-ness for Hellenism. Since both readings make a modicum of sense in this context and since it is Hellenism we are talking about, the Classical philological principle of *lectio difficilior* should apply; hence, the more difficult reading of Week-ness is to be preferred.

¹ The text was originally found and transliterated by Scurlock. It was subsequently copied by Al-Rawi, who also made a number of improvements in readings. The discussion is largely the work of Scurlock with further input by Al-Rawi. The authors would further like to thank for comments and suggestions Richard Beal, who would like to wish his honored teacher a long, happy and productive retirement. We would further like to thank Michael Murrin and Hermann Hunger who read all or parts of an earlier draft of this paper. They, of course, should not be blamed for any faults that may remain. After this article was submitted for publication, it came to the authors' attention that Nils P. Heeßel had an article in press on tablet BM 76483 entitled "Stein, Pflanze und Holz. Ein neuer Text zur 'medizinischen Astrologie,'" *OrNS* 75 (2005) 1–22. However, since the two articles hardly overlapped in content, the three authors decided to publish both articles unchanged.

² The presence of the zodiac indicates a date in the fourth century BCE or later. The signs of the zodiac are, however, fully written out whereas Seleucid texts (e.g., BRM 4 19) generally use abbreviations. See Francesca Rochberg-Halton, "New Evidence for the History of Astrology," *JNES* 43 (1984) 118–9 for a general discussion and chart of the full and abbreviated forms; cf. Arthur Ungnad, "Besprechungskunst und Astrologie in Babylonien," *AfO* 14 (1944) 256–8.

³ The authors wish to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish this tablet.

- 3' GAN KI PA.BIL.SAG ^{na}ZÚ.SIG₇ ^{giš}Ú.SU₅ [Ú DILI SAḪAR ^{giš}MÁ
ni-bi-ri]
- 4' *ina* TÚG.GADA *ina* GU.GADA <GAG.GAG> 1 ^{na}ZÚ.SIG₇ KI *me-eli* [È *ina*
GÚ-šú GAR KU.KU ^{giš}Ú.SU₅]
- 5' SAR-šú Ú DILI SAḪAR ^{giš}MÁ *ni-bi-ri* *ina* ʾĪ.[BUR EŠ-su]
- 6' *nap-šal-tú šá* TA UD.1.KÁM EN UD.7.KÁM GAN UD.1[5.KÁM ...]
-
- 7' AB KI MÚL SUḪUR.MÁŠ NA₄.dLAMMA ^{giš}ŠEM NUMUN GADA
<Ī.UDU MÁŠ> *ina* túg[GADA *ina* GU.GADA GAG.GAG]
- 8' 1 NA₄.dLAMMA KI *me-eli* È *ina* GÚ-šú GAR ^{giš}ŠEM Ī [ḪI.ḪI SAR-šú]
- 9' NUMUN GADA Ī.UDU MÁŠ *ina* Ī.BUR EŠ-su *nap-šal-tú šá* TA
U[D.8.KÁM EN UD.14.KÁM]
- 10' AB UD.15.KÁM *ana* EDIN[...]
-
- 11' ZÍZ KI MÚL GU.LA ^{na}KUR-nu ^{giš}ĪLDAG úak-tam SAḪAR [KÁ dBE *ina*
TÚG.GADA]
- 12' *ina* GU.GADA GAG.GAG 1 ^{na}KUR-nu KI *me-eli* È *ina* GÚ-šú [GAR
KU.KU ^{giš}ĪLDAG SAR-šú]
- 13' úak-tam SAḪAR KÁ dBE *ina* Ī.BUR [EŠ-su]
- 14' *nap-šal-tú šá* TA UD.15.KÁM EN UD.21.KÁM ZÍZ UD.ʾ15ʾ.[KÁM ...]
-
- 15' [Š]E KI KUN.MEŠ ^{na}lu-lu-da-ni-tum ^{giš}MES.MÁ.GAN.N[A ...]
- 16' [*ina*] KUŠ SAL.ÁŠ.GÀR *ina* KUŠ ri-ši-it MIN È <GAG.GAG> 1 ^{na}lu-lu-d[*a*-
ni-tum]
- 17' [K]I *me-eli* È *ina* GÚ-šú GAR KU.KU ^{giš}MES.MÁ.GAN.NA SAR-šú [...]
- 18' [*ina*] Ī.BUR EŠ-aš *nap-šal-tú šá* TA UD.22.KÁM EN UD.28.KÁM ŠE
UD.[15.KÁM ...]
-
- 19' [x] x ITI.KIN DI.RI⁴ a-ki-i MUL₄.LU.MAŠ DÙ ITI d[15 ...]⁵
-
- 20' [x x x x] x ḫa-ma-am NUMUN KUR.KUR kib-rit BAR MUŠ
- 21' [...] x x ù : Ī x x x⁶
- Several lines missing.
- I.e. 1. [...] GIŠ.NAGA NAGA DINGIR-šú KAR-šú [...]

⁴ At this late date, using syllabic Sumerian to render DIRI would be unusual, but second Ullūlu would be appropriate. For the possibility that some of Weidner's texts might also originally have included an intercalary month, see Nils P. Heeßel, *Babylonisch-assyrische Diagnostik* (AOAT 43; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2000) 114. The fragmentary sign at the beginning of the line could be a TAR from [d]š-tar or a GAM or part of a KÁM (restoring [UD.x.K]ÁM).

⁵ "[...] second Ullūlu when acting as a sign of the Zodiac, month of [Ištar...]" The transliteration follows a suggestion by H. Hunger (personal communication). For *lumāšu* as a sign of the Zodiac, see Abraham Sachs, "Babylonian Horoscopes," *JCS* 6 (1952) 71.

⁶ After the Ī there could be UDU, but GIŠ.ERIN would also be possible.

A Weakness for Hellenism

- 1'–2' [You rub him with ... plant] (and) dust from the Ištar gate [in *pūru*-oil. Salve for (the period) from the 22nd to the 28th of Araḥsamna. On the 15th [...]]
- 3'–6' Kislīmu is in the region of Sagittarius (= Nov/Dec): green (“yellow”) obsidian, *ašūḫu*-wood, [“lone plant” (and) dust from a ferry boat]. (You sew it up) in a linen cloth with a linen thread. [You string on] one piece of green obsidian as an amulet (and) [put it on his neck]. You fumigate him with [powdered *ašūḫu*-wood]. [You rub him with] “lone plant” (and) dust from a ferry boat in [*pūru*]-oil. Salve for (the period) from the 1st to the 7th of Kislīmu. On the 1[5th ...]
- 7'–10' Tebētu is in the region of Capricorn (= Dec/Jan): *lamassu*-stone, aromatic wood, flax seed, <and goat fat>. [You sew it up] in a [linen] cloth [with a linen thread]. You string on one *lamassu*-stone as an amulet (and) put it on his neck. You [mix] aromatic wood (with) oil (and) [fumigate him (with it)]. You rub him with flax seed (and) goat fat in *pūru*-oil. Salve for (the period) from the [8th to the 14th] of Tebētu. On the 15th, to the steppe [...]
- 11'–14' Šabātu is in the region of Aquarius (Jan./Feb.). Hematite, *adāru*-poplar, *aktam*-plant (and) dust [from the gate of Enlil]. You sew (them) up [in a linen cloth] with a linen thread. You string on one hematite as an amulet (and) [put (it)] on his neck. [You fumigate him with powdered *adāru*-poplar wood. You rub him] with *aktam*-plant (and) dust from the gate of Enlil in *pūru*-oil. Salve for (the period) from the 15th to the 21st of Šabātu. On the 15th [...].
- 15'–18' Addāru is in the region of Pisces (Feb./Mar.). *Luludānītu*-stone, *musukkannu*-wood, [x -plant, etc.]. You sew them up [in] the skin of a virgin she-goat with a leather strap for ditto. You string on one *lulud[ānītu]*-stone as an amulet (and) put (it) on his neck. You fumigate him with powdered *musukkannu*-wood. You rub on [x-plant, etc. in] *pūru*-oil. Salve for (the period) from the 22nd to the 28th of Addāru. On the [15th ...].
- 19' [...]second Ululu, when it acts as a zodiacal sign, month of [Ištar ...]
-
- 20'–21' [...] chaff, *ālā'īšu*-seed, sulphur, snake skin [...] oil [...]
(several lines missing)

The text, most of which is now lost, would originally have outlined instructions for all of the signs of the Zodiac, beginning with Aries (Nisannu) and terminating with Pisces (Šabātu). In each section, an inventory is given of the necessary items followed by instructions for their use. We shall return to the fumigant and amulet presently, but to be noted here is the fact that, in each case, the salve is to be applied for one seven day week out of the month.

The division of the month into four weeks of seven days may seem perfectly natural to us, and we might assume, since our seven days of the

week are associated with the sun, moon, and the five planets that were known to ancient Mesopotamian astronomers, that this system came to us from Mesopotamia by way of Genesis 1–2. However, there is scant evidence for any form of week from ancient Mesopotamia and what evidence there is seems rather to point to a five- or six-day week (*hamuštu*). Yet here we have the seven-day week. Also curious is that, rather than having all of the salves applied, say for the first week of every month, the instructions envision the practitioner rubbing on the appropriate salve in the first week of the first month, the second week of the second month, the third week of the third month, the fourth week of the fourth month, the first week again of the fifth month and so on, thus progressing through the four weeks of the month three times over during the course of a year. We shall have more to say about this presently, but note here the fact that the system presented by BM 76483 is not exactly paralleled in any other text of its genre.

One Tradition or Many?

What is particularly interesting about the group of late Babylonian texts to which BM 76483 belongs, the so-called *Kalendertexte*, is the diversity that characterizes them. For example, unlike BM 76483, BM 43558 and parallels (published by I. Finkel⁷) do not include fumigants (which were medical rather than magical for the physician, unsolicited-omen expert and now astrologer, the *āšipu*).⁸ Another obvious difference is that the magical stones of Finkel's texts were meant to be ground up in a salve. More curious is the fact that the stones in question do not correspond for any of the months represented by BM 76483. There is also some variation in Finkel's texts in the lubricant used for the salve, which in BM 76483 is invariably *pūru*-oil. Last but by no means least is the fact that Finkel's texts give no hint that the months were divided into four weeks of seven days as is clearly the case with BM 76483.

Similarly, YBC 9833⁹ uses no fumigants and no stones and wraps each plant used in a different animal skin corresponding to the month, which by now perhaps not surprisingly is not on the same system as the animal fat of Finkel's texts (e.g., APIN is dog skin in YBC 9833 r. 9 but fox fat in BM 43700+:7). The plants are again not used for the same months as in BM 76483 (e.g., GAN is ^{gis}U.SUḪ₅, “fir,” and not ^{gis}HAŠḪUR, “apple,” as in YBC 9833:10) and the months are again not divided into seven-day weeks.

⁷ Irving Finkel, “On Late Babylonian Medical Training,” in *Studies Lambert* 212–5.

⁸ See JoAnn Scurlock, *Magico-Medical Means of Treating Ghost Induced Illnesses in Ancient Mesopotamia* (AMD 3; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 23–65.

⁹ See Heeßel, *Diagnostik* 125–6.

The text presented as *SpTU* 3 104–5¹⁰ also uses animal fat, hair, and blood in its salves, the choice of which salve to use being dictated by a fanciful reference to the animal associated with the relevant sign of the Zodiac (e.g., ram for Aries and bull for Taurus). Need we say it? This may be perfectly logical but it is not what dictated the choice of ingredients for salves in Finkel's texts, which use cedar oil for both Aries and Libra, tortoise fat instead of rooster for Gemini and goat fat instead of crab for Cancer, and so on.¹¹

The obverse of BM 56605, another text found via Erle's catalogue, and the reverse of BM 47755¹² are ostensibly identical to YBC 9833, having exactly the same sequence of plants wrapped in skins of exactly the same animals. This apparent duplication is, however, an illusion. If you had two persons, each of whom was to follow the instructions given in his assigned text, in no month of the year would these two persons be wearing the same amulet. This follows from the fact that YBC 9833 begins with Aries and ends with Pisces, whereas the obverse of BM 56605 begins with Aquarius and ends with Capricorn.

What would appear to have happened is that a fixed sequence of twelve amulets was applied mechanically to two different calendars so that the first amulet was worn in the first month, the second in the second month and so on. One of these calendars, that beginning with Aries (March/April) is the traditional calendar of ancient Mesopotamia. The other would appear to be the Roman calendar introduced in 153 BCE, which commences with Aquarius (January/February).

The reverse of BM 56605 contains a micro-zodiac giving a stone, a wood, a plant, a month, a day, and a food taboo, which, just to be contrary, begins with Nisannu and Aries. (This would be normal for Mesopotamia in general, but the system presented on the text's own obverse begins with Aquarius.) The reverse also manages to put NU.ÚR.MA (pomegranate) in Cancer instead of Capricorn (YBC 9833:11) or Scorpio (its own obverse). A number of similar texts with sequences of temples, woods, plants, and stones edited by Weidner¹³ agree neither with each other nor with any of the previously discussed texts with the rare exception of NU.ÚR.MA (pomegranate) for Capricorn on the reverse of VAT 7847+.

¹⁰ For a summary of this text with explanations, see Erica Reiner, *Astral Magic in Babylonia* (TAPS 85; Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1995) 116–7.

¹¹ The fourth month of the Mesopotamian calendar is associated with Dumuzi, which is presumably why goat fat is being used for Cancer in Finkel's texts.

¹² Heeßel, *Diagnostik* 117–30.

¹³ Ernst Weidner, *Gestirn-Darstellungen auf babylonischen Tontafeln* (SÖAW 254/II; Vienna: Böhlau in Kommission, 1967) 18, 30, 35 and 36.

Harvest of Hellenism

What we have here stumbled upon, as it were by accident, is what we should already have realized, namely that Hellenistic Babylonia was Hellenistic and not just Babylonian. Geographically, Babylonia was a crossroads where the diverse cultures of the ancient Near East met and mingled. From Persia came the astrological imperative. For Mazdeans, only Ahura Mazda was, properly speaking, a god. The remaining divinities were reduced to the status of divine beings of whom even the good ones were little more than the personified spiritual powers of Ahura Mazda. It was only possible for these “lords” to preserve a continuing role in the causation of terrestrial events if they could be reduced to the status of depersonalized planetary forces of nature.

From Ionia, the cultural center of the Greek world, came the philosophical underpinnings of this new system of thought. With the conquest of Ionia in the 6th century BCE and the concomitant attraction of Ionian philosopher/scientists to the Persian court (as, for example, the 4th century Cnidian physician, Ctesias) there began the long process of assimilation that produced astrology as we know it. Over the course of the fifth to fourth centuries BCE, the signs of the zodiac were given their modern assignments, and the first horoscopes began to be produced in Babylonia.¹⁴

From Babylonia came the division of the year into twelve months and the knowledge of mathematics and astronomy necessary to make astrological calculations, which is why “Chaldeans” were in such demand as astrologers. From Palestine came the seven-day week; from Egypt the idea of a solar calendar and of dividing the day into twenty-four rather than twelve hours, and so on.¹⁵

An often overlooked but crucial element in the mingling of cultures under the Persians and Seleucids and the subsequent rule of “philhellene” Parthians was the Jewish diaspora, the presence of whose node center in Babylonia ensured the addition of the Palestinian and Egyptian elements to the mix. The employment of members of this diaspora as mercenaries and military colonists by Ptolemaic and Seleucid rulers made them ideal mediators of culture.

As with Hellenistic scholars everywhere, these “Greeks” (often well-to-do locals with Greek names) would have spent the majority of their time splitting into hostile schools and arguing endlessly with each other, a feature that Sextus Empiricus (in a classic case of the pot calling the kettle black)

¹⁴ See Ulla Koch-Westenholz, *Mesopotamian Astrology* (CNIP 19; Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum, 1995) 162–79.

¹⁵ F. Rochberg, “Astronomy and Calendars in Ancient Mesopotamia,” *CANE* 3 1931; G. Robins, “Mathematics, Astronomy, and Calendars in Pharaonic Egypt,” *CANE* 3 1811–3.

attributes particularly to “Chaldeans.”¹⁶ The number of different ways in which the collective wisdom of East and West could be pooled was probably limited, but there were certainly more ways than one. For example, a Seleucid text from Uruk assigns various parts of the liver to specific constellations¹⁷ and another late text, yet unpublished, combines a section of astrological medicine with of all things a numerical system for the incantations of the ninth tablet of *Šurpu* (purificatory rituals to loosen oaths and curses).¹⁸

(If at First You Don’t Succeed) Trine, Trine Again: Magical Uses of Trine Aspect

As we have seen above, in BM 74683, Aries, Leo, and Sagittarius had their salves applied in the first week of the month, Taurus, Virgo, and Capricorn in the second week, and so on with the result that each salve would have been applied a magical three times during the course of a year. This particular arrangement predates the emergence of the signs of the zodiac, being originally groupings of months of the year for purposes of astral divination.¹⁹ However, by the time of the Hellenized Egyptian astronomer Ptolemy, this original pattern had developed into a system of triplicities (four groups of three months/zodiacal signs each) intimately associated with five governing planets known as “lords” of triplicities (Jupiter, Venus, the twins Saturn and Mercury, and Mars) who appear in a specific rotating sequence associated with the four wind directions.²⁰

North is associated with Jupiter who governs the first triplicity (signs 1,5,9), meaning that Jupiter comes first, followed by Venus, then Saturn and Mercury (who always appear together), and finally Mars. South is associated with Venus who governs the second triplicity (signs 2,6,10), meaning that Venus comes first, followed by Saturn and Mercury, Mars, and finally Jupiter. West is associated with Saturn and Mercury who govern the third triplicity (signs 3,7,11) meaning that they come first, followed by Mars, Jupiter, and finally Venus. East is associated with Mars who governs the

¹⁶ “About these there is no little disagreement among them (the Chaldeans) and in their tablets too” (Sextus Empiricus, *Math.* V.38). The text in question is a polemic that, interestingly, bases the bulk of its argument “Against the Astrologers” on the impossibility of science in the modern sense of the word (predicting the date of conception on the basis of cessation of menses and the appearance of pica—V.62–3, measuring time with a waterclock—V.75–7 and making direct observations of the stars—V.79–85).

¹⁷ *SpTU* 4 159; see Reiner, *Astral Magic* 78–9. For association of stars with parts of the human body, see E. Reiner, “Two Babylonian Precursors of Astrology,” *NABU* 1993/26. According to Sextus Empiricus, the latter practice was a characteristic of Chaldean astrology (*Math.* V.22).

¹⁸ Irving Finkel, “Muššu’u, Qutāru, and the Scribe Tanittu-Bēl,” in *Studies Civil* 97 n. 9.

¹⁹ *Tetrabiblos* I.18. See Rochberg-Halton, *JNES* 43 (1984) 128–9 with n. 50.

²⁰ For citation and helpful charts, see Rochberg-Halton, *JNES* 43 (1984) 124–7.

fourth triplicity (4,8,12), meaning that Mars comes first, followed by Jupiter, Venus, and finally Saturn and Mercury. The entire system is said by Ptolemy to be “Chaldean,”²¹ by which he presumably means that it was recorded in “Chaldea” (Babylonia) and in the “Chaldean” language (Akkadian or Aramaic) rather than in Greek.

Is BM 74683, then, an example of “Chaldean” wisdom? Since four substances are mentioned for each month, each sequence of ingredients should, in principle, represent one of the four triplicities, if this text is indeed an example of the system described by Ptolemy. But which triplicity is which? The salves intended for rubbing on the practitioner each month contain, besides plants about which more shall be said presently, the following ingredients in this order:

Sagittarius: SAḪAR ḡiṣMÁ *ni-bi-ri*
 Capricorn: Ì.UDU MÁŠ
 Aquarius: SAḪAR KÁ ^dBE
 Pisces: SAḪAR KÁ ^dIš-tar²²

Equating these entries with the five planets governing each triplicity, according to Ptolemy, namely Jupiter, Venus, the twins (Gemini): Saturn and Mercury, and Mars is actually quite easy. ^dBE is Enlil, i.e., Jupiter; ^dIš-tar is Venus; the river crossing boat is an obvious reference to the ferryman of the netherworld whose entrance is guarded by the Twin Gods (Lugal-girra and Meslamtaea), that is, Saturn and Mercury. The final ingredient is goat fat. Goats are generally associated with Dumuzi, and Dumuzi is the “hireling” who gives his Babylonian name to the constellation known to us as Aries. According to Classical astrology at any rate, Aries is the “house” of Mars (known in Akkadian as *Šalbatānu*).²³ Substituting Ptolemy’s “lords of triplicities” for their Akkadian counterparts yields the following sequence.

Sagittarius: Saturn and Mercury
 Capricorn: Mars
 Aquarius: Jupiter
 Pisces: Venus

This is Ptolemy’s third triplicity. Unfortunately, not enough is known by this modern author about the stones listed to know the appropriateness of attributions of amulet stones to specific divinities with the exception of ^{na}KUR-nu (hematite) whose qualities of attraction are well suited to equation

²¹ *Tetrabiblos* I.21.

²² The entry is broken but may presumably be restored from line 1', which recorded the salve for another member of its triplicity.

²³ See Daniel Foxvog, “Astral Dumuzi,” in *Studies Hallo* 106.

with Ištar = Venus. Since *Luludānītu* is sometimes described as looking like two different stones,²⁴ it may have been thought appropriate for the twin gods. As hematite and *luludānītu* are the third and fourth of the stones, the amulets will have represented the fourth triplicity commencing with Mars, as follows.

Sagittarius: ^{na4}ZÚ.SIG₇ = Mars
Capricorn: NA₄.^dLAMMA = Jupiter
Aquarius: ^{na4}KUR-*nu* = Venus
Pisces: ^{na4}lu-lu-da-ni-tum = Saturn and Mercury

It is not safe to presume that the stones used in the amulets were chosen for their colors (as opposed to some other association with the relevant gods). However, since obsidian comes in more than one color, the specification of “yellow” probably indicates that it was specifically the obsidian’s color that governed its choice for Mars.²⁵ Since, moreover, by the “Chaldean” system, the four winds are supposed to correspond to the four sets of “lords,” we may presume that a further encoding is involved, presumably of the four primary colors somehow linked up with these four winds. But which color with which wind?

Helpfully, the plants used in the salves along with the dust, etc. are quite obviously color-coded. “Lone plant” is also known as the “red plant,” so Sagittarius was red. Flax seed is white, and so was Capricorn. *Aktam* is called the “black plant” so Aquarius was black. By process of elimination, Pisces was yellow/green (the actual plant is missing but most plants are this color anyway). Assigning yellow to Mars yields the following sequence.

Sagittarius: Ú DILI = red = Jupiter
Capricorn: NUMUN GADA = white = Venus
Aquarius: ^uak-tam = black = Saturn and Mercury
Pisces: [...] = yellow = Mars

This is Ptolemy’s first triplicity. The use of these plants in the salve is presumably, then, due to the associated planets being “lords” of the triplicity. The remaining wood sequence, used as fumigants, is presumably the missing second triplicity as follows.

Sagittarius: ^{gis}Ú.SUH₅ = Venus
Capricorn: ^{gis}ŠEM = Saturn and Mercury

²⁴ E.g., ^{na4}NIR and ^{na4}MUŠ.GÍR; for references, see CAD L 243–4.

²⁵ In classical astrology, Mars is the “red planet.” The association is also attested from ancient Mesopotamia (for references see CAD M/1 s.v. *makrū*). However, Jupiter and Venus could also be described as “red” (for references, see CAD S 129).

Aquarius: 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎤𐎡𐎴 = Mars

Pisces: 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎤𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎤𐎡𐎴 = Jupiter

The listing stone, wood, plant, and dust, etc. is related to the use to which each ingredient is put—i.e., the plant and the dust appear together because they are both in the salve. Rearranging the list to reflect the sequence of triplicities represented by these ingredients yields the following pattern, a rotating series of triplicities.

Sagittarius 1–7 = Mars (stone 4); Marduk (plant 1); Ištar (wood 2); Twin Gods (etc. 3)

Capricorn 8–14 = Marduk (stone 1); Ištar (plant 2); Twin Gods (wood 3); Mars (etc. 4)

Aquarius 15–21 = Ištar (stone 2); Twin Gods (plant 3); Mars (wood 4); Marduk (etc. 1)

Pisces 22–28 = Twin gods (stone 3); Mars (plant 4); Marduk (wood 1); Ištar (etc. 2)

Ptolemy's system also assigns to each triplicity one of the four elements.²⁶ Coordinating these elements with the four primary colors would, if arranged into a square, yield the following pattern.

North = Fire = Red

West = Air = White East = Water = Yellow

South = Earth = Black

Substituting winds for numbers in accordance with Ptolemy's "Chaldean" system of North = 1, South = 2, West = 3 and East = 4 ought, therefore, to produce a sequence of colors: red, black, white and yellow for the first triplicity. In fact, as we have seen, the order of colors in the first triplicity is instead red, white, black, and yellow. What has apparently happened in our text is that the four winds have been put in the order: North, West, South and East, which is quite simply the cardinal directions arranged in a magic circle. In principle, it would be possible to assign north to any point in this circle as long as the basic sequence was preserved, and indeed this is what seems to have happened in *SpTU* 2 43:18–9 in which an amulet is employed representing north, west, south and east by color beginning with white, yielding a sequence of white, black, yellow and red. This text also

²⁶ See W. Hartner and P. Kunitzsch, "Minṭaqat al Burūdī," *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2nd ed.; Leiden: Brill, 1991) 7: 84–5.

employs a second amulet in the form of a magic circle in which the first two and last two signs of the zodiac are represented by a skin: Ram for Aries and Ox for Taurus plus a Mule and the Horse of Pegasus.

Yet another magic circle is to be found in the arrangement of seven-day weeks and triplicities in Iqīšā's Seleucid *Kalendertexten*, *SpTU* 3 104–5. These texts represent two tablets of a rotational scheme whereby each day of the month, commencing with the 1st of Du'uzu > Aries 7 was equated with another sign of the zodiac exactly nine signs and seven days from the previous one. It has been speculated that the motivation for this pattern is that 277 days ($9 \times 30 + 7$) is the human gestation period.²⁷ However, the obvious motivation, apart from the fact that this rotation will get you back to your starting point at the end of twelve months, is that Cancer and Aries (which are nine signs of the Zodiac apart) are both closely associated with Dumuzi, that nine is three times three, and that there are seven days in the week.²⁸

What we are looking at, then, in *SpTU* 3 104–5 is a schema for discovering for each day of the month, a second day of another month that might exercise an influence over it. With the exception of Libra and Scorpio,²⁹ the influencing sign was cancelled by means of an apotropaic salve composed of appropriate ingredients (e.g., ram blood, fat, and wool for Aries).³⁰

In one case in *SpTU* 3 104:12 = Cancer 12, an accidental conjunction with Virgo 24 necessitated an addition of a further ingredient to the salve, which was then consistently applied to all days falling under the influence of Virgo. As it happens, we know from BRM 4.20: 33–34 // BRM 4.19:26–27, that this precise conjunction was appropriate for the performance of sorcerous rites involving ghosts. It is a well known fact that *šigūšu* flour was “reserved for / offensive to” (*ikkibu*) ghosts,³¹ which is presumably why this ingredient is being used in salves to cancel Virgo.

Of interest to us in view of BM 76483 and *SpTU* 2 43:18–9 's magic circles involving triplicities (see above) is the pattern presented by the first four entries of *SpTU* 3 104. In each case, what is produced is a pattern of three numbers of which the first and third are identical, thus encircling the second as follows.

The first of Du'uzu > Aries 7, which is the first week of the first sign of the first triplicity, yielding a pattern of 1,1,1.

²⁷ Reiner, *Astral Magic* 115.

²⁸ Admittedly, Ištar plays an important role in human pregnancies, but Iqīšā's scheme seems rather to be centered around her lover Dumuzi.

²⁹ For these months the enigmatic KI.KAL-*tim* appears followed by a reflex ŠÉŠ or MIN (*SpTU* 3 104: 3, 7, 16, 20, 29; 105: 4, 9, 17, 22, 26, 30). The most likely interpretation is that KI.KAL stands for *terīqu* from *riāqu*: “to be empty, idle, unprofitable”—in other words, the practitioner was to do nothing.

³⁰ For a discussion of the salves and their appropriateness, see Reiner, *Astral Magic* 116–7.

³¹ For references, see CAD Š/2 261a in the lexical section.

The second of Du'uzu > Capricorn 14, which is the second week of the third sign of the second triplicity, yielding a pattern of 2,3,2.

The third of Du'uzu > Libra 21, which is the third week of the second sign of the third triplicity, yielding a pattern of 3,2,3

The fourth of Du'uzu > Cancer 28, which is the fourth week of the first sign of the fourth triplicity, yielding a pattern of 4,1,4.

If the trine aspect was important for the *Kalendertexte* that we have been studying, it was a significant feature of more obviously astrological texts such as *LBAT* 1593 and 1597.³² This latter text presents the stars or signs of the zodiac in a specific order in accordance with the gods invoked as follows: Jupiter (= Marduk), Venus, (= Ištar), Mercury and Saturn (= Lugalgirra and Meslamtaea), Mars (= Ningirsu), Venus (= Ištar). This represents the first and the beginning of Ptolemy's second triplicity.

The four triplicities also appear in *LBAT* 1593, where they are defined as consisting of groups of masculine and feminine signs that may be used to predict the sex and number of children. As Sextus Empiricus in his account of "Chaldean" wisdom, explains, "masculine and feminine (signs) are those that possess a nature which aids the birth of males or females."³³

- 6' ... : BAR NE u GAN NÍTA : GU₄ KIN u AB S[AL: SIG₄ DU₆ u ZÍZ
NÍTA]
- 7' ŠU APIN u ŠE SAL : áš-šú MÚL.BABBAR ina KI SAL.MEŠ KI 430
GUB-zu NÍTA Û.TU : áš-šú dTUR.DIŠ lu [...]
- 8' ina KI SAL.MEŠ KI 30 NÍTA Û.TU : áš-šú dGU₄.UD ina KI.MEŠ šá NÍTA
u SAL KI 30 SAL Û.[TU]
- 9' šá dDIL.BAT KI.MIN-ma : áš-šú dŠal-bat-a-nu ina MÚL.MAŠ.MAŠ KI 30
MAŠ.TAB.BA Û.TU : áš-šú dTUR.DIŠ u dŠal-[bat-a-nu KI 30]
- 10' 2-ta <NÍTA>.MEŠ Û.TU : áš-šú dGU₄.UD ú-lu dTUR.DIŠ KI 30 NÍTA u
SAL: áš-šú GU₄.UD u dDIL.BAT
- 11' KI 30 2-ta SAL.MEŠ : áš-šú MÚL.BABBAR ana ziq-pi GUB-zu NÍTA u
SAL šá Û.TU SIG₅ : áš-šú MÚL.BABBAR ina MAŠ SAL
- 12' DIŠ NÍTA ÚŠ : áš-šú MÚL.BABBAR ina KUR NÍTA DIŠ SAL ÚŠ : šá
dUDU.IDIM gab-bi KI.MIN-ma : MAŠ DIŠ LÚ.TUR a-lid
- 13' dUDU.IDIM šá ina IGI šá dUDU.IDIM.MEŠ ana x x a tú KUR-du šu-u
šim-tum i-šá-am-šú
- 14' SIG₅ u ĤUL KI dUDU.IDIM tuš-tab-bal

³² For more details on these texts and BRM 4 19–20, see JoAnn Scurlock, "Chaldean' Astrology from Selected Cuneiform Sources" (*AfO* forthcoming).

³³ See Sextus Empiricus, *Math.* V.6–9, where he describes the system of masculine and feminine signs of the zodiac and micro zodiac.

Nisannu, Abu, and Kislīmu (the first triplicity) are masculine. Ayyāru, Ullūlu, and Țebētu (the second triplicity) are fem[inine]. Simānu, Tašrītu, and Šabātu (the third triplicity) are masculine]. Du'uzu, Araḥsamna, and Addāru (the fourth triplicity) are feminine. Because Jupiter stands in the region of the feminine signs (of the zodiac) with the moon, she will give birth to a boy. Because Saturn or [Mars] (stands) in the region of feminine signs (of the zodiac) with the moon, she will give birth to a boy. Because Mercury (stands) in the region of masculine or feminine (signs of the zodiac) with the moon, 'she will give birth' to a girl. For Venus it is the same. Because Mars (stands) in Gemini with the moon, she will give birth to twins. Because Saturn and Ma[rs (stand) with the moon], she will give birth to two boys. Because Mercury or Saturn (stands) with the moon, a boy and a girl. Because Mercury and Venus (stand) with the moon, two girls. Because Jupiter stands at the culmination, the boy or girl to which she gives birth will be handsome. Because Jupiter (stands at the culmination), among twins, the female or male will die; because Jupiter (stands at the culmination), in the land a male or female will die. For all of the planets it is the same. (When) twins or a child is born, the planet that is in front when the (other) planets reach [...] is the one that decides his fate. You interpret (the signs) as good or bad (depending on) the influence of the planets.

The assignment of alternating masculine and feminine characteristics to the signs of the zodiac is conventionally attributed to Pythagoras.³⁴ However, it is to be noted that *LBAT* 1593 gives its listing by triplicity in accordance with the conventional grouping of Babylonian months for purposes of astral divination,³⁵ not with the signs of the zodiac. This would seem to suggest that Pythagoras's division of the ecliptic into diurnal (masculine) and nocturnal (feminine) signs³⁶ is, like his eponymous theorem, actually a resetting and reinterpretation of ideas originally borrowed from Mesopotamia.

Interconnections

Groupings of the months of the year into three sets of four for purposes of astral divination positively begged for astrological development, but efforts were made to find even less obvious candidates for such treatment at home in the stars. According to a late Persian or early Seleucid³⁷ esoteric commentary (*RA* 62 52),³⁸ the series *Šumma izbu* (the ominous significance

³⁴ See Rochberg-Halton, *JNES* 43 (1984) 123–4.

³⁵ For a listing, see Rochberg-Halton, *JNES* 43 (1984) 128 n. 50.

³⁶ The Greek justification for the assignment of sex to the signs of the zodiac in terms of day and night is described in Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* 1.12.

³⁷ The presence of the zodiac indicates a date in the fourth century BCE or later. The signs of the zodiac are, however, fully written out whereas Seleucid texts (e.g., *BRM* 4 19) generally use abbreviations. For more details, see above.

³⁸ This is published in Robert Biggs, "An Esoteric Babylonian Commentary," *RA* 62 (1968)

of malformed births), SA.GIG (the diagnostic/prognostic handbook) and *alamdimmû* (physiognomic omens), which were apparently learned in that order, were to be equated with the first two signs of the zodiac, Aries and Taurus.³⁹ The text also gives a partial explanation of how the series on malformed births and the physiognomic omens could be given astrological significance.⁴⁰

For the physiognomic omens, we are fortunate in having four texts—*LBAT* 1593, Qumran 4Q186, a passage from Hippolytus, “Against Heresies,” and Cairo Genizah T.-S. K 21.95L—that allow us to understand that *RA* 62 52 refers to the assignment of specific physiognomic features and specific life fortunes to persons on the basis of the astrological sign under which they had been born.⁴¹ Since the earliest of the non-Mesopotamian texts is from Qumran and thus dated to between 150 BCE and 70 CE⁴² and since at least one of the late Babylonian astrological medical texts, BM 56605, is probably to be dated to this same period (see above), it is conceivable that the system mentioned in 4Q186 is the same as or is a development of the system referred to obliquely in *RA* 62 52 and partially expounded in *LBAT* 1593.

Also possibly to be connected with these texts is the Mandaic Book of the Zodiac, which also makes predictions as to specific features of physical appearance and specific life fortunes on the basis of the sign under which a person was born. For example, “He who is born under the sign of Aries, this is what will become of him. He will be tall and handsome and wise and his mouth and lips will be large, his hair straight, his eyes big and his eyebrows fine. There are two whorls on his head, his nose is long, his voice is powerful and there is a mark on his face.”⁴³ In short, he looks like a ram. The person born in Taurus looks (and slobbers) like a bull;⁴⁴ the person born in Libra conducts himself with strict rectitude “like a pair of balances,”⁴⁵ and so forth. Compare *LBAT* 1593 r. 8–9, which describes the child born under the sign of Sagittarius as “shooting with a bow and riding on a horse.”⁴⁶

51–8; see also Barbara Böck, “‘An Esoteric Babylonian Commentary’ Revisited,” *JAOS* 120 (2000) 615–20.

³⁹ *RA* 62 52:1–2. Böck, *JAOS* 120 (2000) 616 suggests that what is actually meant is that these series correspond to the full zodiacal circle.

⁴⁰ *RA* 62 52:3–13.

⁴¹ For a detailed explanation of the non-Mesopotamian texts, see Böck, *JAOS* 120 (2000) 616–9.

⁴² See, for example, G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975) 12–3.

⁴³ Elisabeth S. Drower, *The Book of the Zodiac* (Oriental Translation Fund 36; London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1949) 5.

⁴⁴ Drower, *Book of the Zodiac* 7.

⁴⁵ Drower, *Book of the Zodiac* 22.

⁴⁶ M. Stol, *Birth in Babylonia and the Bible: Its Mediterranean Setting* (CM 14; Styx: Groningen, 2000) 97.

The Book of the Zodiac is thought to be a Sassanian compilation belonging originally to a community of Jews or semi-Jews of somewhat heterodox character living in Babylonia.⁴⁷ Besides the Book of the Zodiac, properly speaking, which contains separate physiognomic predictions for men⁴⁸ and women⁴⁹ as found also in the ancient Mesopotamian physiognomic omens, there is a great variety of other material (some of it significantly later) including a hemerology, a bit of an *iqqur īpuš* type of text (i.e., omens relating to the positioning of the gate of a house), portents of wind, rainbows, thunder and lightning and earthquakes, astral omens including shooting star and eclipse omens, and even a few medical texts.⁵⁰

RA 62 52 continues with a short section offering proof of its assertions as follows.

- 14 BAD-ma ŠÈR šá ša-a-tum ana IGI-ka tu : ta : ti
15 ù : a : ia : e šá-niš AN-e u KI-tim
16 KUR-ú tam-tim u šá-a-ri ub-te-e

If you want to find proof (for this), it is to be sought for in the collection of commentaries; *tu : ta : ti* (corresponds to) *ù : a : ia : e* otherwise known as heaven and earth, mountain, sea, and wind.⁵¹

The fact that assertions are made and proof offered indicates that, despite the cramped style, the absence of long winded verbiage, and the failure to acknowledge divergences of opinion, *RA* 62 52 is not actually a commentary at all, but a treatise in its own right. In any case, the very idea of offering proof is a strong indication that what we have before us in *RA* 62 52 is an attempt to fit Mesopotamian tradition into a Hellenistic context. This impression is confirmed by the following section of *RA* 62 52, which finds Mesopotamian equivalents for the four elements as conceived by Hellenistic philosophers.

- 17 𐎶𐎵𐎶.BAR : 𐎶𐎠𐎶 : IZI : ul-la-nu : 𐎶40 : mu-ú
18 IM-tú 𐎶UR.SAG : 𐎶EN.LÍL : šá-a-ri : šu-ut KA šá ša-a-tú e-du-tú

Girra = Anu = fire; from of old. Ea = water. Earth = the Nether World mountain. Enlil = air; citation from learned commentaries.

⁴⁷ Drower, *Book of the Zodiac* 2–3. On the date of this text see F. Rochberg, “Babylonian Celestial Divination and Astrology in the Mandaean Book of the Zodiac,” *ARAM* 11–12 (1999–2000) 245–6.

⁴⁸ Drower, *Book of the Zodiac* 5–37, 56–63.

⁴⁹ Drower, *Book of the Zodiac* 37–55, 63–8.

⁵⁰ Drower, *Book of the Zodiac* 68–197. For more on Mesopotamian antecedents for these sections of the text see F. Rochberg, *ARAM* 11–12 (1999–2000) 239–40, 242–7.

⁵¹ *RA* 62 52:14–6; see Böck, *JAOS* 120 (2000) 615–6.

Earth could only be equivalent to the Netherworld mountain⁵² that left the paths of Anu, Enlil, and Ea for the remaining elements. Scholarly tradition (“from of old”) allowed for the equation of Anu with fire (predicated on a lexical equation of Anu with Girra of which we have no independent evidence); Ea was obviously water, and Enlil readily became air.

And what of the proof? It consists of equating the sequence of vowels in the Mesopotamian *tu/ta/ti* syllabary with the sequence of vowels in “u : a : ia : e otherwise known as (*šā-niš*) heaven and earth, mountain, sea, and wind.” The mysterious u : a : ia : e, probably to be transcribed as *ioaiae*, would appear to be identical to a magical name variously rendered in one of the Hellenistic magical papyri from Egypt as *eioiae* or *eiaieioiae* or even the rather baroque *ioeioaieiaiaieea*.⁵³ (Magical names included not only what we might term the name of a divinity but also the names of other gods syncretized with that divinity, descriptions of the god, epithets, and even angels. The invocation of some or all of these “names” was believed to ensure the success of magical rites.)

Other names given to the same divinity (Michael and Sabaoth in *PGM* II. 64–183 and also Gabriel, Raphael, and Adonai in other texts from Hellenistic Egypt, and the specific association of this divinity with the seven-day week)⁵⁴ reveal that this pattern of vowels was meant to render Yahweh who was indeed “heaven and earth, mountain, sea and wind” but also, perhaps incongruously, quite popular among Hellenistic magicians, particularly for love spells.⁵⁵

In *RA* 62 52, the point is that the crossing of Hellenistic with traditional Mesopotamian sciences may be justified on the grounds that there is a natural consonance between the basic structure of Akkadian as a learned language and the god of Abraham and Isaac, creator of the universe for whom every seventh day is reserved as a day of rest

The owner of *RA* 62 52, was a Nabû-šum-līšir, described as a priest of the “lord of the poplar,” and the text is said to have been copied for him by an unnamed lamentation singer of the “lord of the poplar.” This rather poorly attested god was considered by Mesopotamians to be an associate or by-form of Nergal.⁵⁶

⁵² Biggs, *RA* 62 54, 56, Alasdair Livingstone, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986) 74, and Böck, *JAOS* 120 (2000) 616 interpret the IM as “wind” with the *tu* indicating a reading of TU₁₅. This is very clever; however, IM is not only “wind,” *šāru*, but also *ṭītu*, “clay,” which would have *tū* as a phonetic complement. In any case, the “mountain” that represents the east should be written KUR rather than HUR.SAG.

⁵³ Hans Dieter Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1985) 17–8 (*PGM* II 64–183 ca. 155–75).

⁵⁴ As in *PGM* XIII 1–1077, apud Betz, *Papyri* 172–95, the eighth book of Moses.

⁵⁵ As, for example, *PGM* VII 593–619, apud Betz, *Papyri* 135.

⁵⁶ For references, see CAD Š s.v. *šarbu* and *šarbū* and Egbert von Weiher, *Der babylonische*

The Babylonian Talmud indicates the presence in Parthian Babylonia of a lively dialogue (even symposia) between some more liberal rabbis and Mesopotamian scholars.⁵⁷ Perhaps this text is reflective of such a dialogue, unless our priest and lamentation singer were themselves Hellenized Jews of a decidedly heterodox character.⁵⁸

And what, in a context of Hellenistic syncretism and astrology, would be the relevance of the two-line lament that the scribe of the tablet apparently appended to the end of the text as his contribution?

- 22 LÚ.KÚR GAR ABZU PI.EL.LÁ.ÀM A.MEŠ : GAR ABZU MU.NE
23 É *i-šá-tam i-ta-kaš* GIN₇ *tu-ú-ru it-taš-pak*

The enemy has desecrated the representation of the abyss (the waters are called the representation of the abyss); fire has consumed the temple (and) it has been heaped up like a pile of ashes.

ABZU PI.EL.LÁ.ÀM is a well known BALAG lamentation (performed to the accompaniment of a BALAG instrument), a good portion of which survives. It contains a lament for the desecrated ABZU and for the city of Eridu, which had been pillaged and its people slain or carried off into captivity.⁵⁹ Also woven into the text at some point was a reference to the city of Babylon, described as the “city destined for sighing.”⁶⁰ Since the copies that contain this phrase are late, it is possible that the reference is to the interval between the destruction of the city of Babylon by Sennacherib and its rebuilding by Esarhaddon (the temple of Marduk is supposed to have been founded on the ABZU, so this will have been “desecrated” when the city was destroyed).

The relevance of ABZU PI.EL.LÁ.ÀM for astrology is perhaps the fact that this lament or its accompanying eršemma were recited for each of the three gods (Anu, Enlil, and Ea) whose paths describe the ecliptic. The

Gott Nergal (AOAT 11; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag and Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1971) 63 with n. 6, 88.

⁵⁷ See Mark J. Geller, “The Last Wedge,” *ZA* 87 (1997) 56–8.

⁵⁸ Like Yahweh, the god Nergal was, according to Sumerian hymns dedicated to him, associated with heaven and earth, mountain, sea, and wind. Is it possible that our priest and lamentation singer were attached to a syncretistic cult in which Yahweh was equated with a by-form of the Mesopotamian Netherworld god Nergal? Attempted syncretism between Yahweh and the Netherworld gods of neighboring peoples would not be entirely unexpected. Classical authors equate Yahweh with Dionysus (for references, see JoAnn Scurlock, “167 BCE: Hellenism or Reform?” *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods* 31 [2000] 125–61), and specifically the Egyptian Dionysus, who is the Netherworld god Osiris (note *PGM* IV 850–929, apud Betz, *Papyri* 55–6, where an oracle of Osiris is described as a “charm of Solomon”). If these priests thought of themselves as worshippers of Yahweh, was the “poplar” perhaps, then, reinterpreted by them as Ashera?

⁵⁹ Mark E. Cohen, *The Canonical Lamentations of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Potomac, Md.: CDL Press, 1988) 47–64.

⁶⁰ Cohen, *Lamentations* 49–50:21.

lament is particularly associated with Anu, for whom it was recited on the first and twentieth of every month in Uruk, presumably to commemorate Enlil's wresting away of the Anu-ship from Anu.⁶¹

In the context of consonances between Hellenistic sciences, Greco-Judaic mysticism, and ancient Mesopotamian tradition provided by the rest of the tablet (and judging from the fact that it is not a direct quote of ABZU P1.EL.LÁ.ÀM), it seems likely that the citation of the Sumerian lament was also meant as yet another correspondence. As it happens, ABZU P1.EL.LÁ.ÀM is the first BALAG lament in the Nineveh catalogue and hence could stand for Mesopotamian lamentation literature in general. It has long been noticed that there are striking parallels between Sumerian city laments and the Biblical book of Lamentations. It would seem that our lamentation priest came to the same conclusion, since the obvious suggestion as to the interpretation of the lament as cited is that it refers to the deliberate destruction by fire of the temple in Jerusalem (Jer 52:13) and to the breaking up by "Chaldean" soldiers (Jer 52:17, 20) of Solomon's bronze sea which sat on the backs of twelve oxen and whose waters, will have been then, according to our lamentation priest, "a representation of the abyss," i.e., the primordial waters which provided the raw material for creation.

A Sense of Humor(s): The Interface between Humoral and Astrological Medicine

The *Šumma izbu*/SA.GIG/*alamdimmu* section and the "proof" sections of RA 62 52 are also found in another late treatise, *LBAT* 1601:1'-5' and r. 6'-7'.⁶² Between them are series of sections that seek to equate parts of the series SA.GIG (the diagnostic/prognostic handbook) with astrological phenomena. The first of these sections reads as follows.

- 6' [3-4 signs missing] BAD-*ma* GIG GIG-*ma*
- 7' [3-4 signs missing] *ina* MÚL A-*nu-ni-tim*
- 8' [3-4 signs missing] MÚL.SIPA.ZI DU-*ma*
- 9' [3-4 signs missing] *lu-ú ina* UD.NÁ.A EŠ.BAR! KUD-*us*
- 10' [3-4 signs missing] *lu-ú ina* UD.NÁ.A *lu-ú* 1 UDU! NÍTA *pu-ḫi-šú* GÁL-*ši*
- 11' [3-4 signs missing] EŠ.B]AR šá 30 ME.A GAR-*an*

The text is fragmentary, but it seems to envision a patient who has become sick [in Šinunūtu and whose illness persists] into Anunītu (6'-7'), that is,

⁶¹ TCL 6 48:1,15. For further discussion and references, see Stefan Maul, "Gottesdienst im Sonnenheiligtum zu Sippar," in *Studies Renger* 294-5.

⁶² This text is edited in Biggs, RA 62 57-8.

who was sick for most of the month of Addāru.⁶³ Assuming some form of movement (now lost in a lacuna) on the part of Orion (8'), the *āšipu* may make a prognosis as to this patient's recovery (11'). This follows from the fact that, according to a judgment of Sîn, god of divination (11'), either on the last day of the old month or [on the first day of the new month], a decision will be made in the patient's favor and there will be a ram to serve as the patient's substitute (9'–10'). From a purely astrological point of view, the prediction takes its logic from the fact that the last day of Pisces (XII) is followed as a matter of course by the first day of Aries (I), the substitute "ram" of l. 10'. On a more subtle level, what is envisioned is that Ištar (Anunītu), as a result of the intercession of her vizier, Papsukkal (Orion), has approached her father (Sîn) on behalf of the patient with the request that the "deciding of decisions" associated with the New Year's festival should bring about an end to the patient's outstanding case (the illness) and with the further request that the ram slaughtered and used to purify the temple as part of that festival shall stand as a substitute for him. What this daughter asks, her father cannot refuse; thus, it is safe to assume possible recovery and to institute treatment.

The second section continues on the subject of medicine and the New Year's Festival with the following remark.

12' [UD-*ma* MAŠ.MAŠ *ana*] ʾÉ LÚʾ.GIG DU-*ak* GABA.RI ⁱⁱⁱAB UD.7.KAM
ⁱⁱⁱBÁRA UD.1.KAM⁶⁴

SA.GIG (quoted by incipit) corresponds to the seventh of ʾEḫētu and the first of Nisannu.

This line is conventionally interpreted as giving an auspicious date for undertaking diagnosis.⁶⁵ However, astrological medicine does not make diagnoses on propitious days; on the contrary, the day (and the position of constellations on that day) is what determines the diagnosis (since it actually causes the illness). Moreover, when a late text (such as BRM 4 19) wishes to indicate the date on which a particular rite is to be performed, it uses the phrase "if you do it, it will go well."⁶⁶ Here, what is being described is a "correspondence" (GABA.RI) or what Hellenistic philosopher/scientists called a cosmic sympathy. The series SA.GIG generally "corresponded" to two dates, the seventh of ʾEḫētu and the 1st of Nisannu, or the Babylonian New Year. We shall leave the New Year aside for the moment, but the assignment of SA.GIG to ʾEḫētu (= Capricorn) is doubtless due to the fact

⁶³ See Foxvog, "Astral Dumuzi" 106 and Ronald Wallenfels, "Zodiacal Signs among the Seal Impressions from Hellenistic Uruk," in *Studies Hallo* 287.

⁶⁴ Biggs, *RA* 62:57–58 restores this line from the incipit of Tablet II. As the following lines make clear, however, the reference is not to an individual tablet but to the series as a whole.

⁶⁵ Biggs, *RA* 62 53 followed, *inter alia*, by Böck, *JAOS* 120 (2000) 617.

⁶⁶ BRM 4 19:9,19,21,23 and *passim*.

that the goat-fish is the symbol of the god Ea, patron of the *āšipu*'s craft. (It has also been suggested that the reason that SA.GIG has forty tablets of often strikingly uneven length is that forty is the magic number of the god Ea.)⁶⁷

The following two sections of *LBAT* 1601 provide further explanation for these correspondences. The first of these sections reads as follows. Note that, like a number of the late Persian and early Seleucid texts that we have been studying, it divides the signs of the zodiac into weeks of seven days.

13' [...] APIN-iš GABA.RI ^{iti}AB UD.7.KAM

14' [^{iti}AB UD.14.K]AM ^{iti}AB UD.21.KAM ^{iti}AB UD.28.KAM

(The section in SA.GIG): [...] he will ask for [...] corresponds to the seventh of ʾEbetu, [the 14th of ʾEbetu], the 21st of ʾEbetu (and) the 28th of ʾEbetu.

In short, this section of SA.GIG somehow corresponds to the four weeks of the month. Ionian Greeks developed theories of primordial elements as building blocks of nature, which had developed by the fifth century BCE into a complex system, one strand of which is known to us as Hippocratic medicine. By this system, four primordial elements (earth, air, fire, and water) were coordinated with four bodily humors (bile, phlegm, blood, and black bile). The system was further predicated on the attribution of disease to “natural” causes, by which these Hellenistic philosophers/scientists meant spirits other than the now “super-natural” gods. These were “natural” causes, but they were still spirits, to be dealt with by exorcism (bleeding, purging, blistering, and starving them out of patients) or by “natural” magic (manipulation of cosmic sympathies—as for example putting sweet smelling substances to a woman’s nose to persuade her prolapsed uterus to crawl back into its place), in short that magical medicine which in its 16th and 17th century (CE) forms inspired Frazer’s definition of magic as a false science.

This “natural” magic was, at least in theory, in binary opposition to the “demonic” magic practiced by ancient Mesopotamians. Moreover, ancient Mesopotamian medicine was empirical rather than philosophical (i.e., observations took precedence over theory, the reverse of the situation in Hellenistic humoral medicine). How, then, to justify even the most rudimentary continuance of the ancient Mesopotamian system of medicine in astrological terms? The solution was a passage from the diagnostic/prognostic handbook that is readily recognizable, despite its fragmentary state, as the only set of lines that end with APIN-iš, namely the section that describes food cravings.⁶⁸ We happen to have this section complete, and can thus restore *LBAT* 1601 as follows.

⁶⁷ See Heeßel, *Diagnostik* 106 n. 40.

⁶⁸ Heeßel, *Diagnostik* 112 n. 77 suggests that ll. 13' and 17', refer to the missing tablets 24 and 35 of the series SA.GIG. However, *LBAT* 1601 is not concerned with tablets of SA.GIG

13' [ina UD.BI *bi-bil* ŠĀ-šū] APIN-iš GABA.RI itⁱAB UD.7.KAM

14' [itⁱAB UD.14.K]AM itⁱAB UD.21.KAM itⁱAB UD.28.KAM

(The section in SA.GIG): “[On that day (when his forehead is such and such a color)], he will ask for [what he wants]” corresponds to the seventh of Ṭebētu, [the 14th of Ṭebētu], the 21st of Ṭebētu (and) the 28th of Ṭebētu.

The author of *LBAT* 1601 apparently took advantage of the fact that the diagnostic handbook mentions colors to further subdivide the month of Ṭebētu into seven-day weeks on the basis of the four primary colors, as we also saw done in BM 76483. This task was not without difficulties, since there are six colors in the diagnostic handbook (white, red, yellow, black, dark, and dark red). What is worse, these six colors are mentioned only as relevant to medicine, which means that there are only a few sections that actually have a sequence of colors. As if to add insult to injury, even these sections with color sequences tend not to use the four conventional colors, and when they do, the order in which they are listed is not the same as the order standard in omen literature.

However, despite these difficulties, the author of our Seleucid text managed to find a match in a short section of the diagnostic series that predicts food cravings on the basis of the color of the patients forehead and actually has white as a possible color. What is more, this short set of lines provided a perfect opportunity for linking SA.GIG with Hellenistic humoral medicine and astrology.⁶⁹

Collating the designated section of the diagnostic handbook⁷⁰ with the cryptic note in the Seleucid text yields the following correspondences. White foreheads = sour (vinegar); i.e., bile and the first week of Ṭebētu. Yellow foreheads = sweet; (pomegranate), i.e., phlegm and the second week of Ṭebētu. Red foreheads = hot (red mustard);⁷¹ i.e., blood and the third week of Ṭebētu. Black foreheads = sour and hot (wine and red mustard); i.e., black bile and the fourth week of Ṭebētu.

but with the series as a whole or with individual lines within the series from which he can draw significance, as may readily be seen from the fact that he quotes the entire first line of Tablet 2 and not the name of this tablet given in the SA.GIG catalogue. It is in any case unclear why, if he wished to give the auspicious dates for the performance of individual tablets of the series, he would have begun with Tablet 24, then Tablet 2, and then Tablet 35, or for that matter why the seventh of Ṭebētu should be listed before the first of Nisannu.

⁶⁹ By associating four colors with the four humors and the four weeks of the month, it would theoretically have been possible, armed with the approximate date of the commencement of the illness, to make an astrological diagnosis based on the appearance of the patient's urine. For the role of examination of urine in astrological medicine in England in the Early Modern Period, see K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1971) 283–357.

⁷⁰ Labat, *TDP* 44:47–56.

⁷¹ See the discussion in Marten Stol, “Cress and its Mustard,” *JEOL* 28 (1983–84) 31–2.

If you arrange the resulting humors onto a cross in accordance with Ptolemy's "Chaldean" assignment of the winds, the first wind (north) is yellow bile and the top of the cross, the second (south) is phlegm, and the bottom of the cross, the third (west) is blood and the left arm of the cross, and the fourth (east) is black bile and the right arm of the cross. If you rotate this cross by 45 degrees clockwise and place hot, dry, cold and wet on the sides of the resulting square, you have the Hippocratic system in a nutshell.⁷²

Blood = Fire = Red	Hot	Bile = Water = Yellow
Wet		Dry
Phlegm = Air = White	Cold	Black Bile = Earth = Black

Of course, the fit is by no means perfect (white foreheads should properly have been phlegm and yellow foreheads, bile), but then considering how difficult a task it was to find any connection between Hellenistic humoral philosophy and ancient Mesopotamian medicine, our ancient scholar has earned a right to a few loose ends.

The following section in *LBAT* 1601, which explains the correspondence with the first of Nisannu, has equal success in finding an explanation for another irrational (or rather apparently irrational) element in SA.GIG, and that is the right versus left distinction. This is quoted from the incipit of the second tablet of SA.GIG, which contains omens taken while proceeding to the patient's house:

15' [BAD-ma LÚ ana É LÚ.GIG] ZI-ma SÚR¹.DU^{mušen} ana 15-šú D[IB-iq]
 16' [GIG BI DIN] 7 7 14 7 NA 7 [xx]

In the second tablet of SA.GIG, the line following that quoted in *LBAT* 1601:15'-16' predicts that if the falcon is on the left, the patient will die. The correspondence between this pattern of right = favorable and left = unfavorable and the first of Nisannu is simple enough. As the first day of the year, that day looks both forward (Right) to the future and backwards (Left) to the past.

Whether our author had equal success with other sections of the diagnostic series is open to doubt.⁷³ However, there is no question that this

⁷² For an illustration, see Guido Majno, *The Healing Hand: Man and Wound in the Ancient World* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1975) 179. In Arab astrology, north is fire (blood), south is earth (black bile), west is air (phlegm), and east is water (yellow bile). Rotating the resultant cross counterclockwise yields exactly the same result.

⁷³ The cited line of SA.GIG is incomplete and unparallelled, but appears to refer to dizziness and something (possibly sweat) from the head to the feet as would be appropriate to a fever.

apparent grounding of Greek humoral medicine and astrology in ancient Mesopotamian tradition pleased our ancient authors very much indeed.⁷⁴

Conclusion

We are accustomed to thinking of Hellenism as a Greek enterprise in the nationalistic sense, with all relevant texts written exclusively in Greek, which was imposed on the Near East by Alexander and his successors as part of their “civilizing mission” and which was adopted by “Orientals” because of its obvious superiority. In Babylonia, it is generally further assumed that Akkadian was by this time not only no longer spoken but also no longer written and thus a language in which no new texts could have been composed. The texts discussed here disprove all of these contentions. In fact, old texts (such as the tablet of SA.GIG quoted on the obverse of BM 56605) were still being copied and added to, and new texts were still being composed in Akkadian as of 153 BCE or later.⁷⁵ What is more, the language of Hellenistic scholarship in the “Greek East” or at least the language of record for scholarly speculations was not exclusively Greek, and included both Aramaic and Akkadian. It is doubtless for this reason that literate Greeks (as for example, the Syrian theurgist Iamblichus who learned the Babylonian language from a captured slave in the reign of Septimius Severus)⁷⁶ were given access to Akkadian (and Sumerian into which Akkadian texts were still being actively translated in the Achaemenid period)⁷⁷ via the so-called Graeco-Babyloniaca (Akkadian texts written in Greek script).⁷⁸ Last but by no means least, Hellenism, if by this you mean a mingling of Greek and Near Eastern cultures, was already well under way in the Persian period, long before the conquest of Alexander.

There was, then, an attempt made in Achaemenid, Hellenistic, and Arsacid Babylonia to square the old sciences of Mesopotamia with new sciences predicated on the notion that natural phenomena in general and disease in particular cannot be caused by gods in the old sense of the word. For the Mesopotamians, as evidenced in many of the texts we have been studying, this new “wisdom” was not a replacement for, but rather a new elucidation of

⁷⁴ “Keep the secret of heaven and earth!” (*RA* 62 52:4).

⁷⁵ See above. Contracts in Akkadian are attested until at least the reign of Mithradates II of Parthia; see Josef Kohler and Arthur Ungnad, *Hundert ausgewählte Rechtsurkunden aus der Spätzeit des babylonischen Schrifttums von Xerxes bis Mithridates II. (483–93 v. Chr.)* (Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1911) 1–2.

⁷⁶ See Edmond Sollberger, “Graeco-Babyloniaca,” *Iraq* 24 (1962) 63–72; Mark Geller, “The Influence of Ancient Mesopotamia on Hellenistic Judaism,” *CANE* 1 43–54.

⁷⁷ See Heeßel, *Diagnostik* 130.

⁷⁸ For details, see Geller, *ZA* 87 (1997) 64–86.

old material—one that incorporated a new approach by which more meaning could be teased from the signs given to man by the gods. Unfortunately, some Hellenistic philosophers (and in particular those selected for survival by the Church Fathers) rejected all old data that would not fit their new theories. For example, Aristotle had no time for the notion that fire, air, and water corresponded to the paths of Anu, Enlil, and Ea (*RA* 62 52; see above). For him, the heavenly bodies were perfect spheres rotating round a static and imperfect earth in circular orbits. The four elements were exclusively terrestrial; stars and planets could only be made of ether.⁷⁹

Hippocratic medicine similarly ignored much of the earlier corpus of knowledge. When it looked for correspondences in ancient Mesopotamian medicine, it was naturally attracted to what were or appeared to be irrational elements (right-left distinctions or strange forehead colors—*LBAT* 1601). Thus, when Hippocratic medicine was chosen for survival, what inevitably happened was that many of the rational elements of previous knowledge were lost. Hippocratic physicians rejected ancient Mesopotamian pregnancy tests, which used a color change system similar to that used today, in favor of the Egyptian “put a garlic clove in the vagina and see if her breath smells” test.⁸⁰ They also replaced ancient Mesopotamian herbal medicines with a regimen of bleeding, purging, and starvation diet inspired by the four humors.⁸¹

In the hands of these same Hippocratic physicians, ancient Mesopotamian physiognomic omens were transformed into tracts in which the physical appearance and the political systems of various peoples were attributed to factors of geography and climate as defined by the four humors (hot, cold, wet and dry).⁸² Ironically, it is this Greek modification of an originally Oriental science that is the direct inspiration for that founder of Orientalism, Montesquieu.

In astrology, also, the influence of Western Hellenism, recorded in Greek or Demotic and centered in Egypt for purely geographic and linguistic reasons, inevitably eclipsed the influence of “Chaldean” Eastern Hellenism recorded in Aramaic or Akkadian and centered in Babylonia. The astrological medicine that Hellenistic philosopher/scientists in their turn transmitted to Western Europe and that survived in the West into the early modern period,

⁷⁹ For references and discussion, see Rochberg-Halton, *JNES* 43 (1984) 116.

⁸⁰ See J. A. Scurlock, “Baby-snatching Demons, Restless Souls and the Dangers of Childbirth,” *Incognita* 2 (1991) 162 n. 7, with previous literature.

⁸¹ See the Hippocratic treatise “On Regimen in Acute Diseases”; for a comparatively recent translation, see John Chadwick and W. N. Mann, *The Medical Works of Hippocrates* (Oxford: Blackwell Scientific, 1950) 128–47. For discussion see J. A. Scurlock, “From Esagil-kīn-apli to Hippocrates,” *Le Journal des Médecines Cunéiformes* 3 (2004) 10–30.

⁸² As, for example, the Hippocratic treatise “On Airs, Waters, Places.” See also Barbara Böck, *Die babylonisch-assyrische Morphoskopie* (AfO Beih. 27; Vienna: Institut für Orientalistik der Universität Wien, 2000) 62–3.

A Weakness for Hellenism

then, is the child of Ionia and Persia, which grew up in Egypt, with only a few contributions from ancient Mesopotamia.

While it lasted, however, the interchange of cultural ideas across the Hellenized world and the concomitant emergence of three of the four great salvation religions generated a noticeable buzz of intellectual excitement in the ancient cities of the Near East. Seven-day weeks, calendars beginning with January, Hercules syncretized with Nergal; all was new, anything was possible, and everybody was free to combine and recombine varying elements of old and new, east and west. Far from decaying into oblivion, ancient Mesopotamian civilization metamorphosed and was born again in Parthian, Sassanian, and, ultimately, Abbasid Iraq.

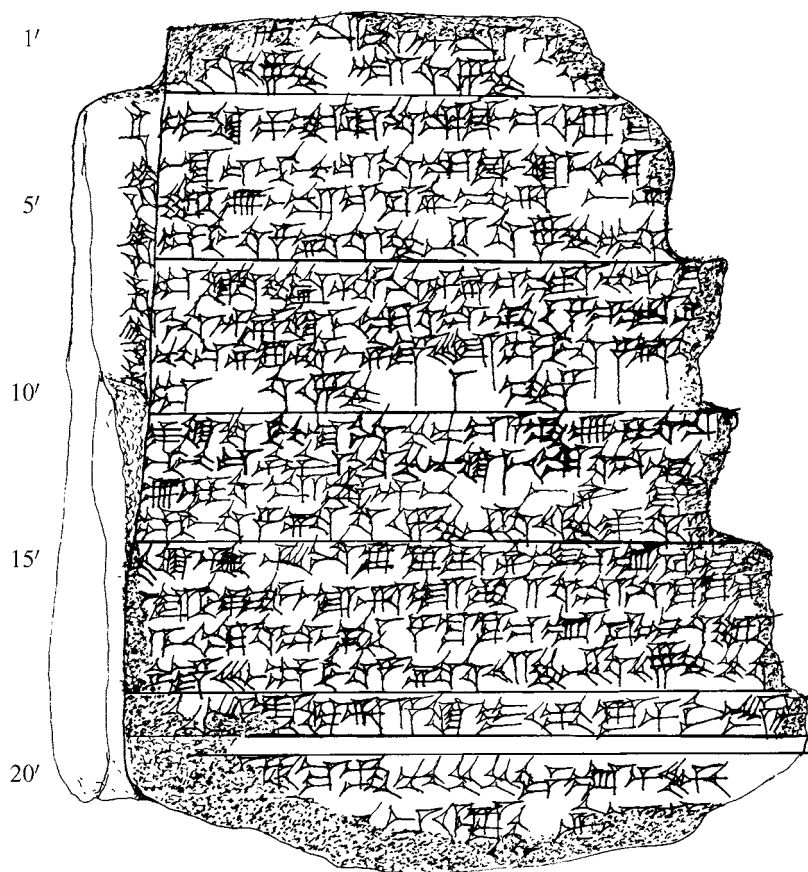


Fig. 1. BM 76483

THE CASE OF THE FAMILY THAT FLED*

T.M. Sharlach

This contribution examines a single Ur III text from Umma and attempts to place it in its social and historical context. The text concerns individuals of two very different social strata: slaves belonging to the royal sector in the Umma province and witnesses who represent the highest echelons of the royal court. The document may also shed some light on the roles of women in the 21st century BC.

The Text

BM 106430, published in 1990 by Gomi and Sato as No. 333,¹ is a legal transaction concerning a family of workers made before three prominent witnesses.

Obv.

- 1 Géme-^dŠára
1 Šeš-kal-la dumu-ni
1 Ur-^{gi}šgigir
dumu A-an-na-bi ba-ug₇
5 zàḥ a-rá-2-kam
1 Géme-^dLi₉-si₄
zàḥ-a libir
dumu A-an-na-bi dumu Sag- / nin-e-zu-ka-me
zàḥ-a ba-al-la
10 ki Ur-lugal šeš šagina /- ka-ta
igi Šu-^dSuen dumu / Géme-^é-an-na-ka-šè
igi En-um-^dAdad
dumu Da-ba-an-da-ra- / aḥ-šè
igi ^dNanna-sig₅

* I am happy to dedicate this to Erle as a small token of gratitude towards his generous spirit, which for many years has shaped the tablet room at the University of Pennsylvania.

[Note: D. Snell's book, *Flight and Freedom in the Ancient Near East* (CHANE 8; Leiden: Brill, 2001) arrived after this article had been completed.]

¹ Gomi and Sato, *Selected Neo-Sumerian Administrative Texts from the British Museum* (Abiko: Research Institute of Chuo-Gakuin, 1990) [henceforward Gomi-Sato]. Abbreviations in this article follow Sigrist and Gomi, *The Comprehensive Catalog of Published Ur III Tablets* (Bethesda: CDL, 1991), and those provided by the CDLI project (<http://cdli.ucla.edu/Tools>).

Rev.

dumu Šà-da mar-tu / lú-kin-gi₄-a-lugal-šè
nam-géme-arád é-gal- / šè ba-gi-né-eš

iti pa₄-ú-e

5 mu Ur-bí-i-lum / ^{ki} ba-ḥul

– Geme-Šara

– Šeš-kalla, her son

– Ur-gigir

son of A'anabi, dead,

fled for the second time

– Geme-Lisi

having fled, old (entry);

they are the children of A'anabi, the children of Sag-ninezu,

returned (from) having fled

from Ur-lugal, the brother of the general.

Before Šu-Suen, son of Geme-eanna,

before Enum-Adad,

son of Tappan-darah,

before Nanna-sig,

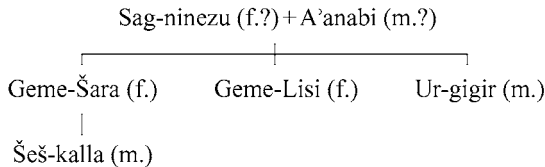
son of Šada, the Amorite, a royal messenger,

they were confirmed and awarded to the palace in the status of female slave
and male slave.

Date: AS 2 xi (Umma calendar)

The Workers Who Fled

According to this document, four workers with Sumerian names had fled. The workers, almost certainly slaves, are identified by both parents, that is, as the children of A'annabi (a man's name) and Sag-ninezu (a woman's name), so it is reasonable to assume that they are from a single family, which can provisionally be diagrammed as follows:



All four workers had fled, but apparently at different times and with different outcomes. Geme-Lisi apparently fled first—the record of her flight was already recorded on another tablet and in Gomi-Sato 333 is therefore described

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as libir, “old, an old entry.” Then the other three fled—Geme-Šara along with her son and brother. The brother, Ur-gigir, who is described as deceased, had fled for the second time. Whether the death of Ur-gigir was related to his flight and subsequent recapture remains unknown.

At some point after their flight, the workers were apprehended and returned: *zàḥ-a ba-al-la*, “returned (from) having fled.” The verb *ba-al*² generally means “to dig up, to dig out” or “to unload a boat,” but in legal contexts it has an extended meaning, “to return (lost or stolen) property.”³ The workers fled from (the jurisdiction of) Ur-lugal, the brother of the general. Almost nothing is known about Ur-lugal or his unnamed brother.

The transaction at the heart of this tablet, made before the witnesses (who are discussed below), is that the recovered workers were confirmed and awarded to the palace in the status of male or female slaves (*nam-géme-arád é-gal-še ba-gi-né-eš*). The verb used here implies the restoration of a previously existing legal status,⁴ hence the translation “to confirm and award.” Thus, it seems clear that the family that had fled was originally of slave status, and, having been recovered, was returned to that status under the palace’s authority.

Parallel Texts

Gomi-Sato 333 does not stand in isolation: a handful of other tablets from Umma also concern workers who had fled and were caught.

Text	Date	Worker	Remarks
Princeton 372	Š43 ix U	Igi-Šara-še Aba-nam-tummu Nig-šaggi	<i>zàḥ ba-al-la-ta ki Dada kišib Ur-e’e</i>
YOS 4 190	Š45 or AS2 xi U	Ur-ašar nu- ^{giš} kiri ₆	<i>zàḥ-ta ba-al-la ki Atu-ta kišib Dada’a dub-sar</i>
AAICAB I 1912–1146	AS3 x U	Mete-ani	<i>zàḥ ba-al-la šag₄ kikken-na ki Lu-balasig</i>

² In the edition of the tablet prepared by Gomi and Sato, *ba-al-la* was classified as a personal name. Although the name is attested in the Ur III onomasticon (Limet, *Anthroponymie* 10 384), the context and the many parallels make it all but certain that *ba-al-la* is a verb, not a personal name.

³ PSD B 13 (meaning 5) and 14, and also Oppenheim, *Eames* 147, commentary to text W30; see also NSGU 3 94.

⁴ When free persons are made into slaves, they are said to be “given” to someone in the status of slaves, using the verb *sum*; see, for example, NSGU 32 and 207.

Text	Date	Worker	Remarks
OA 16 287 = Sigrist ZT 1764	AS3 xi U	Erra-pallil Šibanitum Ḫabalukke dumu Ur-Suen Susa ^{ki}	zàḫ ba-al-la-me giri Ur-nigingar kišib Lugal-kalla
Princeton 371	AS4 iii U	Uru-barre	zàḫ ba-al-la-ta Ur-šulpae i-dab ₅
SAT 2/3 1095	AS8 vi–vii U	Abba-[x] dumu Lugal-[x] Akalla dumu Garaš ₄	zàḫ-ta ba-al-la ugula Abba-gina
SAT 2/3 1507	ŠS4 xi U	Geme-Šara (ugula Šara-zame) Nin-kalla (ugula Lu-bala-sig) géme kikken-na-me	zàḫ ba-al-la kišib Ur-Nungal šag ₄ en-nun
ASJ 7 124 No. 24 = Sigrist ZT 3844	ŠS4 x U	Ur-lugal (ugula Ér-dingir) dumu Geme-Lisi	zàḫ-ta ba-al-la kišib Ur-Nungal pisan-dubba
YOS 4 162	IS1	Ur-ašar dumu Ur-sukkal	zàḫ-a-ta ba-al-la kišib Ikalla

These examples show that both male and female workers fled and were recovered. Some were female millers (géme kikken-na). Others, identified as foreigners (e.g., Ḫabalukke dumu Ur-Suen Susa^{ki}), may have been prisoners of war. In other examples, the slaves are identified by their parents' names, either the father (e.g., ur-^{da}-šár dumu ur-sukkal) or the mother (e.g., ur-lugal dumu géme-^dli₉-si₄). All of the Umma tablets in the chart seem to deal with slaves who have fled from the provincial administration, and, unlike Gomi-Sato 333, none of the other exemplars is a witnessed legal document.

If we consider what happened to the slaves after their flight, it seems that in some cases returned slaves were sent to jail, as Steinkeller already noted.⁵ There is no indication of such a punishment in Gomi-Sato 333.

Dandamayev's analysis of Neo-Babylonian sources suggests that problems posed by runaway slaves were solved at that time by imprisonment, shackles, and branding. "The most recalcitrant slaves who repeatedly tried to escape or who were suspected of planning to run away were kept under

⁵ P. Steinkeller, "The Reforms of Urukagina and an Early Sumerian Term for 'Prison,'" in *Studies Civil* 230 n. 15. Further references to slaves in jail appear in recent publications, including SAT 2/3 1507 (ŠS4 xi U), SAT 2/3 1095 (see chart above), MVN 15 124 (undated), MVN 18 286 (ŠS6) and MVN 21 51 (AS3).

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supervision in special houses (*bīt killi*), where a prison regime was maintained.” “Slaves who ran away or refused to work were placed in fetters or shackles.” “Apparently almost all slaves bore a mark or brand with the owner’s name, and those suspected of intending to run away were branded or marked an additional time.”⁶ No evidence known to me suggests that the punishments of shackling or branding were practiced in the third millennium.

The Witnesses

Although the vast majority of tablets from Umma apparently derive from the provincial governor’s archive, Gomi-Sato 333 concerns the royal sector. The workers in trouble were under the jurisdiction of the brother of an unnamed general, and the witnesses were members of the royal court. In fact, the status of the three witnesses was sufficiently high that one may wonder what connection they had to the runaways, who appear to have been ordinary slaves.

Nanna-sig₅ dumu Šada MAR.TU, lú-kin-gi₄-a lugal

The last witness, whom we shall consider first, bears the Sumerian name Nanna-sig₅ but is identified as the son of an Amorite, Šada,⁷ who held the office of royal messenger. Very little is known about Nanna-sig or his father Šada. Possibly, this Šada the messenger is the same as the Šada identified as *maškim lugal*, “royal requisitioner,” in a legal document from Lagaš,⁸ or the Amorite named Šada described as a lú *giš*tukul, “armed man,” in MVN 7 78, an undated Lagaš tablet.

Men with the title lú-kin-gi₄-a lugal appear elsewhere in connection with fleeing slaves; for example, in UTAMI 6 3723 (undated) rations are given to a Šu-Adad, lú-kin-gi₄-a lugal, lú-zāḥ dab₅-dè gi[n-n]a, “going to capture men who fled.” Men with the title lú-kin-gi₄-a lugal also appear as witnesses in cases in which slaves from Lagaš attempt to contest their status.⁹

⁶ M. Dandamayev, *Slavery in Babylonia from Nabopolassar to Alexander the Great (626–331 B.C.)* (trans. M. V. Powell; DeKalb, Ill.: N. Illinois University Press, 1984) 236, 497, and 231 respectively.

⁷ Another instance of an Amorite whose son bore a Sumerian name is Kudra and his son Sipad-KA-gina (occurring for example in the Lagaš text NSGU 34).

⁸ NSGU 124 pp. 212–3, dated to ŠS3 v L 17.

⁹ E.g., NSGU 67, 69.

Enum-Adad dumu Tappan-darah

The second witness is Enum-Adad, the son of Tappan-darah, who was a ruler in Simurru, a small kingdom in the northeastern frontier.¹⁰ After Šulgi campaigned there, he apparently captured Tappan-darah and brought him back to the royal court. Tappan-darah's son Enum-Adad is most frequently mentioned in Puzriš-Dagan tablets, in which he appears as a requisitioner.¹¹ This Enum-Adad was thus probably a fairly high-level member of the royal administration.

Šu-Suen dumu Geme-eanna

The first witness is Šu-Suen, identified as the son of his mother, Geme-eanna. This Šu-Suen was not the Šu-Suen who would, some six years later, be crowned as king, but rather the latter's cousin. The princess Geme-eanna, probably a daughter of Šulgi and an unknown mother, was married to a son of Arad-Nanna, the *sukkal-mah*, "Secretary of State."¹² Šu-Suen son of Geme-eanna, then, had two eminent grandfathers—Šulgi on his mother's side and Arad-Nanna on his father's side, probably the two most powerful men in the Ur III state. Note that in our text this Šu-Suen is described as the son of his mother. When a person is described as the son of his mother rather than the son of his father, there are two possible reasons: either the child was born to an unmarried woman¹³ or the mother's side was more important in the circumstances. Where, as in this case, the person so identified is the grandson of a king, it is most likely the royal lineage on the mother's side that was the deciding factor behind the identification, since the mother's status was higher than that of the father.

¹⁰ W.W. Hallo, "Simurru and the Hurrian Frontier," *RHA* 36 (1978) 71–83, and R. Biggs, "Šulgi in Simurru," in *Studies Astour* 169–72.

¹¹ E.g., PDT 342 (IS2), in which Enum-Adad requisitions livestock as part of the bala of the provincial governor of Uru-sagrig, or MVN 13 128 (also IS2), a very similar text.

¹² P. Michalowski, "Charisma and Control: On Continuity and Change in Early Mesopotamian Bureaucratic Systems," in *The Organization of Power: Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East* (ed. R.D. Biggs and M. Gibson; SAOC 46; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987) 58, esp. n. 15. Geme-Eanna can be found in a list of princesses, CTMMA 1 17 (AS4 vii R 1).

¹³ As noted already by I.J. Gelb in his article, "Household and Family in Early Mesopotamia," *OLA* 5 (1979) 28: "Since the descent is generally patrilinear, individuals bear patronymics, almost never matronymics . . . In other sources, matronymics occur frequently with such classes of population as young children captured with their mothers as prisoners of war, bastard children, and certain classes of serfs, fatherless and without family."

In certain cases when filiations for men are given on the distaff side it is specifically stated that the mother was a prostitute (i.e., that there was no father to be named); see, e.g., CT 10 32–3 (BM 21355) a Lagaš tablet listing mill workers, including as the first entry, 1 lú-*dna-rú-a* dumu géme-*d*lama géme-kar-kid, "Lu-Narua, son of Geme-Lama, prostitute."

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Very little has been written on the life of this Šu-Suen. It is not certain if he resided in the Umma province: in one of the Drehem texts in which he appears (SAT 2/3 1062), we also find the provincial governor of Umma and Šu-Kabta, who ran a large royal estate in the Umma province at Garšana, but this may be coincidental. A Šu-Suen with the title di-kud, “judge,” is mentioned in several Drehem tablets from Amar-Suen’s reign,¹⁴ but this is not necessarily the same person as Šu-Suen, the son of the princess Geme-eanna. Although the latter Šu-Suen does appear in Gomi-Sato 333 in a legal context, he is not given the title di-kud but instead is identified solely through his royal connection.

Conclusions

Gomi-Sato 333 fits within a category of texts from Umma about slaves who have attempted to flee but have been caught. It is unlike the other texts cited here because it concerns slaves that belong to the royal sector (rather than to the provincial government) and is the only text of this group that records a formal, witnessed legal transaction. Further investigation may elucidate why the scions of the highest members of the royal court of Ur appear as witnesses here. Gomi-Sato 333 also shows that while Mesopotamian society was manifestly patrilineal, at least in some circumstances, who your mother was mattered more than who your father was.

¹⁴ For example, SAT 2/3 681 (AS 1 ii R 19), TAD 68 (AS 2 i R 22), MVN 1 127 (AS5 i ? R 29), and SAT 2/3 1062 (AS7 xii R).

DROIT DE PÊCHE. TABLETTE ST. ÉTIENNE 26

Marcel Sigrist

La tablette St. Étienne 26¹ (Fig. 1) est un document juridique à propos du droit de pêche. Ce document, difficile à comprendre en raison de ses cassures, révèle cependant soit un trafic illégal de poissons entre les deux villes de Lagaš et d'Umma ou du moins une contestation sur la destination des poissons de tel ou tel bassin pour Umma ou Girsu.

Il n'est pas évident qu'il s'agisse de vol de poisson d'Umma vendu à Girsu. Il y a problème et interrogation à la suite d'une situation inédite: il n'y a plus de poisson pour les livraisons régulières de Šara. Le système établi ne fonctionne plus correctement; il faut en trouver la cause et proposer un remède.

La tablette en relevant les activités des uns et des autres explique le fait qu'il n'y ait plus eu de poisson pour le temple de Šara.

Peut-être y avait-il eu des arrangements divers concernant la destination des poissons de tel ou tel bassin et qu'il appartiendra au gouverneur de régler. Cette affaire met en lumière l'imbrication de la vie sociale des différentes villes du sud de la Mésopotamie à l'époque d'Ur III.

Une des difficultés dans ce texte vient du fait qu'il semble y avoir deux Lugal-ḫegal: l'un fils de Ur-Sîn et l'autre complice de Ur-emaḫ. Je favorise une lecture ne comprenant qu'un seul Lugal-ḫegal qui est fils de Ur-Sîn et le mieux au fait des activités de Ur-emaḫ.

Histoire

Lu-kirizal est négligent dans la surveillance des bassins de pêche.

Ur-Sîn après sa pêche en porte le fruit au magasin en ville.

Lugal-ḫegal (fils de Ur-Sîn) et **Ur-emaḫ** pêchent (pour les livraisons régulières de Šara), mais Uremah vend le produit de sa pêche à des pêcheurs de Girsu. Ur-emaḫ continue sa pêche dans d'autres bassins des champs de Umma. Le produit de sa pêche fut donnée 1) aux pêcheurs des livraisons régulières de Ningirsu et 2) au collecteur des impôts sur le poisson (livraison

¹ Pour les autres tablettes cunéiformes du Couvent Saint-Étienne (Jérusalem), voir M. Sigrist et A. R. Millard, "Catalogue des tablettes cunéiformes du Couvent Saint-Étienne," *Revue Biblique* 92 (1985) 570-6.

de poissons et d'huile), selon le témoignage même de Ur-emaḥ. Ce collecteur d'impôts est également de Girsu.

D'autres livraisons vont à la maison de Lugalebanša pour le mois de Lisi, selon le témoignage d'Irmu.

Lugal-ḫegal, fils de Ur-Sîn, fait constater par le sukkal que des pêcheurs de Girsu pêchent dans des bassins d'Umma.

La mention répétée de Girsu dans cette affaire de pêche invite à penser que Girsu avait des droits mais qu'ils ont peut-être été abusés en surpêchant dans certains bassins.

Texte

i

- 1 Lú-kiri₃-zal gá-[nun]/ ku₆-da dab₅-a na-ab-tag₄
- 2 u₄ Ur-^dEN.ZU-ke₄ ku₆ un-/dab₅ uru-šè ba-DU-a-ta
- 3 Lugal-ḫé-gál ù Ur-/É-maḥ-ke₄ a-rá-3-/àm ku₆ íb-dab₅-ne
- 4 ku₆-bi ni-Ur-^dEN.ZU-ka-/gim gá-nun-šè nu-mu-tùm
- 5 ku₆-bi ki-bi-ta-àm / ki-ša-ga-na-šè íb-ḫa-/al-ḫa
- 6 ^{duḡ}šagan kéš-rá-bi / [x (x)] ^ṛi^ṛ-in-šám
- 7 [x ku₆] sag-kéš Ḫé-me-/ša
- 8 [x ku₆] sag-kéš Lú-/^dAšnan
- 9 [šu-ḫa] Gír-su^{ki}-me
- 10 [egir] Ur-É-maḥ
- 11 [a-ša ^dŠu]l-gi-^ṛbi^ṛ ù /Ur-[...]
- 12 [a-ša] a-geštin
- 13 [ù a-ša] Ka-ma-rí^{ki}-ka
- 14 [...]

ii

- 1 [NP₁? ù]
- 2 ^ṛUr-^d[Ašnan?]
- 3 šu-ḫa sá-du₁₁-^dNin-gír-/su<<^{ki}>>-me
- 4 ku₆ sá-du₁₁-ga-ni / íb-ta-an-íl
- 5 u₄ ku₆-sá-du₁₁-^dŠára / ì-im-sa₁₀-sa₁₀
- 6 4 gú ku₆ Ur-^dNin-mug-/ga enku^d Gír-su^{ki}-ra / in-na-sum
- 7 4 dug 30 <sila> i-ku₆
- 8 2 dug 15 sila i-ku₆
- 9 3 dug 10 <sila> i-ku₆
- 10 ì Ka-ma-rí^{ki}
- 11 inim Ur-É-maḥ-ta
- 12 egir₅(LUM) Ur-É-maḥ-ta
- 13 1 10 <sila> dug diri-ga la-ba-an-gar
- 14 20 ku₆ sag-kéš ku₆-sig₅
- 15 10 ku₆ sag-kéš uš

- 16 [X dug] ga-še-duru₅
 17 5 sila i-nun
 18 2 ^{gi}si-ig-da [(x)]/ [x]-x-ÚR×X

revers

iii

- 1 [x (x)] x iti-^d/[Li₉-s]i₄-na
 2 é Lugal-e-ba-an/-ša₆-šè
 3 inim Ir₁₁-mu-ta
 4 A-a-gi-na im-da-/gub ba-úš
 5 pú-é-kar-gá-ka
 6 ku₆ i-in-lug_x-/ga-àm
 7 Lugal-hé-gál-ra
 8 Lugal-^{gi}gigir-re ku₆-sá-du₁₁/nu-gál pú-ba hé-ša-/lug_x in-na-an-du₁₁
 9 Lugal-hé-gál-e / nu-un-še
 10 ^{gi}é pú-e sukkal bí-/in-su
 11 ku₆-bi šu-ḥa Gír-su^{ki}/-ke₄ in-na-ab-dab₅-dab₅
 12 u₄-ba ku₆-sá-du₁₁-^dŠára / nu-gál
 13 dab₅-bi é-Lugal-e-ba-/an-ša₆-šè šu bí-/in-tag₄

(vide)

- 14 inim Lugal-[hé-gál-ta]

iv (cassure)

- 1' [x x x] 15 sila / [x x] še-DU
 2' [...] še-DU
 3' [ku₆ a-šà] a-geštin
 4' [ku₆] a-šà lá-tur
 5' [ku₆ a-šà] Ka-ma-rí/^{ki}
 6' [ku₆] a-šà ^dŠára
 7' [ku₆ a-šà] a-ba-gal
 8' ku₆ ukú-nu-ti
 9' ensí-ra èn-bi / tar-ri-dam

(vide)

- 10' inim šu-du₈-a / Lugal-hé-gál / dumu Ur-^dEN.ZU

Traduction

i

- 1 Lu-kirizal a totalement négligé le (contrôle) du magasin de poissons pêchés.
 2 Ainsi le jour où Ur-Sîn eut amené à la ville le poisson qu'il avait pris,
 3 Lugal-hegal et Ur-emaḥ prirent du poisson par trois fois.
 4 Ce poisson il (Ur-emaḥ) ne le porta pas au magasin, en le présentant comme
 étant la propriété de Ur-Sîn (comme l'avait fait Ur-Sîn);
 5 ce poisson, du lieu de pêche, dans la place de son choix, il le partagea.

- 6 Il le vendit dans des jarres scellées.
- 7 [x poissons] sagkeš pour Hemeša,
- 8 [x poissons] sagkeš pour Lu-Ašnan,
- 9 [qui sont des pêcheurs] de Girsu,
- 10 [Plus tard] Ur-emaḥ
- 11 [...] -gi-[...] et Ur-[...]
- 12 [dans le champ] ageštin
- 13 [et le champ] de Kamari
- 14 [continua de pêcher]

ii

- 1 [NP₁ et]
- 2 Ur-[...]
- 3 sont des pêcheurs pour les livraisons régulières (de poisson) de Ningirsu.
- 4 Ils prélevèrent le poisson pour leur livraison régulière (de poisson).
- 5 Le jour où il vendit le poisson qui (représentait) les livraisons régulières pour Šara,
- 6 il donna à Ur-Ninmugga, le collecteur des impôts sur le poisson de Girsu, 4 talents de poisson,
- 7 4 jarres contenant 30 <sila> d'huile de poisson chacune,
- 8 2 jarres contenant 15 sila d'huile de poisson chacune,
- 9 3 jarres contenant 10 <sila> d'huile de poisson chacune,
- 10 huile de(s) poissons des bassins des champs de) Kamari,
- 11 selon la déposition de Ur-emaḥ.
- 12 Après cette affaire de Ur-emaḥ,
- 13 il n'y avait pas même une jarre additionnelle contenant (seulement) 10 <sila> d'huile.
- 14 20 poissons sagkeš d'excellente qualité,
- 15 10 poissons sagkeš de qualité moyenne,
- 16 [... jarres] de lait avec de l'orge,
- 17 5 sila de beurre,
- 18 2 pièces de bois d'amandier et de bois [...]

revers

iii

- 1 [pour le festival] du mois de [Lis]i;
- 2 (cela fut apporté) à la maison de Lugalebanša
- 3 selon le témoignage de Irmu.
- 4 Aagina, qui gardait (un bassin) (et qui) est mort,
- 5 dans le bassin é-kar-gá
- 6 élevait des poissons;
- 7 mais Lugal-gi^sgigir dit à Lugal-ḫegal:
- 8 "il n'y a plus de poisson satukku dans ce bassin; puisse-t-il y pulluler."
- 9 Lugal-ḫegal ne fut pas satisfait (ne le crut pas).
- 10 La nuit un sukkal le remplaça au bassin.
- 11 Le poisson (du bassin), ce sont des pêcheurs de Girsu qui le prirent;

- 12 ce jour il n'y eut pas de poissons pour les livraisons régulières pour Šara;
13 ses prises à maison de Lugal-ebanša il envoya.

(vide)

- 14 Selon le témoignage de Lugal-[ḫegal]

iv (cassure)

- 1' [x jarres de] 15 sila [...]
2' [...] ...
3' [les poissons dans le champ de] ageštin,
4' [les poissons dans] le champ de latur,
5' [les poissons dans le champ de] Kamari,
6' [les poissons dans] le champ de Šara,
7' [les poissons dans le champ de] abagal,
8' les poissons (dans le champ) de ukunuti,
9' l'ensi devra être interrogé.

(vide)

- 10' Dépôt de Lugal-ḫegal fils de Ur-Sîn

Commentaire

i 1: gá-[nun] ku₆-da dab₅-a na-ab-tag₄; na-ab-tag₄ est analysé comme na + hamṭu = affirmatif et tag₄ = *ezēbum*, signifiant “négliger;” gá-[nun] ku₆-da dab₅-a, bassin (magasin) contenant les poissons qui ont été pêchés (attrapés).

i 2: la lecture kalam-ma proposée par Waetzoldt² plutôt que un-dab₅ est possible mais paraît moins satisfaisante quant au sens: “le poisson du pays.” Je préfère un-dab₅ en l’analysant comme = ù + n + prospective, marquant le début de la narration.

i 3 : Lugal-ḫegal et Ur-emaḫ pêchèrent de concert par trois fois du poisson destiné aux livraisons régulières pour Šara. Le pluriel du verbe est bien marqué.

i 4 : le pluriel n’est plus employé. Ce pourrait être une négligence de scribe, mais peut être pour indiquer que seul Ur-emaḫ n’a pas suivi la règle en ne livrant pas son poisson pêché au magasin. On peut traduire: “en le présentant comme étant la propriété de Ur-Sîn / comme l’avait fait Ur-Sîn.”

² Je remercie Prof. Dr. Hartmut Waetzoldt pour ses judicieux conseils de lecture et d’interprétation de ce texte.

i 5 : íb-ḥa-al-ḥa = íb-ḥal-ḥal, “distribuer, diviser,” *zāzum*. La reduplication pourrait marquer un itératif, qu’il le fit à plusieurs reprises.

ki-ša-ga-na-še, ki-ša n’est pas un terme technique; signifie simplement la place de son cœur, de son choix. La forme est au singulier; le pluriel aurait donné ki-ša-ga-ne-ne-še, “la place de leur choix.”

i 6 : ^{du}gšagan kēš-rá, “des jarres fermées;” voir S. Yamamoto, “The lú-KUR₆-dab₅-ba People in the é-mí—é-dBa-Ú in Pre-Sargonic Lagash,” *ASJ* 3 (1981) 102.

i 7: ku₆ sag-kēš, “poissons liés par la tête;” voir R. Englund, *Organisation und Verwaltung der Ur-III Fischerei* (BBVO 10; Berlin: D. Reimer, 1990) 194 no. 615.

i 9 : il est plausible de penser que Ur-emaḥ après avoir vendu sa première prise continue sa pêche dans d’autres bassins.

ii 3 : les lignes 1 et 2 donnent probablement les noms de ces deux pêcheurs des livraisons régulières de Ningirsu.

ii 4 : sá-du₁₁-ga-ni est un singulier, mais pour rester dans la logique du récit il faut postuler que les deux pêcheurs mentionnés au début de la colonne emmènent chacun le poisson pêché par Ur-emaḥ, à savoir la quantité nécessaire à la livraison régulière.

ii 13 : la-ba-an-gar = nu-ba-an-gar: “ne pouvait plus être placé, n’était plus.”

iii 3 : marque la fin du cas précédent basé sur la déposition de Irmu.

iii 4 : une nouvelle affaire de braconnage ou pêche illicite de poissons est présentée. Un gardien de bassin prétend qu’il n’y a plus de poissons pour les livraisons régulières. Or de nuit le sukkaḥ attrape des gens de Girsu en train de vider le bassin. Le produit du vol est apporté à la maison de Lugal-ebanša déjà mentionné plus haut.

iii 6 : lug_x: voir P. Steinkeller, “The sumerian Verb lug_x (LUL),” *SEL* 1 (1984) 5–17.

iii 8 : ḥé-ša-/lug_x = ḥé-ši-in-/lug_x

iii 9 : še = *magārum*, “être d’accord.”

Droit de pêche. Tablette St. Étienne 26

iii 10 : su = *riābum*, “prendre la place de;” le *sukkal* assure la garde de nuit du bassin à l’instigation de Lugal-*hegal*.

iii 11 : la reduplication du verbe pourrait marquer le pluriel; il faudrait penser à plusieurs pêcheurs de Girsu ou plus simplement à un itératif: “à plusieurs reprises.”

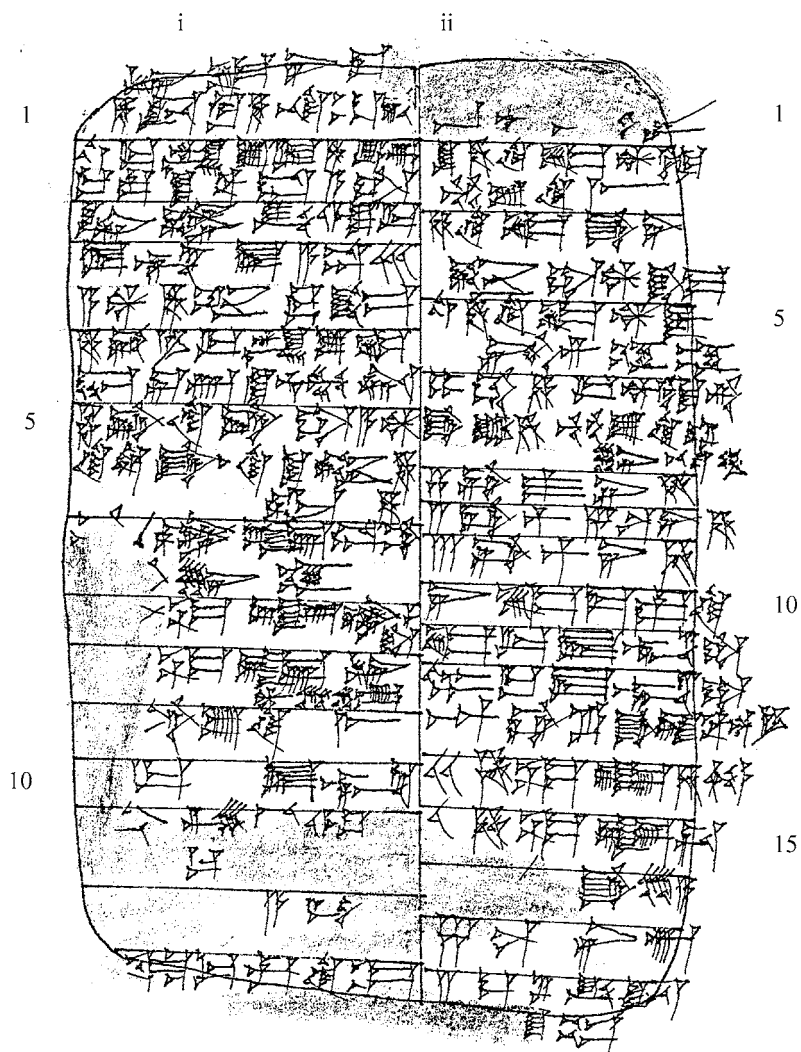


Fig. 1a. St. Étienne 26, obv.

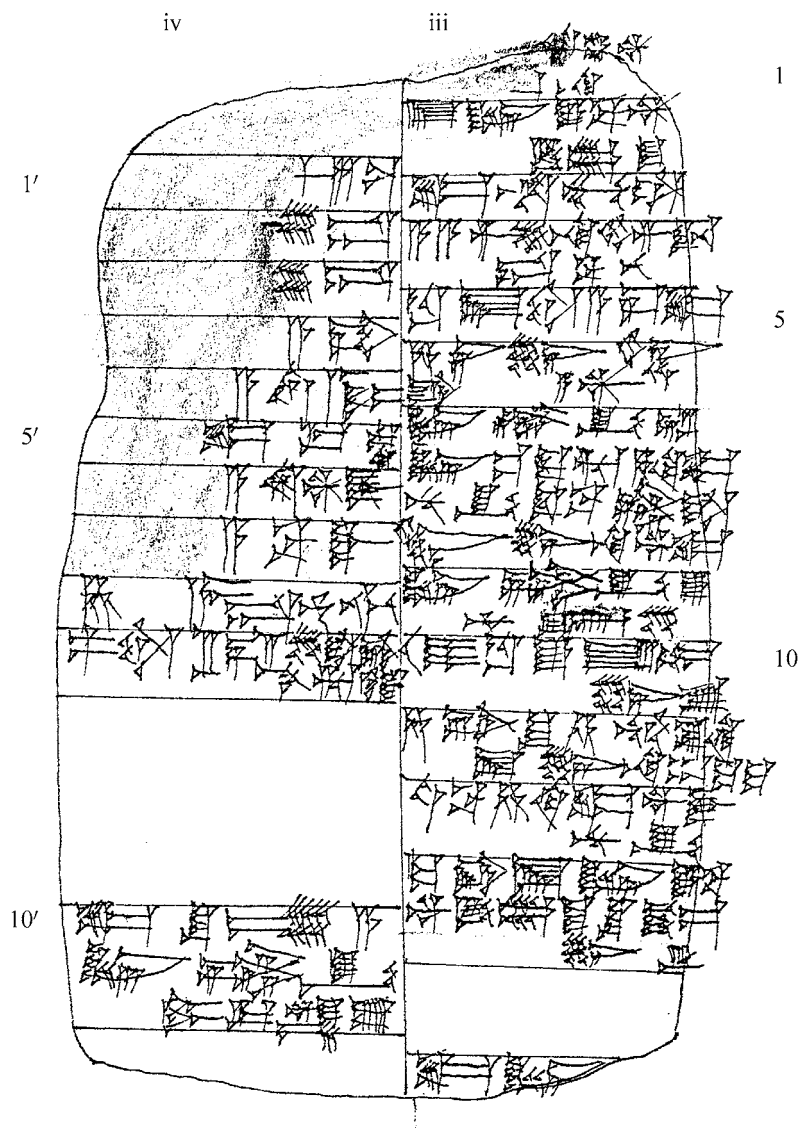


Fig. 1b. St. Étienne 26, rev.

SOME EMAR LEXICAL ENTRIES*

Åke W. Sjöberg

For Erle, a friend and colleague in the
University of Pennsylvania Museum
Tablet Room for over thirty years.

The following Emar-Meskene lexical texts are from Prof. D. Arnaud's remarkable publications, which have supplied us this immense and rich material. The Emar lexical texts treated here are found in *Recherches au Pays d'Aštata, Emar 6/4* (Paris: Éditions Recherches sur les Civilisations, 1987) 161 ff. Some of these texts have been identified by Miguel Civil in "The Texts from Meskene-Emar," *AuOr* 7 (1989) 5–25. Some texts belonging to *Lú = ša* will be treated by Jon Taylor (forthcoming).

* The abbreviations used for texts are those of the PSD. Additional abbreviations include:

Baumgartner	Köhler, L., W. Baumgartner, and J. Stamm, <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . English translation. Leiden: Brill, 1994–2000.
CDA	Black, Jeremy, Andrew R. George, and J. Nicholas Postgate. <i>A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian</i> . 2 nd corrected edition. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000.
Dalman	Dalman, G. <i>Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch</i> . Göttingen: E. Pfeiffer, 1938.
DIA	Woodheard, D. R., and Wayne Beene, eds. <i>A Dictionary of Iraqi Arabic</i> . Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1967.
Dozy	Dozy, R. P. A. <i>Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes</i> . Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1881.
Jastrow	Jastrow, M. <i>A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature</i> . New York: Pardes Publishing House, 1950.
Kienast, HSS	Kienast, B. <i>Historische Semitische Sprachwissenschaft</i> . Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001.
Lane	Lane, E. W. <i>Arabic-English Lexicon</i> . 1863–1885; repr. New York: F. Ungar Publishing Co., 1956.
Payne Smith	Payne Smith, J. <i>A Compendious Syriac Dictionary</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903.
Sokoloff, Palestinian	Sokoloff, M. <i>A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period</i> . 2 nd edition. Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2002.
Sokoloff, Babylonian	Sokoloff, M. <i>A Dictionary of the Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods</i> . Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2002.
VAF	Belot, J. B. <i>Vocabulaire Arabe-Français</i> . Beyrouth: Imprimerie catholique, 1888.
Wehr	Wehr, H. <i>Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart</i> , 5. Auflage. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1985.

Emar 6/4 no. 564 (p. 161 f. Msk 7490b; copy *Emar* 6/1 224).

Column i

1' **áš** = *a-sa-ak-ku* // *ḥar-ḥu-ru*

asakku denotes a disease (cf. CAD A/2 326 s.v. *asakku* c-d), in our line connected with fever. **áš**, besides in this lexical entry, never corresponds to *asakku*; **áš** is here a disease the demon causes. I connect *ḥar-ḥu-ru* with Hebrew *ḥarḥur*, “feverish heat,” Baumgartner 352; *ḥarḥūrā*, “fever,” Dalman 160; Jastrow 1 501; *ḥirḥēr* “to have fever,” Dalman 160; Arab. *ḥarḥara*, “s’*é*chauffer,” Dozy 1 268.

2' **áš** = *mur-šu*

3' **áš** = *dī-ú*

áš = [a]r-ra-tu₄, ši-bu-tu₄, mur-šu, *Ugaritica* 5 no. 137 ii 46'–8': John Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription* (HSS 32; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987) 40, 192.4 (cf. p. 93 with ref. to J. Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* 5 244 n. 3); in CAD M/2 224 s.v. *muršu* lex. section (a) end (*Ugaritica* 5 no. 137 ii 46'–8') is quoted as [dī-ri] **ÁŠ** (= [a]rratu, šibūtu, muršu) but there are no pronunciation glosses in the text; there is no lexical reference to **ÁŠ** with a reading **dirī**.¹ Besides the lexical entry in *Ugaritica* 5, the *Emar* entry is the second occurrence of **áš** as corresponding to *muršu*. According to the copy in *Emar* 6/1 224 the restoration [á]-**áš** (so in *Emar* 6/4) is highly uncertain; probably no sign is to be restored before **áš**. *muršu* and *dī'u* (a grave disease characterized by a headache) in a group with *asakku* are found in Atrahasīs S iv 12; 16; 28; Craig, *ABRT* 1 81:14; CAD A/2 326 where also CT 41 24 79-7-8,53:5 **Á.S.ĀG** between *dī'u* and *ḥūš* [libbi]; cf. CH xliv 56 *muršam kabtam asakkam lemmam*. Cf. Izi Q 273–5 (MSL 13 221): **nam-tar** = nam-[ta-ru] (demon), **nam-tar** = *mur*-[šu], **nam-tar** = *dī-ḥu*-[ú] I 9: *dī'u*. 1'–3': cf. PSD A/2 44 s.v. **á- áš** Lexical 1.; 12.

dī'u is otherwise Sum. **sag-gig, aš-ru, aš-gar, aš-búr-gar, aš-búr-ru** (CADD 165 s.v. *dī'u* lex. sect.(a) (notice **aš**)).²

¹ As to *arratu* in group with *muršu* cf. *arratu maruštu* (: *maruštu*): AHw 244 s.v. *erretu(m)* I 1); cf. also AHw 613 *maršu* 4c). Also, Heb. *qilēlani qēlālāh nimrešet* (*mrš nif.*) 1 Kgs 2:8 (“he cursed me with a painful curse”); see L. Kopf, “Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch,” *VT* 8 (1958) 163 (reprinted in Kopf, *Studies in Arabic and Hebrew Lexicography* [135]). *qēlālāh nimrešet* would be Akk. *arratu maruštu*.

² **áš** = *er-re-tum*; **áš** = *arratu*: CAD A/2 304 s.v. *arratu* lex. sect. **áš** = *ši-e-bu-tu₄* *Emar* S^a Voc. 660' and *Ugaritica* 5 137 ii 47 ([**áš**]); now also the new trilingual from Ugarit RS 94.2939, **áš** = *ar-ra-tu* = (Hurr.) *ši-tar-ni*, **áš** = *ši-bu-tu* = (Hurr.) *mu-uk-ni*, Béatrice André-Salvini and Mirjo Salvini, “Un nouveau vocabulaire trilingue sumérien-akkadien-hourrite de Ras Shamra” in *General Studies and Excavations at Nuzi 10/2* (ed. David I. Owen and Gernot Wilhelm; SCCNH 9; Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1998) 16'–17', with the authors' additional comments in “Additions and Corrections to SCCNH 9 (1998) 3–40” in *Nuzi at Seventy-Five* (ed. David I. Owen and Gernot Wilhelm; SCCNH 10; Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1999) 434–5 and “La colonne I du vocabulaire Sa trilingue RS 94–2939,” *SMEA* 41 (1999) 145–6; **áš** = *edirtu* (“obscurement,” “calamity”) *Emar* S^a Voc. 663' (also in *Ugaritica* 5 137 ii 46'–8'); **áš** =

- 4' **ṛáš** = *ni-is-sà-tu₄ // bu-šu-ut-tu*¹

nissatu (“grief, worry, depression”) together with *muršu* and *di’u* see *muršu tănēhu di’u diliptu nissatu lā tūb šīri*, “sickness, moaning, headache, sleeplessness, depression, unwellness” Wiseman, *Treaties* 418 var. (CAD N/2 275b s.v. *nissatu* A s. 1b); *di-’a-šu di-lip-ta-šu ni-is-sa-su* Šurpu IV 84. The meaning of *bušuttu* (*pušuttu*) is not known. Cf. **buluḥ**(: **puluḥ**) = *ḥa-a-šu* (“to worry”), **ašš-buluḥ** = MIN SIG₇.ALAN IV 244–5 (MSL 16 86; quoted below in n. 23)

- 5' [**á-ku₅**] = *i-du nak-su*

- 6' [**á-**] = *i-du šap/b-šu* (Emar 6/4 ed. -*su*; also read -*su* in PSD B 15 s.v. **á** A Lexical 13.)

- 7' [**á-TAR**] = *i-du qa-at-pu*

- 8' [**á-TAR**] = *i-du ḥa-ar-šu*

- 9' [**á-ḥaš**] = [*i-du ḥ*]*a-aš-šu*

Entries cited in PSD A/2 15 s.v. **á** A Lexical 13.

6'. Because of context, *šapšu*, “strong” can be ruled out. We may expect *šabru* (*šebbru*), “broken,” Sum. **ḥaš**; cf. [**á-ḥa**]-**ašḥaš** = MIN *ši-ib-rù*, [**á**]-**ku-ud** = MIN *ši-ib-rù* Izi Q 44–5 (MSL 13 218), followed by [**á**]-**ku₅** = MIN *na-ak-su*, **ṛá¹-ku₅** = ŠU(: *akû*).

Column ii

- 1' **gú**-[] = [*qadādu*] (Emar ed. 10')

- 2' **gú-gar**-[] = []

- 3' **gú-gar**-[] = []

- 4' **gú**-[] = []

- 5' **gú**-[] = []

- 6' **gú-gá**-[**gá**] = [*qadādu ...*] (15')

- 7' **gú**<-**ki**>-**šè-gá**-[**gá**] = [*qadādu ...*]

- 8' **gú**<-**ki**>-**šè-gá**-[**gá**] = [*quddudu*] ()

- 9' **gú**-[] = []

- 10' **gú**-[] = []

SIG₇.ALAN XXI 93–7 (MSL 16 194; 91–2: **gurum** = *qa-da-du*, **gú-gurum** = MIN *šá LÚ*).

6' = SIG₇.ALAN XXI 94 (MSL 16 194) **gú-gá-gá** = MIN (var. *qa-da-a-du šá LÚ*). **gú-gá-gá** = *kanāšu*; *kunnušu* CAD K 144 s.v. *kanāšu* lex. sect.

7'–8' = SIG₇.ALAN XXI 96–7 (MSL 16 194) **gú-ki-šè-gá-gá**, **gú-ki-šè-lá** = MIN *šá LÚ* (var. *qa-da-a-du* for MIN); **gú-ki-šè-gá-gá** = *qū*-[*ud-du-du-um*] OBGT XI iii 11 (MSL 4 115). 9' perhaps **gú**-[<-**ki**>-**šè-lá**] (**gú**-

a-ra-rù (“to curse”): see Åke W. Sjöberg, “Studies in the Emar S^a Vocabulary,” *ZA* 88 (1998) 274: Emar S^a Voc. 660'– 3'. **áš** and **á-áš** = *ḥiših[tu]* Á = Idu II 254 (in conjunction with *ar[ratu]*, *šibū[tu]*); **á-áš** = *ḥi-ših-tú* SIG₇.ALAN IV–IVa 237 (MSL 16 85); PSD A/2 44 s.v. **á-áš** Lexical 3, 4.

ki-še-lá = *šab*-ZU, cf. n. 4). Cf. **gú-ki-še-gar** = MIN (= *ka-na-šu*) *ša* LÚ SIG₇.ALAN XXI 107 (MSL 16 194); = *ke-pu-u* *ša* LÚ SIG₇.ALAN XXI 121 (MSL 16 195). **gú-<ki>-še-gar** = MIN (var. *qa-da-a-du*) *ša* LÚ (text A) ibid. XXI 95 (text B: []-gar; MSL 16 194).

Emar 6/4 no. 565 (p. 162 Msk 7491ae; copy *Emar 6/1 229*).

- 1' **gú-šub**-[x]
- 2' **gú-šub**-[x]
- 3' **gú-šub**-[x]
- 4' **gú-gíd**-[]
- 5' [g]**ú-gíd**-[]
- 6' [g]**ú-gíd** []

Parallel: Izi Bogh. A 107–12 (MSL 13 136):

gú-šub-ba = *a-ḫu na-dú-ú*, “to neglect”
gú-šub-ba = *zé-nu-ú*, “to be angry”
gú-šub-ba = *ša-pa-a-du* = (Hitt.) *ap-pa-tar*
gú-gíd = *ib/p-zu* = (Hitt.) *ḫar-ša-la-an-za*, “raging, quarreling”³
gú-gíd = *šab-sú* = (Hitt.) *ḫar-ša-al-la-an-za*, Akk. *šabsu*, “angry”: CAD Š/1 15, Hitt. “raging, quarreling”
gú-si-da-a-ri = *ša-pa-a-šu* = (Hitt.) []

In line 109 the Hittite translation *ap-pa-tar*, “to seize” (: *šabātu*), may be an error for *šabāsu*: CAD Š 6 s.v. *šabātu* lex. sect. (a); line 112 *šabašu* (: *šabāsu*, “to be angry”); Izi Bogh. A 150–2 (MSL 13 137):

gú-ki-še-lá = *šab*-ZU⁴
gú-šub = *šab-sú* (“angry”)
[g]ú-šub-da-a-ri = *ša-bá'-a-šu*

In all three entries the Hittite equivalent is *ḫar-ša-al-la-an-za*, “raging, quarreling.”

Emar 6/4 no. 566 (p. 162 Msk 7498e; copy *Emar 6/1 240*).

- 1' [a-ma]-r[u-k]àm = *a-nu-m[a]*

a-ma-ru-kam = *ap-pu-ut-tu₄* (“please, it’s urgent”), *a-nu-um-ma*, *la te-eg-gu-um*, G. A. Reisner, “The Berlin Vocabulary V.A.Th. 244” ZA 9 (1894) 160 ii 7–9 (group voc.). *a-nu-um-ma*, “voici”: *Emar 6/3 p. 49*

³ *ibzu* is a hapax legomenon. According to CAD I/J 8, **ibzu* is possibly a scribal error for *šab*(PA+IB)-*zu* (*šabsu*, “angry”). With hesitation I refer to the root *ḫfz*: Baumgartner 339 *ḫfz*, “make haste”; Arabic *ḫafaza*, “to hasten, hurry, incite (someone); to urge; to press,” Lane 601; Dozy 1 303 f. *epzu* < *ḫapzu*, “over-hasty, impatient” (or the like).

⁴ **gú-ki-še-lá** = *šab/p*-ZU is obscure. **gú-ki-še-lá** = MIN (= *qadādu*) *ša* LÚ: SIG₇.ALAN XXI 97 (MSL 16 194). *šapsu* (“strong, resistant”) is excluded, as is *šabsu*, “angry.” **a-mar-uru₅-kam** = <*na*>-*pu-ul*-[*tu*] MSL 13 147:6; cf. *apputtu* = *nāpultu*, *la tegī* Malku 274–5. *nāpultu* = *nāpultu*, “answer” (CAD N/1 272).

Some Emar Lexical Entries

no. 34:7; p. 197 no. 185:3'; 6'.⁵ Cf. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary* 68. *ap-pa-tu₄* (for *apputtu*) in *Emar* 6/3 p. 257 no. 260:20, but *ap-pu-tu'* in 260:23.

2' [gú]-nigin = *nap-h[a-ru]*

3' **gú-nigin-kur-ra** = *nap-[har mātī]*

2'-3', cf. Egbert von Weiher, "Ein Vokabularfragment aus Boğazköy (KBo XVI 87)," *ZA* 62 (1972) 110:10-1 (Bogh.):

[gú-si] : **gu₅-u-ši** (pronunciation) = *na-ap-ha-ru*

[gú-si-kur-r]a : **gu₅-u-ši-ku-u-ra** = *na-ap<-ha>-ar m[a-ti]*.

gú-nigin = *napharu* is, as far as I know, not attested otherwise. **gú** is *napharu*, as is **nigin**; **gú-diri** / **gú-si-a** corresponds to *napharu*. Cf. Izi Bogh. A 179-81 (MSL 13 139):

gú-si = [*nap-h[a-ru]*] = [...]

gú-si-si = [... *n*] *ap-ha-ri* = (traces)

gú-si-kur-ra = [*nap-har*] KUR-ti (: *mātī*) = KUR-aš *kar-pi-eš-šar* ("lifting of the land").

4' **gú-gurum** = *k[na-na-šu]*

5' **gú-gurum** = [...]

6' **gú-GÚR.GÚR** = [...]

Parallel Izi Bogh. A 182-3 (MSL 13 139):

gú-gurum = *kà-na-a-šu* = *ka-ni-ni-ia-u-wa-ar*

gú-GÚR.GÚR = *kà-na-a-šu* = *ka-ni-ni-ia-u-wa-ar*

Cf. also A 117 (MSL 13 136) **gú-gar** = *ga-na-a-šu* = (Hitt.) *ka-ni-ni-ia-wa-ar*; A 119 **gú-gar-gar** = *ga-na-a-šu* = (Hitt.) *ka-ni-ni-ia-u-wa-ar*. Reading **gú-guru(m)**: see KBo 16 87:12-4 (von Weiher, *ZA* 62 [1972] 110):

[**gú-gurum**] (pronunciation): **gu₅-u-gu₅-ru** = *ka-na-a-šu*

[**gú-gurum**] : **gu₅-u-gu₅-ru** = *ka-ma-a-šu*

[**gú-GÚR.GÚR**] : **gu₅-u-ga-ag-re** = *ki-ta-mu-šu*.⁶

gú-gurum/gúr is also *qadādu*: CAD Q 44.

Emar 6/4 no. 567 (p. 162 f. Msk 7494b; copy *Emar* 6/1 232) + 74105b (copy *Emar* 6/1 265; see Civil, *AuOr* 7 [1989] 20 b).

1 [**an-dungu**] = *ú-pu-[ú]*

upû(m), "cloud." **an-dungu**, Akk. (< Sum.) *andugû* is a synonym of *upû(m)*, "cloud" in Malku II 104: CAD A/2 114; cf. **dungu** = *upû*, AHw 1426 *upû(m)* I and *erpetu*, "cloud," CAD E 302 s.v. *erpetu* lex. section; bil. section.

⁵ *a-nu-ma* *Emar* 6/3 p. 12 no. 5:11; p. 23 no. 15:8; p. 77 no. 69:2; p. 96 no. 86:2; p. 105 no. 93:9; p. 287 no. 296:12; also written *e-nu-ma*: *Emar* 6/3 no. 260:9; 263:13, 17. Akk. *anumma*, *anummu*. Cf. [**gú**]-si = MIN (: *nagbu* B s.v.) *šá nap-ha-ri* Antagal G 32 (MSL 17 222).

⁶ Cf. von Weiher, *ZA* 62 (1972) 112 on line 14. **gu₅-u-ga-ag-re** may go back to **gú-gar-gar**.

With **dungu**, “cloud,” and **an-dungu** compare **murū₉**(**IM.DUGUD**) and **an-murū₉**, Akk. *akāmu*, see Åke W. Sjöberg, “Contributions to the Sumerian Lexicon,” *JCS* 21 (1967) 278.

- 2 **an-úr**[r] = *il-di šá-me-e* (: *išdi šamê*)

Emar 6/4 ed.: **an-dím**, but see Civil, *AuOr* 7 (1989) 20.⁷

- 3 **an-pa**{-úr} = *i-la-a<-at> šá-me-e*

elât šamê, Sum. **an-pa**: CAD E 79; Wayne Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (MC 8; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1998) 227; = *a-pi ša-me<-e>* Proto-Izi B 5 (MSL 13 36; Horowitz, *Cosmic Geography* 236).

- 4 **an-ša-ga** = *qé-re-eb šá-[me-e]*

- 5 **an-TAR** = *pí-it-ru ša šá-[me-e]*

pitru denotes a waste space, an open area, see AHW 870 *pitru(m)*, Sum. **KI.KAL** with reading **ḫirim** = *pi-it-ru* CT 11 50 a 1 (Diri IV) [cf. also CAD H 197 s.v. *ḫirinnu* A]. OB: *pí-it-ru* ARM 4 27:37 (there read as *pí-it-ru*); Gilgameš Epic I 20 *pí-ti-ir bīt dīštar*; 21 *pí-ru uruk^{ki}* = XI 319; 320. CAD A/1 380 s.v. *ālu* (“city”) 1.4’ b) *pitir bīt dīštar* as “which is set aside as the estate of Ištar,” see further M. San Nicolò and H. Petschow, *Babylonische Rechtsurkunden aus dem 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (ABAW NF 51; Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1960) 10 no. 6:5, 10; 11 for commentary; read there as *pitru*.⁸ Which part of the heaven is the “waste space,” the “open area” remains obscure.⁹

()¹⁰

⁷ Cf. *utul šamê* “the lap (**úr** = *utlu*): *īterbū ana utul šamê*, “(the gods) have entered the interior (lit. “lap”) of heaven,” George Dossin, “Prières aux ‘dieux de la nuit’” (*AO* 6769),” *RA* 32 (1935) 180:7 (OB lit.).

⁸ **é-KI.KAL**, a temple belonging to Lugalbanda and Ninsuna, occurs in a Sínkāsīd inscription: Douglas R. Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 BC)* (RIME 4; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990) 454, Sínkāsīd 8:11, there read **é-kankal** and so in most of the editions of the inscription (see references on 454 Bibliography). **kankal** = *kankallu*, a type of hard soil. A. R. George, *House Most High: The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia* (MC 5; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1993) 110, 598 reads **é-ki-kal** “House, Precious Place.” Claus Wilcke, *Das Lugalbandaepos* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1969) 52 n. 173 reads **é-KI.KAL** (cf. also 53 n. 178), without interpretation. We do not exclude a reading **é-ḫirim**, **ḫirim** corresponding to *pitru*. If so, the shrine was built in a *pitru* (open area / “corner”? cf. following note) of the city, like Ištar’s temple in Uruk in Gilgameš Epic I 20 (= XI 319).

⁹ Arabic *fitr*: Wehr 621 gives, besides “Spanne (Entfernung zwischen der Spitze des Daumens und Zeigefingers);” Lane 2331a: “the space between the extremity of the thumb and that of the fore finger,” a translation “Ecke” (“corner”), which, etymologically, may be connected with Akkadian *pitru*. Also, Arab. *fatara*: *fatarahu*, “he measured it by the *fitr*” Lane 2330(b) 1. *fitr* (end). Cf. *DIA* 344 *f-t-r* 2. “to measure (by the span of thumb to index finger);” *fitir*, plur. *fiār*, “a unit of measurement equal to the span of the extended thumb and index finger.”

¹⁰ We miss **an-zà** = *pāt šamê*, “heaven’s edge, the edge of heaven” (see Horowitz, *Cosmic Geography* 235 f.), following **an-úr**, **an-pa**, and **an-ša-ga**. It may not be excluded that **an-TAR** (= *pitru ša šamê*), “the edge/corner of heaven” stands for **an-zà**.

6 **an-TAR-TAR** = *al-lu-ta-nu'*¹¹

As in the preceding entries, it may denote a part of the heaven(s).¹¹

7 **[a]n-dagal_x(GÁxLA)-la** = *ša-mu-u r[a-ap-šu-tu]*

GÁxLA for **dagal(GÁxAN)**.¹²

8 **ʾan'-sù-sù** = [...]

For reading **sù-sù** see Civil, *AuOr* 7 (1989) 20. I refer the reader to **[an-sù-sù(-da)]** = *ša-mu-u ud-du-pu-tú*, “wind-swept heavens/sky” Lu Excerpt II 162 (MSL 12 108), followed by **[an-šú-šú]** = [MIN *ur-r*] *u-pu-tú*, “clouded sky”¹³ (for restoration cf. AMT 11 1:30/31 **im igi-lú-ka sù-sù** = *šaru šá in amēli ud-du-pu* “the (evil) wind that has blown into the man’s eye”: CAD E 28 s.v. *edēpu* A v. 1. b). See also Igitūh Appendix A i 1’-2’ **[an-sù-sù-da]** = [*ša-mu-ú ud-du-pu*]-*tú*, **[an-šú-šú-x]** = [*šá*]-ʾmuʾ-[*ú-ur-ru*]-ʾpu-teʾ (VAT 10225 + 10227; MS Benno Landsberger).

9 **[an]-sù-sù** = [...]

As far as we know, there are no references for **an-sù-sù** as “remote heaven(s)” (*šamú rûqûtu*), see CAD R 421 s.v. *rûqu* bil. sect.: **an-sù(-d)**, **an-sù-ud-da**, **an-sù-ud**, Akk. *šamú rûqûtu*, *šamú rûqu*; **[an-sù-u]d-da-gim**, syll. version **an-šu-ut-ta-ki-im** = [*ki-ma AN-e ru-qu-ma*] *Emar* 6/4 p. 359:7; OB lex.: Jon Taylor, “A new OB Proto-Lu-Proto-Izi Combination Tablet,” *OrNS* 70 (2001) iv 25, **a[n]-sù** (Proto-Izi). **[an]-sù-sù** may be an error for **[an]-šú-šú** (= *šamú urrupûtu*); lines 8–9 would then be parallels to Lu Excerpt II 162–3 and Igitūh Appendix A 1’-2’ (both texts cited above in comm. to line 8 above).

¹¹ Arnaud: *al-lu-ta-nu'*. If accurate, we refer, with hesitation, to JArām. ʾallātā, ʾallūtā, “post, door-post,” Jastrow I 73; Dalman 21 *ʾallēā*. For gates and gate-parts of heaven see Wolfgang Heimpel, “The Sun at Night and the Doors of Heaven in Babylonian Texts,” *JCS* 38 (1986) 132 ff.; F. Rochberg-Halton, “Stellar Distances in Early Babylonian Astronomy: A New Perspective on the Hilprecht Text (HS 229),” *JNES* 42 (1983) 214; CAD Š/1 344; Š/2 410; Erle Leichty, “Omens from Doorknobs,” *JCS* 39 (1987) 190 ff.; Horowitz, *Cosmic Geography* 266 n. 33; 267 with n. 34. *al-lu-ta-[i-x]* may be a possibility.

¹² Also *Emar* 6/4 no. 137, 557:20; *Emar* 6/4 163, 567:18' **gizzu-GÁxLA**; ERIM.MEŠ GÁxLA *Emar* 6/4 271:60', 62'; 272, 653:74'; *Emar* 6/4 282, 663:5'; [LUGAL ERIM-š] *ú* GÁxLA ŠUB (“[le roi] sa vaste [armée] tombera”) 6/4 262:35 (copy *Emar* 6/2 551); cf. É-šú AD-šú (rasur) GÁxLA-š *Emar* 6/4 229 Annexe I text E (copy *Emar* 6/2 427: Msk 74170):7' and *bīt abīšu* GÁxLA-[iš] (: *irappiš*), “la maison de son père s’agrand[ira]” *Emar* 6/4 p. 249, 641:5'. In Ugarit: *Ugaritica* 5 no. 163 ii 11, cf. 286 f. for Nougayrol’s commentary on line 11; Claus Wilcke, “Die Emar-Version von ‘Dattelpalme und Tamariske’—ein Rekonstruktionsversuch,” *ZA* 79 (1989) 186. Also written **GÁxAN** in *Emar*: SILA.GÁxAN(LA) *Emar* 6/4 134 no. 126:6 (copy *Emar* 6/2 716); also *Emar* 6/3 144 no. 137:49 (copy *Emar* 6/1 87); 6/3 152 no. 141:8 (copy *Emar* 6/1 72); 6/3 163 no. 148:6 (copy 6/1 77); SILA.GÁxAN¹.LA *Emar* 6/3 114, 109:4; J.G. Westenholz, *Cuneiform Inscriptions in the Collection of the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem. The Emar Tablets* (CM 13; Groningen: Styx, 2000) 17 no. 5:5; 20 no. 6:7; SILA.GÁxAN *Emar* 6/3 134, 126:6 (copy *Emar* 6/2 716); 6/3 144, 137:49 (copy *Emar* 6/1 87); *Emar* 6/3 153, 141:8 (copy *Emar* 6/1 72); *Emar* 6/3 163, 148:6 (copy *Emar* 6/1 77).

¹³ [mù]š-bi **an-šú-šú-ru** (var. -šú-uš-ru) = *zi-mu-šú AN-ú* (var. [*šá*]-*mu-ú*) *ár-pu-ti* (var. -*tu*), “his [the demon’s] appearance is the clouded sky” CT 17 25:11; **an al-šú-šú-[ru] im nu-šeg-[ām]**, “the skies became cloudy, but it did not rain” Alster, *SP Coll.* 22 v 35–6.

10 **an-bar-an-[ta]** = [...]

an-bar-an-ta: cf. van Dijk, *Götterlieder* 82: TCL 15 25:29; commentary 103 f.; cf. also TCS 3 86;¹⁴ Horowitz, *Cosmic Geography* 242 (where this Emar entry is cited [n. 34] as **an-bar-an-[]**). **an-ta** = *elû*, “upper” (*elû* B: CAD E 111). With **an-bar** compare **an-ša**, **an-zà** (van Dijk, *Götterlieder* 104), and **é-bar-ra** (PSD B 98 3.2.2); **ká-bar(-ra)** (PSD B 98 3.2.3), **kisal-bar(-ra)** (PSD 98 3.2.4), and **uru-bar** (PSD B 97 2.2.5).

11 **an-bad-[DU]** = [...]

Cf. **sù-DU-ág-an-bad-da**, “light of the remote heaven,” Åke W. Sjöberg, “Hymns to Meslamtaea, Lugalgirra and Nanna-Suen in Honour of King Ibbisuen (Ibbisîn) of Ur,” *OrSuec* 19–20 (1970–71) 146 no. 3:3; cf. **utah-ḫe-bad-ta**, “from the remote heaven,” Sjöberg, *OrSuec* 19–20 (1970–71) 146 no. 3:7; **lugal-an-bad-DU** Angim 66.¹⁵

12 **ʾan¹-[]** = [...]

16' **gizzu** = [*šillu*]

17' **gizzu-du₁₀-ga** = [MIN *ṭābu*]

18' **gizzu-dagal** = [MIN *rapšu*]

dagal_x(GÁxLA); for **GÁxLA** see above line 7 with note. Parallels: Proto-Izi 283–4a (MSL 13 26) and Emesal Voc. III 124–6 (MSL 4 38 f.).

19' **U** = [...]

20' **U** = [...]

21' **U** = [...]

¹⁴ **kur-sùḫ¹-sùḫ¹-a-ta¹ è-[a-ni] an-bar-ra-a ʾutu-gin₇ [bī-in-gub] ʾdili-ím-babbar kur-sùḫ-sùḫ-a-t[ʾa è-a-ni] an-[bar]-ra-a ʾutu-gin₇ [bī-in-gub]**, “when he comes out of the dark(?) mountain he stands like Utu in/at ... when Dilimbabbar comes out of the dark(?) mountain, he stands like Utu in/at ...” Samuel Noah Kramer, Hatice Kızılyay (Bozkurt), and Muazzez Çiğ, “Selected Sumerian Literary Texts,” *OrNS* 22 (1953) Pl. XLVII Ni. 4049 i 5–8; dupl. UET 6/1 68:6–8 writes **an-NE-ra= an-bar₇-ra**, “noon, midday” (Akk. *mušālu*); in spite of **an-bar₇** in the text from Ur, **an-bar** in the Nippur text may be the same as **an-bar** in the Emar entry, van Dijk, *Götterlieder* 82 TCL 15 25:29, and in Gudea Cyl. A xxv 3.

¹⁵ As far as I know, there are no Akkadian translations of **an-bad** (**an-bad-DU/da**) in bilingual or lexical texts (**bad** = *nesû*, *petû*, *rûqu*). Cf. (goddess) *nûr šamê nê-su-u-t[i]*, “the light of the distant heavens,” Theophile James Meek, “A Votive Inscription of Ashurbanipal (Bu. 89-4-26, 209),” *JAOS* 38 (1918) 168:5; (Sîn) *ZĀLAG šamê nesûti*, “light of the distant heavens” Streck, *Asb.* 288:5. *šamû pe-tu-tum* is found in Silbenvokabular A 91 (Edmund Sollberger, “A Three-Column Silbenvokabular A” in *Studies Landsberger* 24): **an-ba-ni** : *ša-mu-û pe-tu-tum*. Aa III/5:29–30, cited in CAD Š/2 340(a) as **ʾku-u¹ KUD** = *pe-tu-u šā* A.MEŠ, = MIN *ša-me-e*, but read *ša me-e* (“water”): MSL 14 344, followed by MIN *ša bu-tu-qu-tu₄* and *ba-ta-qu šā* A.MEŠ. *šamû rûqu₇tu* (*šamê rûqu₇ti*: CAD R 421 s.v. *rûqu* bil. sect. ISET 2 pl. 9 iii 46 f. (Inanna and Šukalletuda) is read by Horowitz, *Cosmic Geography* 249 as **an-sikil¹-bad¹-rá¹a igi mu-ni-du₈ an-bad-rá¹a giskim mu-ni-zu**; however, it is to be read differently, see the comments on lines 151–2 in the edition by Konrad Volk, *Inanna und Šukaletuda. Zur historisch-politischen Deutung eines sumerischen Literaturwerkes* (SANTAG 3; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1995) 178–9.

Cf. Proto-Ea 112–4 (MSL 14 36) **u₄ : U, šu-ú : U, bu-ru : U**; Ea II 146 ff. (MSL 14 253 f.): 146 **ú : U = ú-ba-an**, 147 **ú : U = e-še-ret**, followed (148) by **a : U = KI.MIN. u : U = ubānu(m)**; AHW 1398. Cf. Aa II/4:36 ff. (MSL 13 281 f.).

22' **KU.[KU.(KU)]** (: *Emar* 6/1, 265, 74105b:22')

23' **KU.[KU.(KU)]**

24' **KU.[KU.(KU)]**

Cf. Proto-Lu MSL 12 54:578–80: **KU.KU.KU, KU.KU.KU, KU.KU.KU**, var. **KU.KU** (in the three lines), followed by **alan-zu** and **u₄-da-tuš** (both = Akk. *aluzinnu*, “clown”); see also Civil, *AuOr* 7 (1989) 23, 4); also Proto-Lu Isin xi 5–7 (edition Jon Taylor, forthcoming). **KU.KU.KU : e-eh, ehehhe** = *pessú, pe-es-sa-a-tú*, [...] = *pe-e[s-s]u-ú -tú* Diri I 99 ff., see Åke W. Sjöberg, “‘He is a Good Seed of a Dog’ and ‘Engardu, the Fool,’” *JCS* 24 (1971–72) 114 on CBS 14072 (and dupl.) i 12 (p. 108): **KU.KU KU.KU.KU e-sír-dagal-la lú na[m-...]**, where **KU.KU KU.KU.KU** are invectives.

Emar 6/4 no. 568 (p. 163 ff. Msk 74164a = A; copy *Emar* 6/2 416–7; + Msk 74259 = B; copy *Emar* 6/2 580).

11' **ki-iš | GIŠ** = *i-šu*

12' **giš** = *ha-at-t[u]* (for **giš-gidru**)

GIŠ | ki-iš, cf. *Emar* S^a Voc. 205; 206 **GIŠ | ke-eš** = *hatt[u]*, Sjöberg, *ZA* 88 (1998) 256; **GIŠ | né-eš** = *ša-mu<u>*; see also Sjöberg, *ZA* 88 (1998) 257 (on line 247) n. 38 with reference to Miguel Civil, “Bilingualism in Logographically Written Languages: Sumerian in Ebla,” in *Il bilinguismo a Ebla* (ed. Luigi Cagni; Istituto Universitario Orientale Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Series Minor 12; Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1984) 81 f.: **né-eš-pe-ša**.¹⁶

13' **giš** = *te-e[r-tu₄]*.

Á = Idu: VAT 9712 I 7 **giš** = *tērtu*.

¹⁶ OB: **né-eš-pe-ša: GIŠ-pēš** = *ti-tum* Proto-Diri Sippar iii 21'; **ni-iš-nu: GIŠ-nu₁₁** = *nu-ú-rum* Proto-Diri Sippar iv 3'. See further **né-eš-bu-na (gišbun)** VAS 2 44 rev. 2 ff. **ni-iš-gi** (: **giš-gi**), Antoine Cavigneaux and Farouk Al-Rawi, “Liturgies exorcistiques agraires (Textes de Tell Haddad IX)” *ZA* 92 (2002) 26:17; **ni-iš** (= **giš**) 26:18 (Tell Haddad); **mi-iš-te-e-ra** (= **gi-tir-a**) 30:13 (Tell Haddad); written **giš** 28 iii 1 (Tell Haddad). **ge-eš-bu-ur** (: **giš-būr**) Uruanna III 220. Post-OB: **gišgal** = *na-aš-gal-lu* (: **gišgal / nešgal**). **e-kur-giš** [...] : **e-gur-na-aš-ki** = *bi-ī[t mu-li-li]* Kagal Bogh I D 13 (Boghazköy, MSL 13 151). **na-ar-ra** (: **ga-ar-ra**) = *ia-a-ši* MDP 57 no. 1 iii 4/6 (Susa). **[giš la-ba-an-tu]ku-a**, syll.version **ki-iš la-ba-an-tu-ka-a**, Akk. transl. *ul [it-ta-a]š-mi* *Emar* 6/4 p. 359 no. 767:4'. **giš-hur**, syll. var. **ki-iš-ḥu-ur** *Emar* 6/4 p. 361:24; cf. also p. 360:13 (*Emar*). **ná** // **ki-iš-na**, pronunciation gloss for **giš-ná** = *ša^a-la-lu-u* KUB 3 94 ii 12, in CAD Š 67 s.v. *šalālu* v. lex. sect.3 (Boghazköy). **GIŠ.SAR-^amaḥ** ki = MIN *ni-šar-ma-ḥu*, W.H. van Soldt, “The Ugarit Version of Harra-hubullu 20–21a. A New Source,” in *Studies Bergerhof* 439:46 (Ugarit). Cf. **ka-ar | gar** = *ša-ka-nu* *Emar* S^a Voc. 506', Sjöberg, *ZA* 88 (1998) 268; **ga-ga | gá-gá** = *šakā[nu]* *Emar* 6/4 161, 563:6'–7' (*Emar*).

A rev. i

1 **IGI.DU[B]** = [ittu] (*Emar* 6/4 ed. 19')

2 **IGI.DUB** = [qīptu] (20')

3 **IGI.DU[B]** = [tukultu]

Restoration according to Izi XV ii 21'–3' (MSL 13 169): **IGIⁱ-iz-ki-im DUB** = *it-tu₄*.

4 **IGI.DUB** = *qip-t[u₄]*

IGI.DUB = *tu-ku[l-tu₄]* and Diri II 100–2 and Proto-Diri 107–8a quoted in CAD Q 260 s.v. *qīptu* lex. section; cf. *Emar* 6/4 p. 166 no. 569:33'–6': **giskim (IGI.DUB)**; MIN-[ti]; MIN-[sa₆-ga]; MIN-nu-[til-la] = Proto-Lu 495–8 (MSL 12 50; text G'' has an extra line 497a [gi]skim-^hul'-a between 497 and 498).

5 **šen** = [...] (*Emar* 6/4 ed. 23')

6 **šen-kal** = [...] (24')

7 [š]en-dīm-ma = [...] (25')

šen = *šennu* (*šēnu*, *šannu*, *šunnu*): CAD Š/2 289 (a copper vessel; *šannum* is the old form); Ebla: **šen** = *ša-nū[m]* Ebla Voc. 1267 (MEE 4 332); cf. Ebla Syllabary 147 (B) š[en]: š[a]-n[u-um]. For the reading of this sign see Piotr Steinkeller, “Studies in Third Millennium Paleography, 2. Signs ŠEN and ALAL,” *OA* 20 (1981) 243 f.; Alfonso Archi, “The ‘Sign-list’ from Ebla,” in *Eblaitica* 1 (ed. C.H. Gordon, G.A. Rendsburg, and N.H. Winter; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1987) 99, 147; and G. Conti, “Carri ed equipaggi nei testi di Ebla,” in *Miscellanea Eblaitica* 4 (ed. Pelio Fronzaroli; QuSem 19; Florence: Dipartimento di Linguistica, Università di Firenze, 1997) 67. **šen** also = *ruqqu* (CAD R 416).¹⁷ **šen-kal** is *šengallu*: CAD Š/2, 288.¹⁸

A rev. i

8 [ki]-á-gá = [x]-[...] (*Emar* 6/4 ed. 26')

á-gá seems to stand for **á-ág-gá**; cf. **lú-á-gá-bi** “its director,” A. Westenholz, *OSP* 2 55 no. 40 ii 5 (see his comm.); Lafont, *Tello* no. 196:23 **á-gá** for **á-ág-gá**, cf. Lafont p. 65 on line 23. **ki-á-ág-gá** = *me-el-ti-t[u]* Izi C iii 4 (MSL 13 177; CAD M/2 13, mng. uncert.; AHw 649 **meššītu*, *melītu*, “etwa ‘Zuweisung,’” that is “assignment”). **á-ág-gá** = *tērtu* cf. line 13 below; **ki-á-ág-gá**: PSD A/2 37 s.v. **á-agá** 3, “place where orders/decrees are issued.”

¹⁷ **šen-zabar** *Emar* 6/3 p. 258 no. 261:28, 30; *Emar* 6/3 p. 278, no. 283:2, 3; 6/3 p. 282 no. 286:6; no. 285:1; no. 290:2; **šen-tur-zabar** no. 283:4; **šen-kū-sig₁₇** 6/3 282, no. 286:6.

¹⁸ OB LÚ.URUDU.ŠEN (some refs. CAD R 419 f.): “the Akkadian equivalent ... is not known” (CAD); however, cf. Åke W. Sjöberg, “*UET* VII, 73: An Exercise Tablet Enumerating Professions,” in *Studies Limet* 119 iii 14 *šu-ut šu-un'-ni* “the ones (in charge) of the *šunnu*-vessels.” LÚ.URUDU.ŠEN would be Akk. *ša šunni* (plur. *šūt šunni*).

9 [ki]-gá-an = ʿx-[...] (27')

According to copy there is no space for [ki-á]-gá-, probably [ki]<-á>-gá-. -an may be for -an-na, cf. á-ág-gá-an-na-ke₄ “the decree of An” Ninmešarra 19 (but probably no connection).

10 ki-eš-bar = dī²-[...] (Emar 6/4 ed. 28'; eš-bar = purussū)

11 ki-eš-še-NI = [...] (29')

12 ki-za-za = [...] (30') (ki-za-za = šukēnu: CAD Š/3 214).

13 ki-á-agá-šub = [...] (Emar 6/4 ed. 31')

Cf. line 8 above. á-agá šub perhaps *tērta nadū*.¹⁹

A rev. ii

1 ki-bi-ri-a = ri¹-ib-ba-tu₄ (Emar 6/4 ed. 37')

2 ki-bi-ri-a = mi-iṭ-ṭa-tu₄ (38')

3 ki-bi-ri-a = im-ṭu-u (39')

4 ki-bi-ri-a = ma-ṭu-u (40')

ribbatu 1. “arrears,” 2. “remainder, remnant”: CAD R 315, where ref. to Proto-Aa (MSL 14 92) 79:1–2: **lu-u₄ | LÁLxGAG** = *ri-ib-ba-túm, mu-uṭ-ṭu-u₄*; also Ea I 249–50 (MSL 14 189): **la-al-la | LÁL** = *tam-ṭa-a-tu*; cf. AHW 1317 *tamṭū*, “diminution, scarcity.” **la²-ú | LÁL** = *rib-ba-a-tú*. In both lexical texts (1.) *ribbatu* occurs together with *muṭṭu* and *tamṭātu*; (2.) *miṭṭatu* is not in the dictionaries; (3.) *imṭū*, “losses, shortages” (cf. line 5 below); (4.) *maṭū*, verb or adjective (cf. line 6 below).

5 si-il-lá = im-ṭu-u | imṭū (Emar 6/4 ed. 41')

6 si-il-lá = ma-ṭu-u | maṭū (42')

lal (lá) = *maṭū*. **si-il** is obscure; cf. **[si-la] | [TAR]** = *mu-uṭ-ṭu-u* Aa III/5:174 (MSL 14 348). **si-il-lá** = *imṭū*, *maṭū* is otherwise not attested. *imṭū* is Sum. **níg/ēm-ki-tab-ba** and **níg-ki-lá-bi**. Cf. line 3 above **ki-bi-ri-a** = *imṭū*; **lá/lal** in **níg-ki-lá-bi** corresponds to Akk. *maṭū*.

¹⁹ A translation “place where instruction(s)/order(s) is/are neglected” is excluded. **á-agá šub**: *tērta nadū* in the sense of **á-agá gá-gá**, cf. Gudea Cyl. A x 24 **é-bábbar ki á-agá gá-gá** “Ebabbar, the place where instructions/orders are given out.” This passage is read differently by Dietz Otto Edzard, *Gudea and His Dynasty* (RIME 3/1; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997) 75; PSD A/2 37, 3. **ki-á-ág-gá-gá**, the second **-gá** as 1st pers. suffix “in my,” but see **ki-á-agá-ba** Gudea Cyl. A xxvi 9. **gá-gá** = *nadū* in **[gū-g]á-gá** = *ri-ig-mu-um na-du-u* Kagal D 7:10 (MSL 13 246; cf. CAD N/1 94 s.v. *nadū* with *rigmu*); cf. also Aa IV/4:61 **[ma-a | GÁ]** = *na-du-u* (MSL 14 385); Reisner, *ZA* 9 (1894) 164 iv 18; [...] **gá-gá-gá-e** = **[]-bi it-ta-nam-di** Falkenstein, *LKU* 15 rev. 5/6; cf. also **gū-nun sū-sū-dē SRT** 6 iii 4 (and dupl. 7:15) (= *rigma nadū*). With *tērta nadū* cf. *amātam nadūm*, “to present a matter”: CAD N/1 92 s.v. with *amātu* (two refs., OA period). However, note also *amāta nadū*, “disregard an order” ARM 2 113:11'; Erra I 122 (CAD N/1 78); further *awāṭīya u tērtī i-di-a-am-m[a]*, “he disregarded my words and my command” Walters, *Water for Larsa* 71–2 no. 51:5–7; cf. AHW 706 *nadū* 13a; CAD N/1 78; **á-ʿagá-ne² la-ba-ši-ʿšub¹-bé-en**, “I(?) did not neglect their commands” CT 42 no. 6 iii 22–4; also **á-ág-gá-šul-gi-lugal-gá-ke₄ gū-mu nu-mu-da-šub**, “I have not neglected the instruction of my lord Šulgi” *ISCT* 1 p. 122 Ni 2191:10 (and dupls.).

- 7 **i-di-im** | **BAD** = *na-ag-bu* [*Emar* 6/4 ed. 48'; cf. *Emar* S^a Voc. 689', see Sjöberg, *ZA* 88 (1998) 276; Ugarit RS 94.2939 **idim** = *na-ag-bu* = (Hurr.) *tar-ma-ni*, André-Salvini and Salvini, "Un nouveau vocabulaire trilingue" 25']
- 8 **idim** = *kab-tu₄* ("heavy; honored; important")
Cf. also *Emar* S^a Voc. 679', see Sjöberg, *ZA* 88 (1998) 275.
- 9 **IDIM** = *qa-al-lu* (*Emar* 6/4 ed. 50')
Akk. *qallu* adjective, "light; of little value, of low standing." **IDIM** = *qallu* is otherwise not attested. Cf. **idim** = *saklu*, "simple, simpleton" (CAD S 80)
- 10 **IDIM** = *ša-mu-u* (51')
Cf. Sjöberg, *ZA* 88 (1998) 275: *Emar* S^a Voc. 683' **IDIM** = *šamû* (with further refs.).²⁰
- 11 **IDIM** = *er-še-tu₄* (52')
- 12 **IDIM** = *ek-le-tu₄* (53')
- 13 **IDIM** = *e-tu-tu₄* (54')
- Lines 12–13 = *Emar* S^a Voc. 681'–2': Sjöberg, *ZA* 88 (1998) 275 where ref. to **GÁxBAD** with reading **etutum** = *eṭutu*, "darkness" Ea IV 235 (MSL 14 364).²¹ **idim** = *er-še-tum* MSL 14 125:714 (OB lex.). **idim** = *ek-le'-tum* MSL 14 125:721 (OB lex).
- 14 **idim** = *ú-la-lu* (55')
- idim** (glossed by **i-dim**, **i-di-im**) = *ulālu* ("weak, helpless") is also attested in Aa II/3 E 16' (MSL 14 278); S^b Voc. 61b (MSL 3 135); F. Thureau-Dangin, "Un vocabulaire de Kouyoumdjik," *RA* 16 (1919) 167 iii 51 / CT 18 30 iii 37'. **idim** = *ulālu* seems to be an error for **dīm(-ma)** = *ulālu*: see Innin-šagurra 117 (Åke W. Sjöberg, "in-nin šà-gur₄-ra. A Hymn to the Goddess Inanna by the en-Priestess Enheduanna," *ZA* 65 [1975] 188) **giri-ús-di-im-ma-kam** (**-dīm-** in my edition is a misprint; var. **dīm-ma**) = *ta-pu-ut 'ú-la'-li a-la-kum*, "to give assistance to the weak;" **giš-šub-lú-dīm-ma**, "the weak man's lot" CT 58 30 rev. 2 (5): Alster, *SP* I 288. **dīm-ma** = *ulālu* (followed by **sig-ga** = *enšu*) *Erimḫuš* IV 116 (MSL 17 62).
- 15 **idim** = *a-la-lu* (56')
- I assume a root 'll, cf. Baumgartner 55 f. 'ēlīl, "insignificant, vain;" Syr. 'alīl, "weak," 'alīlūtā, "feebleness," Payne Smith 18; cf. Akk. *ulālūtū*, "helplessness;" Arab. 'alāl, "useless" (in Baumgartner), identical with *Emar a-la-lu*

²⁰ For the following entry 684' **idim** = *ki-ša₁₀-at-tu₄*: Arnaud 26; *ki-sa-at-tu₄*: Sjöberg, *ZA* 88 (1998) 275; read now *ki-ir'-šī-tu₄*, see John Huehnergard, "More on *KI.eršetu* at *Emar*," *NABU* 1991/58.

²¹ Cf. **tī-il-ḫar** | **GÁxBAD** = *ú-pu-ú šá AN-e* Ea IV 236 (MSL 14 364; preceded by **e-tu-tum** | **GÁxBAD** = *e-tū-tu₄*).

if read *alālu*. **idim** = *ulālu* (“weak”) in the preceding line strengthens our interpretation; also *ulālu* is probably from *’il*.²²

16 [BAD] = *’pe-et-tu-ú’* (57’)

If Akk. reading is accurate, **BAD** : **bad** = *petû*, “to open.”

B + A rev. iii

(Emar 6/4 ed. 58’ ff.) parallel Izi Bogh. B 12–21 (MSL 13, 144 f.)

1 **bu-luḫ-si-il-lá** = [g]*i₅-li-ta ma-lu-u* (58’)

2 **bu-luḫ-si-il-lá** = *’x¹-li-ta ma-ku-u* (59’) (hardly [g]*i₅-*)

bu-luḫ = *gilittu*, “fright;” cf. PSD B 168 s.v. **bu-luḫ** A, “fright;” Akkadian loanword (*pulḫu*); **bu-luḫ** B, “to quiver, to be frightened.” Reading **pu-luḫ** is preferable.²³ [**bu-luḫ-si-il-lá**] : [**bu-lu-uḫ-ši-lá**] = *ma-ku-ú = ši-nu-ú-ra-aš* ... *ma-ku-ú-tu₄* = MUNUS-za [*ši-nu-ú-ra-aš*] (Hitt. “a ... woman”) Izi Bogh. B 15–6 (MSL 13 144; PSD B 168). The meaning of *makû* (fem. *makûtu*) is unknown.²⁴ Perhaps *mekû* (*makû*), “to be negligent, to disregard” (CAD M/2 s.v. *mekû*, *makû*); *mēkû*, *makû*: *mēkû*, “idle” (CAD M/2 9).

3 **zi-[x]-az** = *za-za-Aḫ¹-ḫu-ku* (Emar 6/4 ed. 60’)

Parallel Izi Bogh. B 17 (MSL 13 144): [...] : (pronunciation) [x]-*’x¹-ma-az-za* = *ḫu-uk-ku* = (Hitt.) *’x¹-[...]*. CAD Ḫ 226 s.v. *ḫukku* (mng. uncert.) restores [MIN] [= **bu-lu-uḫ-x**]-**x-ma-az-za**. We get the impression that the Boghazköy version is accurate, while the Emar version seems to be corrupt. *uḫ¹-ḫu-ku* is *ḫu-uk-ku* in the Bogh. version.²⁵ The Sum. Emar version is then an error for **zi-[ma]-az-za-za** = *uḫ¹-ḫu-ku* (probably error for *ḫu-uk-ku*).²⁶

²² Different: AHW 1407 *ulālu(m)* (with ref. to *ul* “nicht” and *ullu* I “Neinwort, Absage”) “Nicht-Mann, (geistig) Schwacher;” CDA 420 *ulālu*, “weak, helpless (person).” We do not concur with AHW.

²³ Cf. **ḪAL** : **buluḫ** (: **puluḫ**), “worry, fright”: **bu-lu-uḫbuluḫ**(**ḪAL**) = *ḫa-a-šu*, “to worry;” **áš-buluḫ** = MIN: SIG₇.ALAN IV 244–5 (MSL 16 86). To be added in PSD B 168 s.v. **bu-luḫ** A “fright,” and s.v. **bu-luḫ** B.

²⁴ **bu-lu-uḫ**, **buluḫ** : **bu-lu-uḫ-gin₇ si-il**, **bu-lu-uḫ si-il**, “to belch, to burp” is a different expression: PSD B 167 f. The two following passages are to be added in PSD B: **udu-gin₇ ḫa-ba-lu-ga buluḫ-gin₇ ḫa-ba-si-il-le**, “puisse (tout cela) s’affaisser comme un mouton, se dégurgiter comme un rot!” UET 6/2, 149 rev. 8’: Antoine Cavigneaux and Farouk Al-Rawi, “Textes Magiques de Tell Haddad (Textes de Tell Haddad II). Deuxième partie,” ZA 85 (1995) 45 U 8”, transl. p. 46. **17-maḫ-zi-ga-gin₇ ša-ba bu-lu-uḫ ba-ni-ib<si>-’il¹** YOS 11 80:1–2 probably referring to the bubbling sound of swelling waters.

²⁵ See also *ḫu-uk-ku*, wr. *ḫu-ku* Emar 6/3 p. 393 no. 393:4, 5, *ḫu-uk-k[i]* (plur.), p. 395, no. 394:10, a kind of bread in Emar texts; NINDA.*ḫu-ug-gu-um* (Emar) J.G. Westenholz, *Emar Tablets* 14 obv. 11; comm. 16 ref. to Walter Mayer, “Eine Urkunde über Grundstückskäufe aus Ekalte/Tall Munbāqa,” UF 24 (1992) 270.

²⁶ Here **ma-az**, Akk. *elēšu*; *uḫšu*; **ma-az-ma-az**=*ḫitbušu*? Cf. Åke W. Sjöberg, “Miscellaneous Sumerian Hymns,” ZA 63 (1973) 11 f.

4 **il** = *ku-ša-ru* (61')

Izi Bogh. B 18 (MSL 13 144): [**il**?] : [...] = *ku-ta-ru* = ʿx¹-. [...]. For the root *kšr*: see Baumgartner 503. For *ktr*: see Baumgartner 506 *ktr* I (“to stay, to wait”).

5 **il** = *mi-ta-ag-gu-ru* (62')

Izi Bogh. B 19 (MSL 13 144): [**il**?] : [...] = *mi-ta-gu₅-ru*. Cf. Sjöberg, *ZA* 88 (1998) 269 on Emar Sa Voc. 511' **il** = *magāru*, “to comply, to consent.” *Emar* 6/4 ed. (p. 165): [] **il** both lines (61', 62') but Emar Sa Voc. 511' has no sign before **il**.

6 **še-[š]e-ga** = *ma-ga-ru* (63')

7 **nu-u[m-še-še]-ʿga¹** = [*la ma-ga-ru*] (64')

Cf. Izi Bogh. B 20–1 (MSL 13 144), possible restorations: [**še-še-ga**] : [...] = *ma-ga-ru*, [**nu-um-še-še-ga**] : [...] = *la-a ma-ga-ru*.

Emar 6/4 no. 572 (p. 167 f. Msk 7433; copy *Emar* 6/1 p. 176)

1 **šu-gíd** = *ka-mu-u*

kamû, “to capture,” or *kamû*, “captured, captive.” Cf. [()]-**lá** = *k[a-mu-ú]*, [**šu-d]****jib-ba** = MIN *ša ša-ba-ti* Antagal E i 1–2 (MSL 17 209). **šu-dû** = *kamû*: CAD K 129(a): *ASKT* 94–5:63; BE 15526 iv 14 f. (A. Falkenstein, “Sumerische Beschwörungen aus Boğazköy,” *ZA* 45 [1939] 24 n. 3). As far as I know, **šu-gíd** as corresponding to Akk. *kamû* is otherwise not attested. Cf. line 12 below: **šu-gíd** = *qa-tu₄ ša-ba-tu₄*.

2 **šu-gíd** = *ma-as-ʿku¹*

Akk. *masku*, “bad, ugly,” can be ruled out. A translation “mixed” (cf. Baumgartner 605 *msk*) is far from certain.²⁷

3 **šu-galam-ma** = *ši-it-tu₄*

šu-galam-ma, “clever hand”: **galam** = *nkl*: *naklu*, Sum. **galam**, “clever, artistic, perfect.” The meaning of *šittu* remains obscure.²⁸

4 **šu-luḥ** = *šu-luḥ-ḥu*

²⁷ With hesitation I refer the reader to Arabic *msk*: see Dozy 2 591 *msk* I “arrêter, emprisonner;” IV “arrêter, saisir;” see also Lane 3019 f.; *VAF* 778 *masaka*, “tenir à la main, saisir qqch;” Wehr 1205–06. “Ergreifen, fassen, halten, festhalten; haften, hängen”. The meaning of the Arabic *msk* goes well with the preceding entry **šu-gíd** = *kamû*. Cf. *DIA* 438 *m-s-k*.

²⁸ Cf. **šu-ga-lam** (**ga-lam** = **galam**) as a name of a door of the Eninnu-shrine at Girsu, see A. Falkenstein, *Die Inschriften Gudeas von Lagaš* (AnOr 30/1; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1966) 140 f., **šu-ga-lam** understood as “die sich erhebende Hand;” also **é-igi-šu-galam**, a shrine of Ninurta at Nippur, see George, *House Most High* 105. PN **ur-šu-ga-lam-ma** Struve, *Onomastika* 199; PN Ur III: **ur-šu-ga-lam-ma** Limet, *L'anthroponymie* 561(+); **šu-galam-zi-mu** (“Šugalam-is-my-life”) Limet, *L'anthroponymie* 531 (ITT 4 7318). It is uncertain whether there is a connection with the Emar lexical entry **šu-galam** = *šittu* (*šittu* A, “rest, remainder, balance;” *šittu* B, “sleep;” *šittu* C, “excrement;” *šittu* D, “salted, dried meat”).

5 **peš₆** = *na-pa-šu*

peš_{5/6} = *napāšu*: AHw 736 (n. I); in CAD N/1 288 sign read as **peš** in Ea IV 119 (Richard T. Hallock, *The Chicago Syllabary and the Louvre Syllabary* [AS 7; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1940] 19:115; MSL 14 360). **pe-eš** | **KAD₅** = *na-pa-šu, pa-ša-du, ni-ip-šu, nu-up-pu-šu, sin-gu* Aa VIII/1:18–22 (MSL 14 489 f.); cf. Antagal F 63 (MSL 17 215) **peš** = [*na-pa-šu*], followed by [*si*]**ki-peš₅** = [*ni-ip-šu*]: *nipšu* B. *napāšu* in this Emar lexical entry is *napāšu* B v., “to comb and clean wool”: CAD N/1 291. See Waetzoldt, *Textilindustrie* 112 f. with n. 293 on the sign **peš₅**.²⁹ For *napāšu*, “to card (wool)” and *napāšu*, “to breathe,” cf. W.G. Lambert, “Converse Tablet” 351.

6 MIN = *ša-ʿpaʿ-ṣu*

Emar 6/4 ed.: *ša-pa-ṣu* (“to clasp; to grip, twist?”).

7 MIN = *le-e-tu₄*

le-e-tu₄ stands for *letū*, “to split, to divide” (CAD L 148); Sum. **dar** = *sa-la-tu₄*, *le-tu-ú* Antagal III 19–20; in our lexical text (8), *le-e-tu₄* is followed by *ša-la-tu₄* (= *salātu*), “to split.”³⁰

8 MIN = *ša-la-tu₄*

CAD S 94 *salātu*, “to split, to cut,” also by-form *šalātu*. Cf. *Emar* 6/4 177 no. 590:1–2 [...] = *ḥé-pu-<u/ú>*, [...] = *sa-la-t[u₄]*.

9 MIN = *sà-la-tu₄*

10 MIN = *pa-ša-ḥu*

pašāhu may be connected with MHeb. *pāšaḥ*, JAram. *pěšaḥ*, “to tear off;” Syr. pe. “to cut to pieces,” pa. “to shred,” see Baumgartner 979–80; Sokoloff, *Babylonian* 942. If this interpretation is accurate, there is a connection with line 8 (and perhaps line 9).

11 MIN = *e-piš* SIKI

ēpiš šīpāti, otherwise not attested, may stand for *nāpiš šīpāti*, cf. above line 5 (with comm.).

²⁹ OB lit.: **siki nu-mu-un-da-peš₆-e giš-bala nu-mu-un-da-NU-NU**, “she is not able to comb and clean wool, she is not able to spin with the spindle” Two Women B 68 (texts: A: CBS 14174+ and dupls. [MS Civil]); **ka₅-a kiš₄-ni diš-ām im-ma-an-peš₅-peš₅**, “the fox ... ‘combed’ half his head” Enki and Ninḥursaga 226. For **kiš₄** = *muttatu* A, cf. Åke W. Sjöberg, “Der Vater und sein missratener Sohn,” *JCS* 25 (1973) 142; **kiš₄-a-ak** = MIN (= *gullubu*) *ša nutta[ti]* SIG⁷.ALAN H 259 (MSL 16 175). P. Attinger, “Enki et Ninḥursaga,” *ZA* 74 (1984) 27(; 226) “Voilà le renard qui se mit alors à lustrer(?) son poil.” Bilingual: **kur-ra siki-máš-a-gin₇ mu-un-da-peš₅-peš₅** = *ša šadā kima šarat būli tu-nap-pi-šū* “(deity) who carded the mountain like animals’ hair,” W.G. Lambert, “The Converse Tablet: A Litany with Musical Instructions,” in *Studies Albright* 345 rev. 4 (CAD N/1 291 s.v. *napāšu* B v. bil. section).

³⁰ We exclude *le-e-tu₄*: *lētu*, “victory, power”: CAD L 231 s.v. *lētu*; note wr. *le-e-tū* (Sum. **á-gál**) in Izi Bogh. A 16 (MSL 13 132); in the Hitt. version misunderstood as “expert woman” MUNUS-za wa-al-kiš-ša-ra-aš; lines 15–6 have **á-gál** = *le-e-ú*, *le-’-ú*: *lē’ú* (“able, skilled”).

12 **šu-gíd** = *qa-tu₄ ša-ba-tu₄* (for *qa-ta*)

13 **šu-gíd** = *ba-ru-u*

šu-gíd = *barû* (“to look upon, to inspect”) has been deduced from the compound **máš-šu-gíd-gíd** = *bārû*, “diviner,” cf. [**šu**]-**gíd** = MIN(: *ba-ru-u*) *šá ba-re-e*, [**máš-šu**]-**gíd¹-gíd** = MIN *šá ba-re-e* SIG₇.ALAN I 5^{II}–6^{II} (MSL 16 58), in MSL 16 58:5^{II} restored [**máš(-gíd)**]-**gíd**: CT 19 39 (K 4600, text F) in CAD B 155 lex. sect.³¹

14 **šu-gíd** = *ba²-¹x¹-lu* (*ma²-¹x¹-lu*)

ba-¹DA¹-lu is a possibility. For the root *bdl* (“divide; withdraw; change; exchange, replace”) see Baumgartner 110; cf. E. Lipiński, “Šu-bala-aka and badalum,” in *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla* (ed. H. Waetzoldt and H. Hauptmann; HSO 2; Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1988) 258 ff.

15 **tu-bu-ul** = ¹e¹-[l]e¹-*pu*

Cf. **ŠU.GÍD** | **du-bu-ul** = *elēpu*; **du-bu-ul** | **ŠU.GÍD** = *e-le-pu* Diri V 118; **ŠU.GÍD** = *e-le-pu* Proto-Diri 298 (OECT 4 152 vi 12).³² Cf. **du-lu** | **ŠU.GÍD** Proto-Ea 585 (MSL 14 55). **ú-ul** : **ŠU.GÍD** = *e-le-pu-um* MSL 14 134 iii 6 (may be an error). **šu-ŠUDUN** = *e-le-p[u]* Erimḫuš Bogh. A 107 (MSL 17 106). Proto-Diri 298 **ŠU.GÍD** = *ma-ḥa¹-ru*. **ga-ŠU.GÍD** = *šu-un-nu-qu* Izi V 148 (MSL 13 165) : **ga-dubul**; the meaning of *šunnuqu* remains obscure (see CAD Š/3 s.v.).

Emar 6/4 no. 569 (p. 165 f. Msk 74122c; copy *Emar 6/1 302–4*; +Msk 74178e; copy *Emar 6/2 452*)

1’–23’ **Lú** = *ša* [Section U (Taylor, forthcoming)]

³¹ Cf. **šu-gíd-da** = *sanāqu* A v. 4. (CAD S 133), “to check; to control; to interrogate”: *sa-na-qu šá LÚ* Antagal B 232 (MSL 17 194), preceded by **dim₄** = *sa-na-qu*, **dib-ba** = *sanāqu šá ša-ba-ti*, and followed by **giš-giš-lá** = *sanāqu šá iš-ka-ri*.

³² (1) **du-bu-ul** = *ḥa-mu-ú* Erimḫuš V 103 (MSL 17 71), preceded by **á^a-ru^{RI}** (vars. **DA^a-ru^{RI}**, **a-ri**) = *ir-ru-um* (CAD I/J 188 s.v. *iru* s., meaning unknown), and followed by **nu-uš-ri-a** = *ša-a-ḥu*. The meaning of *ḥamū* is unknown. However, *ḥa-mu-ú* in Erimḫuš V 103 (preserved in text B only) should be emended to *ḥa-bu¹-ú*, see here the following two lexical entries (2). (2) **nig-du-bu-ul** = [*ḥa-b*]*u-um* Nigga Bil. A 10’ (MSL 13 112); **a-du-bu-ul** = *ḥa-bu-¹ú¹-um* Proto-Kagal 410 (MSL 3 78). Akk. *ḥabū(m)* may be connected with Arabic *ḥbā* (*ḥbw*) Lane 507 “to join, to grow together;” cf. Akk. *elēpu*: *itlupu*, “to be entangled;” *šutēlupu*, “to be entangled.” (3) [**šu**]-**du-bu-ul** Nigga 169 (MSL 13 100); **šu-¹du-¹bu<-ul>** = *še-e-yu-um* Nigga Bil. B 130 (MSL 13 118); cf. **šu-gar** = *še-e-y[u]-um*, **šu-¹DI¹-a** = *še-e-y[u]-um* Nigga Bil. B 126–7. *še²’u(m)*, *šēyūm* AHW 1095 f., “etwa aktions-, kampfunfähig machen;” CDA 337 s.v. *še²’u*, *šēyūm*, “to repulse.” (4) **lú-sa-du-bu-ul** = *ša še-e-š[e-e]* OB Lu C₆ 15 (MSL 12 196); CAD Š/2 339 *šešū* in *ša šešū* (hunter/fowler using nets). **sa¹-du-bu-ul** = *ši-ki-in-nu-um*, cf. CAD Š/2 429 s.v. *šikinnu* B s., “fishing net.” (5) **du-bu-ul** OB lit.: **lú-kar-ra-bi u₄ im-ma-du-bu-ul** (vars. **u₄ im-ma(-an)-DU**) Lamentation over Ur 226; cf. Römer, *SKIZ* 182; Jacobsen, *Harps* 461 “he who had run away from it, the storm had thwarted” (his translation would require **u₄-dē**, ergative). (6) **du-bu-ul** in **du-bu-ul-da-ba-al-za**, see J. van Dijk, “Le motif cosmique dans la pensée sumérienne,” *Acta Orient* 28 (1964–65) 39 n. 109; D. O. Edzard, review of CAD G (1956) and H (1956), *ZA* 53 (1959) 207; M. Civil, “Notes on Sumerian Lexicography,” *JCS* 20 (1966) 120 [3.3]; Römer, *SKIZ* 182.

Some Emar Lexical Entries

29'–31' Lú = ša [Section K (Taylor, forthcoming)]

37'–46' Lú = ša [Section V (Taylor, forthcoming)]

Emar 6/4 no. 573 (p. 168 Msk 74103a+74104a+74103c; copy *Emar* 6/1 255–7; +Msk 74106b; copy *Emar* 6/1 268)

Nigga (**níg-gur₁₁**) Bilingual (MSL 13 113–24); cf. Nigga Unilingual (MSL 13 96–112).

1' **[níg-erím]** = *r[a-an-gu]*

Nigga Bil. B 5 **níg-erím** = *ra-an-gu-[um]*; Nigga Uniling. 5.

2' **níg-ʾá¹-[zi]** = *ší-[i-nu]*

Bil. B 6; Uniling. 6.

3' **níg-á-[x]-gar** = *t[e-qí-tu₄]*

Bil. B 7 **níg-á-tak₄-a** = *te-qí-tum*; Uniling. 7 **níg-á-tak₄-a**.

4' **[níg-šu]-ta[k₄]** = *šu¹-[bu-ul-tu₄]*

Bil. 8 **níg-ʾšu¹-tak₄-a** = *šu-bu-ú-ul-tum*; Uniling. 8 (**-šu-**).

5' **[ní]g-gig** = *ik-[k]i-[bu]*

Bil. B 9 **níg-gig** = *ik-ki-bu-um*; Uniling. 9.

6' (**níg-gig**) = *ma-ru-uš-[tù]* (only in the Emar version)

níg-gig = *ikkibu, maruštu* Igituḥ short version 58–9.³³

7' **[níg]-gig-ga-a** = *ik-ki-bu*

8' (**níg-gig-ga-a**) = *ma-ru-uš-tù*

9' (**níg-gig-ga-a**) = *mar-ša-tu₄*

[níg]-gig-ga = *ma-ar-ʾša¹-[t]um* Bil. B 30; Uniling. 33. *maršatum*, “illness,” is missing in AHW and CAD. Cf. Arabic *marḍatun* Lane 2709(a).

10' **[níg]-al-di** = *e-re-eš-tu₄*

Bil. B 10; Uniling. 10.

11' **[ní]g-al-di-ak** = MIN *e-p[e]-šu* (not in the OB versions)

12' **níg-me-gar** = *qu-[ú-lu]*

Bil. B 60 **[níg-m]e-gar** = *qú-ú-ʾlum¹*; Uniling. 74.

13' (**níg-me-gar**) = *na-a-ru*

14' (**níg-me-gar**) = *re-eš-tu₄*

15' (**níg-me-gar**) = *ri-šá-tu₄*

16' (**níg-me-gar**) = *iš-di-ḥu*

³³ 33. B. Landsberger and O. R. Gurney, “**igi-duḥ-a** = *tāmartu*, short version,” *AfO* 18 (1957–58) 81–6.

níg-me-gar

níg-me-gar^{ri-ša-a-[tum]}

níg-me-gar^{qū-la-tum}

níg-mú-mú^{na-ru-[x]} Nigga Uniling. 72–5.

[**níg-m**]e-gar = *pu-úh-ru-um, qú-u-^rlum*¹

níg-mú-mú = *ik-ri-b[u]* Bil. B 59–61.

13' Cf. Uniling. 75. *nāru(m)*, “musician” (?).³⁴

14' = *re-eš-tu₄* : *rīštu*, “exultation, rejoicing.”

15' = *ri-šá-tu₄*.

16' = *iš-dī-ḫu*.

Cf. **níg-me-gar al-ku₅** = *iš-dī-iḫ-ḫu* KUD-as, “prosperity will come to an end” CT 41 27 rev. 10 (SB Alu Comm.).

17' **níg-zi** = *ki-it-tu₄*

Bil. B 55; Uniling. 6.

18' [**níg**]-gi-na = MIN (= *kittu*)

Bil. B 54; Uniling. 61.

19' **níg-lul** = *sa-ar*^{!?}-ru

Uniling. 60.

20' **níg-lul-a** = MIN

Bil. B 53.

21' **níg-si-sá** = *e-še-rù*

Bil. B [**níg-si**]-sá = *mi-ša-ru-[um]*; Uniling. 67 **níg-si-sá**^{mi-ša-r[um]}.

22' **níg-nu-si-sá** = *la-a* MIN(= *e-še-rù*)

23' [**ní**]g-sa₆-ga = *du-um-qu*

To be added in AHW and CAD D s.v. *dumqu* lex. Cf. **nam-sa₆-ga** = *du-um-qum*, **níg-sa₆-ga** = *da-me-eq-tu* SIG⁷.ALAN R 189–90 (MSL 16 302).

24' [**níg**]-sa₆-sa₆-ga = *du-um-qa-tu₄*

dumqatu is not found in the dictionaries.

25' [**níg**]-šub-ba = *na-dī-tu₄*

Uniling. 131 **níg-šub-ba**.

26' (**níg-šub-ba**) = [*n*]a-[*d*]u-u

27' [**níg-gurud**]-da = *mi-i[q-tu₄]*

³⁴ *Emar* 6/3 411, no. 426:2' wr. *nu-a-ri* (plur.). Cf. CAD N/1 378 in OA; *nuāru* 378f.; *STT* 2 402 rev. 4'f. (comm.) *nu-a-ru*; plur. *nu-a-ra-ti* (Nuzi) HSS 15 71:4; LÜ *nu-'a-ri* Ebeling, *Parfūmrez.* pl. 49:19 (NA; cited CAD N/1 377 s.v. *nāru* a 3').

Some Emar Lexical Entries

Bil. B 102 **ṛnīg¹-[gurud-d]a** = [m]a-a[q]-tum; Uniling. 132 **níg-gurud-da**^{ma-aq-tum}.

28' (**níg-gurud-da**) = ma-DU-[x] (*Emar* 6/4 ed. *ma-tu*, there is one sign lost at the end, see copy).

29' **níg-ḥa¹-lam-ma** = [...]

Bil. B 84 **níg-ṛḥa-lam¹-ma** = *ša le-mu-ut-tim*; Uniling. 102.

30' **níg-x-x** ... = [...]

31' **níg-sag-AŠ** = [...]

32' **níg-x** ... = [...]

48' [**níg-kúr-dī**] = *na-kar-tu*

49' **níg-kúr-di-ak** = *ša {na} na<-kar>-ti*

50' **níg-kúr-ak-ak** = MU x *ša na<-kar>-ti*

Cf. *ša nakirtu*, “enemy”: CAD N/1 181, Sum. **lú-níg-kúr-ra**.

51' **níg-ak** = *ke-eš-pu* (*kišpu*); Bil. A i 7'

Bil. B 38 **níg-ak** = *ki-iš-pu*; Uniling. 45. **níg-ak** = *kišpu* OB lex. and Emar not quoted in CAD K 454 f. s.v. *kišpu* lex. section.

52' (**níg-ak**) = *ru-ḥu-u*

53' (**níg-ak**) = *ru-šu-ṛu¹*

níg-ak as corresponding to *ruḥû*, *rušû* (: *rusû*), “witchcraft,” is otherwise not attested.

54' **n[íg]-ak-ak** = *e-re-[tu₄]*

Probably *erretu*, “curse,” cf. the writing *e-re-tu-um* (Sum. **áš**) OBGT XIII 9 (MSL 4 120).

55' (**níg-ak-ak**) = *up-ša-[šu]*

Cf. **níg-ak-a** = *upšašû*: see AHW 1425 u. 2b.

56' **níg-ṛdīm²-ma** = UD-ni-[x]

57' (**níg-dīm²-ma**) = *bu-na-[x-x]*

Arnaud restores the text: *pu-na-[na-ru]*. On what grounds does he propose this restoration? The meaning of *punanaru* is not known.³⁵

58' **níg-[dī]m-ak** = MIN (: *bu-na-[...]*)

59' = MIN

60' **níg-gi[lim]-ma** = *mi-še-ri*

The meaning of *mi-še-ri* remains obscure (probably <*ša*> *mi-še-ri*, cf. the following entries).

³⁵ Restoration *bu-na-[nu-u]*: *bunnannû* is a possibility; cf. CAD B 317, corresponding to, in al., **níg-dīm-dīm-ma** (= **níg-dīm²-ma** in the Emar lex. text). For wr. *bu-na-* (= *bu-un-na-*) see refs. in CAD B 318 b 2.

61' (níg-gilim-ma) = ša sa-ar-GI¹-ti

One would be tempted to read *sa-ar-kí-ti*: root *srk*, cf. Dalman 301 *sěrak*, “verdrehen, verkehren;” Jastrow 2 1027 *sěrak* I, “to interweave, twist” (cf. *gilim*, *gil* = *egēru*, “to twist, cross”).

62' (níg-gilim-ma) = ša ša-aḥ-lu-uq-ti

nam-gilim(-ma) = *šaḥluqtu* (CAD Š/1 98 f.); **níg-gilim** = *šaḥ-lu-uq-tu₄ STT* 2, 219 ii 5'/6'.

63' (níg-gilim-ma) = 'mi'¹-im-ma sa-BI-qu

sa-BI-qu: root *spq*?: *spq*, *sfq* I, “to strike, knock;” *spq* II, “to divide, distribute, to supply;” *sāfeq*, “doubt;” see Dalman 298; Jastrow 2 1015 f.; cf. Baumgartner 765; *sfq*, “doubt” Sokoloff, *Palestinian* 386; *sěfēqā*, “doubt, doubtful matter,” *sfyqt*, “doubt,” and *sfq*, “to be in doubt” Sokoloff, *Babylonian* 825–7; Arabic *sfq*, “to strike” Lane 1700.³⁶

64' níg-šām-ma = MIN šī-i-mi

= Bil. B ní[g-šām-ma] = [š]a šī-mi-im; Uniling. 79 níg-šām-ma

65' níg-KI.LAM = MIN ma-ḥi¹-ri

= Bil. B 65 ní[g-KI.LAM] = ša ma-ḥi-ri-im; Uniling. 80 níg-KI.LAM.

66' [níg]-du₁₀-'ga' = MIN 'x'¹-ša-ru

Arnaud: [m]a-ša-ru.

67' = MIN [ta-a]-bu

Nigga Uniling. 80 níg-du₁₀-ga; om. in Bil. B.

(lacuna)

68' 'níg'-a-[] = [...]

69' níg-t[e-en] = [...]

= Bil. B 34 níg-[t]e-en = *ka-šú-ú-[u]m*; Bil. A i 3' níg-t[e-e]n = *'ka-sú'¹-ú-um*; Uniling. 38 níg-te-en.

70' níg-iz[i(-x)] = [...]

Emar 6/4 no. 574 (p. 170 Msk 74190h; copy *Emar* 6/2 464)

Akkadian lost. Nigga (níg-gur₁₁).

1' níg-í[b]

2' níg-íb-[]

3' níg-íb-tak₄ = [...]

³⁶ With hesitation I refer to Arab. *šāfiqatun*, “calamity or misfortune;” plur. *šawāfiqū*, *šafā'iqu* signify accidents or evil accidents, Lane 1702(a). Such a meaning would go well with *ša ṣaḥluqtu* in the preceding line (62').

4' **níg-ib-tak₄** = [...]

Entries not found in Nigga Uniling. or Biling. versions. Cf. Hh XXIII–XXIV Nippur Forerunner 6.1:36 (MSL 11 119) **ninda-ib-tak₄** in section “bread” **ninda**; also in OB Forerunner 15:187 (MSL 11 155). **ÍB.TAK₄** is *rīhtu*, “remainder, rest,” plur. “leftovers;” **ib-tak₄** = *šittu*, “rest, remainder” (CAD Š/3 136 s.v. *šittu* A). **ninda-ib-tak₄** may be leftovers from meals (as offerings) to the gods: see CAD R 340, 2a, where a number of passages are cited.

5' **níg-sur-sur** = [...]

6' **níg-sur-sur** = [...]

= Nigga Bil. A i 9' (MSL 13 113) **níg-sur-sur** = [...]. Cf., perhaps, **níg-sur-ra** (three times) Nigga Uniling. 47–9 (MSL 13 97); [**níg-sur**]-**ra** = *mi-iš-lum*, *a-ab-bu-um* Nigga Bil. B 40–1 (MSL 13 116); **níg-sur-r[a]** = *mi-iš-lum* Nigga Bil. A 11' (MSL 13 113).

Emar 6/4 no. 575 (p. 170 f. Msk 731055; copy **Emar 6/1 131**).

Sag-Tablet; 1'–13' = MSL SS 1 31:99 ff. Sag-Tablet Rec. B

1' **sag-dingir** = *a-i-il i-li* = B 99 [**sag-dingir**] = [*awīl ili*]

Sag A i 1 (MSL SS 1 18) **sag** = *a-wi-lum*.

2' [**s**]**ag-dingir-tuku** = *ra-ši i-li* = B 100 [**sag-**] = [...]

3' [**sa**]**g-dingir-nu-tuku** = *la ra-ši i-li* = B 101 **s[ag-]** = [...]

4' [**sag**]-**kur-ra** = *re-eš ša-di* = B 102 **sag-**[] = []

5' [**sag-kúr**]-**ra** = *ša-nu-ú* = B 103 **sag-ʿx¹**-[] = [...]

6' [**sag-kúr-r**]**a** = *na-ak-rù* = B 104 **sag-kúr-[ra]** = [...]

7' [**sag-kuš-da**]-**a** = *i-ri-nu* (meaning?) = B 105 **sag-kuš-da** = [...]

8' [**sag-bal**]-**lá²** = *ha²-ka-rù* = B 106 **sag-bal-la** = **ʿx¹**-[...]

Cf. CAD H 33 s.v. *hakāru*, Sum. **haš**. Wehr 309 “schlecht behandeln;” Baumgartner 315.³⁷

³⁷ **erim-kù-utu sag bal-e-dam** Gudea Cyl. A xix 16 (“it was like Utu’s shining team,” Edzard, RIME 3/1 81); **gu₄-dè giš-šudul-bi-a sag mu-ni-ib-bal-e** Inanna and Iddindagan 91 (“The ox tosses his head in his yoke”: Daniel Reisman, “Iddin-Dagan’s Sacred Marriage Hymn,” *JCS* 25 [1973]188); **gu₄-dè giš-šudul-a sa[g mu-ni-ib-bal-e]** Summer and Winter 46. **gu₄ buru₁₄ giš-aga-sila-ta gú zé-a saman sag bal-e** Summer and Winter 192 (cf. transl. in PSD B 127b). **giš-gurum-ma giš-ká-na-ka sag nam-ta-bal-e-en** Geller, *UHF* 50:516; the bilingual version CT 16 32:163 [**giš-gurum**]-**ma giš-ša-ká-na-ke₄ na-an-ta-bal-e** (sag om.) = [...] *kip-pa-ti* ‘x’] [...] *a-a ib-bal-ki-tu-ni*; cf. Geller, *UHF* 118 (comm.). [**x x**] **i-du₁₀-ga giš-šakir-imin-e sag mu-na-ab-bal-e** TuM NF 4 7 iv 179 (and dupl. Ni 9788:11); Akk. interlin. transl. (in A) *i-zu² ra-a-tim. sila-dagal ezem-ma dū-a-ba sag bal-e-eš ba-ab-gar* (var. ‘sag’ ‘bal-e’ **ba-ab-gar**) “in the broad street where feasts were held” Lamentation over Ur 214. Silver and Copper A 110. Lexical: **sag-[bal]** = *a-da-ru*, **sag-bal-ki-ta** = *šu-tab-lak-ku-tu* Kagal B 300–1 (MSL 13 237). **sag-bal-e** Kagal D, B viii 6' (MSL 13 251). **sag-bal-bi-e** Proto-Sag E viii 6' (MSL SS 1 13). **sag-bal-gar-x** OBGT III 82 (MSL 4 70).

- 9' [sag-gíd-i] = [šú]-ur-rù (šurru v.) = B 107 **sag-gíd-i** = ŠU-m[a]
 Cf. **gú-gíd** = šur-ru Izi F 113 (MSL 13 198); **sag-ki-gíd** = šur qaqqadi Kagal B 251 (MSL 13 237). Cf. CAD Š/3 356 s.v. šurru v. On **gú-gíd** and **sag-ki-gíd** see CAD Š/3 357(b), discussion.
- 10' [sag-gíd-gíd-i] = [ma-a]l⁷-hu = B 108 **sag-gíd*-gíd-i** = [ma-a]l-hu
 (text **-gíd-i-i**). malhu, “plucked”: CAD M/1 162.³⁸
- 11' **sag-ki-gíd** = [gu-ub-bu]-hu = B 109 **sag-ki-gíd** = gu-ub-b[u]-hu
 gubbuhu, “bald;” cf. Holma, *Quttulu* 38 f.
- 12' [sag-sug₅] = [ša-as-s]u-ku¹ = B 110 **sag-sug₅** = ša-as-s[u-uk-ku]
 13' [kúš-ù] = [ma-na-h]u = B 111 **kúš-ù** = ma-na-h[u]
 mānaḥu, “labor.” Cf. **á-kúš-ù** = mānaḥtu. Ai. IV iv 18–9 (MSL 1 65) **á-kúš-ù-a-ša-ga** = ma-na-aḥ eqli, but probably ma-na-aḥ<-ti> eqli.
- 36' **KA-šita-na** = ra-a-ṭ[ú]
 Otherwise **paš-šita(-na)**, see CAD R 219 s.v. rāṭu, “channel, tunnel.”
- 37' **KA-gal** = nam-ša-rù
 Stands for **gír-gal** = namšaru, “sword.”
- 38' **KA-gal** = pa-a-[at-rù]
 Not otherwise attested.
- 49'–64' = Sag B 265 ff.
 Sumerian preserved in 59'–63' only.
- 51' [eme-sig] = [šu-ub-tu₄] = B 267 **eme-sig** = šu-ub-[tum]
eme¹-sig (= šu-ub-^rtum¹) UET 6 358:4 (MSL 16 45); 46 (preceded by šubtu(KASKAL.LAGABxU/KASKAL.LAGABxU); UET 6 357:3 **eme¹-sig¹-ga** (followed by KASKAL.LAGABxU); Proto-Izi I 238–42 (MSL 13 25) **ḥar-ra-an, ḥa-ra-an-gur, KASKAL.LAGABxU/LAGABxU, eme-sig, ka-giri** (**KA-giri** = Akk. *kibsu*). For šubtu, “ambush,” see CAD Š/3 184 5a–b s.v. šubtu.³⁹

³⁸ Vb. *malāhu* CAD M/1 152 f. “remove(?);” D “to tear apart(?), to flicker(?);” AHW 593 m. IV “(her)ausreichen,” Sum. **zé, bu-ús**: PSD B 169 “to pluck, to pull out,” also corresponding to Akk. *baqāmu, nasāhu, malāhu*, Sum. **NI**, is found in the Emar Sa Voc. 104: Sjöberg, *ZA* 88 (1998) 251, preceding line has **NI** = *ḥukkutu* (cf. *ḥukkutu*), “to rub, to scratch;” and *malāhu* is certainly “to pluck, pull out” and not “to salt” (as I assumed in *ZA* 88 (1998) 251).

³⁹ **ur-bar-ra-gin₇ šubtu(KASKAL.LAGABxU/LAGABxU)-ta zi-ga-ni dum-dam e-ak-da pirig-gin₇ eme¹-sig-ta zi-ga-ni a-a 'dúb¹-bé-dam** “when he (god Pabilsag), like a wolf attacks out from (his) (hiding) place, he ... noise, when he, like a lion, attacks out from (his) ‘ambush,’ he ...” PBS 13 44:14–5(+ CBS 13961). **eme-sig-ga ná-a**: TH 143 **en-na nu-še-ga eme-sig-ga ná-a**, parallel TH 511; [...] **eme-sig-ga n[á-a]** *HAV* 5:19; **eme-sig-ga ná-a** has to be translated as “to lie in ambush (for somebody).” In TH 511 we find var. **uš₁₁ sum-mu** which led me to

- 52' [eme-sig] = [mu-ša]-bu = B 268 eme-sig = mu-ša^{1?}-[bu-um] (mūšabum)

Otherwise not attested.

- 63' inim-é-gal = šī-il-la-tu₄ = B 280 inim-é-gal = ta-aš-li-im-tum

inim-é-gal = šillatu, “blasphemy, insult” is attested in other lex. texts. *tašlim-tu(m)* (“completed handover, final payment”) is an error for *ta-aš-ši-tum* (*taššitum*) “insult” (AHw 1340), Sum. **inim-é-gal**.⁴⁰

Emar 6/4 no. 576 (p. 172 Msk 74166b; copy *Emar 6/2 423*).

- 1'. **im-u₁₈-lu** = š[u-tu]
 2'. **im-si-sá** = il-[ta-nu]
 3'. **im-kur-ra** = ša-d[u-u]
 4'. **im-mar-tu** = a-mur-[rù]

Emar 6/4, 255, 651:15–8 and 47–50 denoting the four cardinal points. IM.U₁₈.LU *Emar 6/4* p. 220:26’ “the Southwind;” also p. 222:90’; 223 no. 611:164’; 243, 623:6’; 624:5’; 244, 626:5’; *ti-bu-ut* IM.SI.SÁ ... *ti-bu-ut* IM.U₁₈.LU ... *ti-bu-ut* IM.KUR.RA ... *ti-bu-ut* IM.MAR.TU *Emar 6/4*, 255:53–6.

- 5'. *zī-qu* | *zīqu*

CAD Z 133 s.v. *zīqu* A.

- 6'. *zī-iq-zī-qu* | *zīqzīqu*

CAD Z 134; AHw 1532.

- 7'. [š]a-pár-zī-qu | šaparziqu

CAD Š/1 448 f.; synonym of *zīqzīqu* and *imḥullu* Malku III 177 ff. and *LTBA* 2, 2:133 ff. = Akk. *šāru*. The meaning of *šapar-* is obscure. According to CAD *šaparziqu* may be a foreign word; however, *-zīqu*, *-zīqu* is Akkadian.

- 8'. [d]a-al-ḥa-mu¹-na (or -mun¹-na)

Sum. **dal-ḥa-mun** = *ašamšūtu*. *dalḥamuna* is a loanword from Sumerian; also *dal-ḥa-mun*, *āš-me-tú*, etc. = *a-šam-šu-tú* Malku III 193 ff.

- 9'. [mu-u]r¹-mu-ur-ru

[mu]rmurru seems to stand for **mermerru*, cf. [i]m-me-er-me-¹er¹ | ENx [E]N = *a-ša-a[m-tu-tum]* UET 7 76:1 (Proto-Diri), followed by [i]m-d[al-ḥa-mun] = *a-šam-tu-tu[m]*, *me-ḥu-um* (*ašamtūtum* = *ašamšūtum*). Cf. IMxIM: me-er-me-re An-Anum III 210; ENxEN: me-er-me-re iii 211; ENxEN: dal-ḥa-mun III 214; cf. also III 213. Cf. im-mer-mer Šulgi Hymn A 63.

interpret **eme-sig-ga ná-a** as “poisonous foam is poured out upon it” in TH p 79 f. (comm. on TH 143).

⁴⁰ *taš-ši-tu₄* (preceded by *nu-ul-la-tu₄* and *ma-ag-ri-tu₄*, “insult”) BAW 1 73:45 (An IX 105) but read there as *taš-lim-tum*. The same error is found in StBoT 7 19:20 **inim-é-gal** = *ta-aš-li-im-tù*.

IM has a reading **mùr**: see Ea VII iii 36' (MSL 14 452) **mu-úr** | **IM** = **IM^{ki}**; also Diri IV 128 (CT 51 80 ii 19) **mu-ru** | **IM^{ki}**; Hh XXI Section 7:37 (MSL 11 17) **IM^{mu-ru ki}**. **IM** glossed by **mu-ur** in An-Anum III 207; **IM**: **murù** An-Anum V 38 **IM** glossed by **mu-ru**.

Emar 6/4 no. 577 (p. 172 Msk 74191c; copy *Emar* 6/2 474).

Obv.

1' [ù-igi-bar]-ra = da-la-pu

Restoration according to **ù-igi-bar-ra** = da-la-pu ("to be sleepless"): MSL 12 106 Lu Excerpt II 86 **ù-igi-bar-ra** = da-la-pu; also **ù igi-za ba-ra** = di-li-im-ma, Theophile James Meek, "Some Explanatory Lists and Grammatical Texts," *RA* 17 (1920) 121 ii 4.⁴¹

2' [...] -ra = pá-ru-u

Not *ba-ru-u*, "to see, inspect;" cf. line 8' below. Cf. Erimḫuš VI 108–10 (MSL 17 84): **ù¹-ri** = *e-ru* (*êru*, "to be awake"); **[ù]-ri** = **ri¹** SIG₇.ALAN IV 151 (MSL 16 82) **[x]¹x¹x¹** = *pa-ru-ú* (note *pa-!*) [...] = da-la-pu. For *parù* also MSL 9 96:207 (List of diseases) [...] -**[x]¹** = *pa-ru-ú*, preceded by **[lù]-lù** = *i-te-eq-lip-pu-u*, *i-ta-ak-tu-mu* and followed by [...] = *i-te-eq-lip-pu-u*, *i-tàk-tu-mu*, **du¹-lu-ḫa-an**, **[ḫ]a-a-šu** ("to worry" *ḫ*. B v.), and **[š]a-ḫa-tu** ("to fear" *š*. B v.) [Sum. not preserved].⁴² Cf. **lù¹-lu-lù** = MIN (= *nè-qel-pu-ú*) *ša mur-ši*, "to ..., said of disease"⁴³ SIG₇.ALAN XXVII 182 (MSL 16 236).⁴⁴

⁴¹ **ù igi-za ba-ra**, "ban sleep from your eye!"; CAD D 49(a) s.v. *dalāpu* discussion. Cf. **ù-igi-lá** = *bu-/-u* (: *bu-'/ú*), "to look for" Erimḫuš I 202 (MSL 17 18).

⁴² *parù* seems to be the same in Arabic *fariya*, "he was/became confounded, perplexed;" *wafaraytu min faza'in*, "and I became confounded by reason of fright," cited Lane 2391(b), end; synonyms, *in.al.*, *bahita* (Lane 263), and *dahiša* (Lane 924), "to be/become confounded, perplexed." *fariya*, "être étonné, stupéfait" *VAF* 592. Note that *parù* in the List of diseases 287 is preceded by **[lù]-lù** | **lù**, Akk. *ešù* ("be/become troubled") and *da-la-ḫu*. AHW 837 *parù* II, "etwa Gemeines sagen" (based on Arabic *farā*, "Lügen erfinden") where MSL 9 96:207 is cited but as "unkl." *parù* III (AHw 837), "sich erbrechen, vomieren" does not fit context in Erimḫuš VI 9 and List of diseases 207].

⁴³ **lù-lù** as Akk. *neqelpū* is difficult to explain. SIG₇.ALAN XXVII 180 (MSL 16 236) **šú** = *nè-qel-pu-ú*; **šú** otherwise "to become dark; to cover" (*ktm*, *šhp*).

⁴⁴ Cf. **sag-gig dungu-ḫi-ga-gin⁷ lù-ra mu-un-na-te** = *mu-ru-uš qaq-qa-di ki-ma er-pe-ti muq-qal-pi-ti ana amēli it-ḫi*, "the headache, like a drifting cloud, has closed in on the man" CT 17 20 i 55 = von Weiher, *SpTU* 2 no. 2:55; **šur-aš-ru dungu-ḫi-ga-gin⁷ lù dīm-ma ba-an-dū-dū** = *di-/-u šur-pu-u* (var. *šu-ru-up-pu-ú*) *ki-ma er-pe-te muq-qal-pi-te ana bu-un-na-nè-e amēli it-taš-kan*, "the headache and shivers, like a drifting cloud, have settled on the ... of the man" CT 17 14:3–4. Cf. CAD N/2 173 s.v. *neqelpū* 3 IV/3 with refs. to Labat, *TDP* 34:24 (cf. *ibid.* 178:19) *šumma nakkaptašu ša šumēli ikkaššu u itteneqlippū* (DIRI.MEŠ-pū), "if his left temple hurts him and ..." and *STT* 1 89:207 *šumma ināšu itteneqlippā*, "if his eyes ..." Cf. CAD A/1 310 *alāku* 3.e, "to be on the move" (said of eyes); *neqelpū* = *alāku* Thompson, *Rep.* 139 rev. 1; *šu-qel-pu-ú* = *alāku* Aa III/1 Comm. A 18 (MSL 14 18, there read *šu-ḫap-pu-ú*). *nakkaptašu ... itteneqlippū* may refer to a pulsating ("drifting") artery; cf. CAD N 185 s.v. *nakkaptu* discussion. **ḫi**, **šú** = *neqelpū*, **ir-ta-sū-sū** = MIN *ša zu'tu* ("sweat") SIG₇.ALAN XXVII 179–81 (MSL 16 236), followed by **lù¹-lu-lù** = MIN *ša mur-ši*.

- 3' [...-**bar**]-**ra** = *nap-lu-su*
 4' [...-**bar-r**]**a** = *a-ma¹-ru*
 5' [...-**bar-r**]**a**¹ = *na-[ta]-¹lu¹*
 6' [...-**bar-r**]**a**² = *kúl-[lu-mu]*
 7' [...-**bar-ra**] = *da-ga-lu*

Parallel: Izi XV ii 2'-5' (MSL 13 169): [**igi-bar**], **igi-bar** = *a-ma-[ru]*, *ba-ru-[ú]*, *na-ṭa-l[u]*, *nap-lu-s[u]*; **igi-duš-bar-ra** = *naplusu* Izi XV ii 8'. **ba-ár | bar** = *naṭālu, dagālu, naplusu, barû* Aa I/6:255-8 (MSL 14 233), for **igi-bar**; restore then [**igi-bar-ra**]. *kullumu* corresponding to **igi-bar-ra** is otherwise not attested.

- 8' [...] = *ba-ru-u* ("to see, inspect")

Rev. Sumerian lost.

- 3' [...] = *nu-up-¹pu¹-šu* (Emar 6/4 ed. 11')

nuppušu "crushed": CAD N/2 342. Restoration perhaps [**dúb-dúb-bu**].

- 4' [...] = [*nu*]-*up-pu-šu* (12')

If this restoration is accurate, cf. 572:5 above.

- 5' ŠI[D²-(x)] = *nu-us-su¹-qú* (13')

Cf. ŠID: **sag₅** / **zàg** = *nasāqu(m), nussuqu*: CAD N/2 21 s.v. *nasāqu* A v., lex. section (1).

Emar 6/4 no. 578 (p. 172 f. Msk 74146f; copy Emar 6/1 367); Sumerian column not preserved.

- 5' *še-e[h-ḫi-ru-tu]*

- 6' [**IGI**].**DIM** = *sà-a[ṣ-ḫa-ru]*

IGI.DIM : **henzir** = *qudādu, la'û, lakû, šeḫru, šerru. saṣḫaru*, "progeny": CAD S 197, AHw 1033 "Jugend;" see Explicit Malku I 241 *sa-aṣ-ḫ[a]-ru* = *še-eḫ-ḫi-ru-tu*; cf. I 243 *sa-aṣ-ḫa-ar-tu₄* = *še-eḫ-ḫi-ru-tu*). According to AHw 1033 ("sem. Fw.") and CAD S 197 *saṣḫaru* (also *saṣḫartu*) is of foreign origin.

- 11' [...] = *up-pu-[(x)]*

- 12' [...] = *ba-ar-t[u₄]*

Akk. *bartu*, "rebellion." *bar-tu₄*, "révolte," Emar 6/4 201, 605:5'; 205, 608:3; 255, 651:26; 261, 652:13'; 284, 669:3. For Sum. **ḪI-gar**, see CAD B 113 s.v. *bartu* lex. section. The Sum. logogram ḪI.GAR is found in Emar: LUGAL *ina* ḪI.GAR GAZ-ak, "the king will be killed in a rebellion" Emar 6/4 222, 611:92'; also p. 224, 611:201'.

- 13' [...] = *da-mu*

Stands for *da'mu*, "dark-colored, dark red," CAD D 74. *da-mu*, "blood" occurs in line 7' above.

14' [...] = *da'-a-m[u]* | *da'āmu* v.

15' [...] = *dú'-ú* -[*mu*] | *du'ummu*

Sum. **kúkku**, see CAD D 203 *du'ummu* (*du'ūmu*). Note wr. *dú-* [*du-* in *Emar* 6/4]. Cf. [BE] d[UTU] *ina* KU₄-šú U *dú'-um*, “Si le soleil, à son coucher, un doigt est sombre” *Emar* 6/4, 271, 653:59'.

16' [...] = *x¹-nu-ú*-()

Emar 6/4 no. 579 (p. 173 Msk 74165c; copy *Emar* 6/2 418).

ḪḪ XVIII: Civil, *AuOr* 7 (1989) 19.

Emar 6/4 no. 580 (p. 173 f. Msk 74171e; copy *Emar* 6/2 434).

ḪḪ VIII–IX: Civil, *AuOr* 7 (1989) 15 f.

Emar 6/4 no. 581 (p. 174. Msk 74172a; copy *Emar* 6/2 436).

1' [...] -[*x¹* = *x¹* - [...]

2' [...] -š*a* MIN = *za* - [...]

3' [*ḫúb*] -*bé* MIN = *ḫu-up-p[u]*

Perhaps **ḫúb-bé** = *ḫuppú*, “acrobat,” **lú-ḫub** = *ḫuppu*: CAD Ḫ 240.

4' [*za-b*] *i-ḫu* MIN = *ṭa-bi-ḫ[u]*

zābiḫu, “slaughterer,” in *Emar* referring to a person who performs the ritual slaughter of animals, see A. Tsukimoto, “An Akkadian Field Sale Document Held in Tokyo,” *ASJ* 14 (1992) 313; cf. also J.G. Westenholz, *Emar Tablets* 26 on line 18; *Emar* 6/3 no. 275:1, 2, 4 LÚ *za-bi-ḫu ša* DN; 276:23; p. 311 no. 336:105,109. For 5' ff. see Civil, *AuOr* 7 (1989) 16, *Emar* ḪḪ XI–XII.

Emar 6/4 no. 583 (p. 174 f. Msk 74158e; copy *Emar* 6/2 392).

Lú = *ša* [Section I (Taylor, forthcoming)]

Emar 6/4 no. 586 (p. 176 Msk 7488f; copy *Emar* 6/1 222); Sumerian column not preserved.

1' [...] = *sa-ar-t[u₄]*

2' [...] = *nu-la-a-t[u₄]*

níg-nu-gar-ra, **inim-nu-gar-ra** = *nullātu*.

3' [...] = *te-bu-tu₄* | *tebātu*

tibātu (*tebātu*), “rise, attack; uprising,” Sum. **zi-ga**.

4' [...] = *taḫ-li-t[u₄]*

Emar 6/4 ed.: *taḫ-li<-iq>-t[u₄]*. Neither *taḫlītu* nor *taḫliqtu* is found in the dictionaries. I connect *taḫlītu* with Arabic *ḥalla*: *ḥallay* Lane 804, “to leave

Some Emar Lexical Entries

(a place) empty;” Lane 804(a-b) *taḥliyat(un)*, “the leaving, making a thing to be alone; (the act of) loosing;” Dozy 1 403 “defection.” Emar *taḥlītu* < **taḥliy-tu*. I suggest a restoration [**zi-ga**] in both lines 3 and 4. Note *tebûm* (Sum. **zi**) Š with meaning “to remove.”

5' [...] = *nu-kúr-tu*₄

6' [...] = *le-em-nu*

7' [...] = [*h*]u-ul-[x]

The reading [*h*]u-ul-l[u] (*ḥullu*, “evil”) is excluded (see copy); [*h*]u-ul-u seems possible.

Emar 6/4 no. 587 (p. 176, Msk 74101d; copy *Emar* 6/1 244)+74102l (copy *Emar* 6/1 254; see Civil, *AuOr* 7 [1989] 22 ff.)

Lú = *ša* [Section M (Taylor, forthcoming)]

Emar 6/4 no. 593 (p. 178 Msk 74122w; copy *Emar* 6/1 308).

See Civil, *AuOr* 7 (1989) 19 on lines 1'–5': Hḫ XVIII.

9' [**K**]A-peš

10' KA-peš-[x]

KA-peš may be connected with **KA-peš**, Akk. *šullušu*, “to do/say for a third time,” CAD Š/1 236 lex. section: Antagal C 29–32 (MSL 17 195) **mu-un-ni-du**₁₁ = *qí-bi-šu*, **ù-mu-un-ni-du**₁₁ = *qí-bi-šum-ma*, **ù-mu-un-ni-KA-tab** = *šu-un-ni-šum-ma*, **ú-mu-un-ni-KA-peš** = *šul-liš-šum-ma*, “say it to him, say it to him for a second time, say it to him for a third time,” and further lexical entries in CAD Š/1; in MSL 17 195 read **-dug₄-peš**. For **KA-peš** as “to say it a third time,” see also ŠL 15:252; Falkenstein, *ZA* 45 (1939) 31 (“als drittes sagen”). Note that **KA-peš** and **KA-tab** are treated as compound verbs.⁴⁵

Emar 6/4 no. 594 (p. 178 f. Msk 74123k; copy *Emar* 6/1 314).

Sumerian column not preserved. See Civil, *AuOr* 7 (1989) 20.

1' [**ur**₄(-ur₄)] = *ʿe¹-še-[du]* | *eṣēdu*

2' [**ur**₄-ur₄] = *ḥa-mi-mu* | *ḥāmimu*

3' [**ur**₄-ur₄] = *ḥa-ma-mu* | *ḥamāmu*

4' [**kin-kin**] = *ši-te-'u* | *šite²u*

5' [**kin-kin**] = *sà-ḥi-rù* | *sāḥīru*

6' [**kin-kin**] = *ʿsà¹-ḥa-rù* | *saḥāru*

7' [**kin**] = [*š*]i-ip-rù | *šipru*

Cf. Proto-Izi I 42–5a (MSL 13 18): **kin-kin kin-kin**^{sà-ḥ[a-ru]} **kin-kin**^{ši-t[e-u]} **ur₄-ur₄**^{ḥa-m[a-mu]}; **ur₄-[ur₄]**.

⁴⁵ A second possibility would be **ka-PEŠ** = *kalû ša mē* SIG⁷.ALAN IX 250 (MSL 16 122).

Emar 6/4 no. 596 (p. 179 Msk 74123q; copy *Emar 6/1 315*). Sumerian column not preserved.

- 2' [...] = [x(-x)]-mu-mu

Probably a *quttulu* word.

- 3' [...] = [k]ap-kap-pu (or [k]ab-ka-bu)

Cf. CAD K 184 *kapkapu*, *kapkappu*, “strong, powerful; oppressor.” Sum. **TAG-ri-a** = *kap-kap-pu* = (Hitt.) []-an-za Erimḫuš Bogh. A 28 (MSL 17 102), preceded by [gu]r₄-ra = *ki-it-ma-lu* = ‘x-x-x-x’; *kitmalu* is not found in the dictionaries; cf. *kitmulu*, “very angry.” Besides the references in CAD K, see further Miguel Civil, “Medical Commentaries from Nippur,” *JNES* 33 (1974) 338. 11 NT 5:6 (comm.) [ka]-‘a’-pa : *ḫa-ba-lu*: *kap-ka-pu* : *ḫabbilu*? *kāpu* = *ḫabālu* (“to oppress”), *kapkapu* = [*ḫabbilu*] (“oppressor”); cf. *ka-a-a-i-pu*(: *kayyipū*; CAD K 36 *kāipu*) = *ḫab-bi-lu* Malku IV 136. *ka-a-pu* (v.) also in 11 NT 5:5.

- 4' [...] = *ḫa-ar-ḫar-ru* | *ḫarḫarru/ḫarḫarru*

paspas (GAG § 57 a 4 a); GAG Ergänzungsheft 10** § 57 b: *paspas* III (von Soden *paspas* I) “fast nur Adjektive des Sinnbereichs ‘gewaltig.’” Von Soden refers to *kapka(p)u*, *marmarru* (CAD M/1 284 has *marmāru*, AHw 612 *marmar(r)u*), as well as (p. 71:) *dandannu*, *kaškašū* (CAD K 290 *kaškašū*, *kaškašū*). Since *ḫarḫarru* follows *kapkappu*, *ḫarḫarru* seems to be a *Steigerungsjektiv*, but the sense of the word eludes me.⁴⁶

- 5' [...] = [q]i²-pí-ir-ru

I consider the reading [q]i- almost certain. For the root *qfr* in Arabic: see Lane 2550 ‘*aqfara*, “to become vacant, void (land);” *qafṛun*, “vacant, void (land);” *qifr*, *qafir*, *qafṛān*, “désert” Dozy 2 383; also Wehr 696, *qipirru*, “vacant (land/place), desert.”⁴⁷

- 6' [...] = [t]u-am-mu

tuammu is not “twin,” Hebr. *tē’ōm*, and redupl. -mm- contradicts this meaning. However, the root could be *t’m* and *tuammu*: *tu’ammu* a nomen, type *purass*: GAG 63 § 55 q 31 a; GAG Ergänzungsheft 9** *tā’am*, “to join, to combine” Jastrow 2 1642; *t’m* Baumgartner 1675; *t’m*, “to fit together, be equal” Sokoloff, *Palestinian* 574; “to come together” Sokoloff, *Babylonian* 1191.

⁴⁶ *ḫarḫarr*: Arabic *ḫarḫara*, “to make a noise, to snore,” cf. Dozy 1 360 *ḫarḫarat*: “le bruit qui sort du poulmon quand il y a trop de pituite; Le bruit de l’eau qui coule;” Wehr 329 *ḫarḫara*, “schnarchen.” We see no connection with *ḫarḫarru* in the Emar lex. text. Cf. 564 i 1’ (above) *ḫar-ḫu-ru* (with comm.).

⁴⁷ *qipirru*: nominal form *piriss*, GAG 55 q I, II; Ergänzungsheft 9**; Kienast, *HSS* 76 64.2; in Arabic, see Brockelmann, *Grundriss* I 365 c) *qitill*; in Akkadian and Arabic only, cf. Kienast, *HSS* 104 99.1.

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Emar 6/4 no. 598 (p. 179 f. Msk 74132u; copy *Emar* 6/1 340)

Lú = ša [Section I (Taylor, forthcoming)]

**SOME FOOTNOTES TO THE HISTORY
OF ASSYRIOLOGY: LEONARD WILLIAM
KING OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM AND THE
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA**

Clyde Curry Smith

For Erle, in memory of cordial gatherings more than forty
years ago, along and across the massive table-desks of the
Research Library at the Oriental Institute, University of
Chicago, under the domain of Johannes Vindenas.¹

Leonard William King² is no stranger to Erle Leichty. Already in his 1960 doctoral dissertation Leichty had occasion to seek out the texts of the omen series *Šumma izbu*, including especially those held among the Collections of the British Museum. While Percy Stuart Peache Handcock³ copied these texts for Cuneiform Texts volumes 27 and 28 (1910), they were organized,

¹ Miss Johannes Vindenas (26 April 1899–21 October 1988) was librarian from its inception in 1923 until her retirement in 1964.

² I must confess to thinking focally about Leonard William King (8 December 1869–20 August 1919) for most of forty years, but that thinking received a renewed impetus when late in 1998 I was contacted by surviving members of his family with offers of access to his personal papers and ephemerae. Otherwise, see Clyde Curry Smith, “The Impact of Assyriology upon Old Testament Study with Special Reference to the Publications of Leonard William King” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1968); “A Reevaluation of the Excavation of Nineveh by the British Museum in 1903–1905, Based on the Unpublished Papers of Leonard William King, Part I: The Comprehensive Bibliography of Leonard William King (1869–1919)” (report of a study submitted and filed with the Committee on Research and Studies under state-supported, institutional Grant No. 0600-4-71, University of Wisconsin—River Falls, 1974); “Leonard William King, 1869–1919” in *Read More About It, Volume 3: An Encyclopedia of Information Sources on Historical Figures and Events* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: The Pierian Press, 1989) 373–5; “King, Leonard William” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Vol. 31, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) 644–645. See also Mary Magnan D’Andrea, “Letters of Leonard William King, 1902–1904; Introduced, Edited and Annotated with Special Reference to the Excavations of Nineveh” (M.A. thesis, University of Wisconsin—River Falls, 1981); and “A Catalogue and Discussion of the Letters, Diaries and Notes of Leonard William King, Housed in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, the British Museum” (unpublished report, University of Wisconsin—River Falls, 1982).

³ Handcock (188x–1927), M.A., Barrister-at-Law, is but minimally known; he was present within the British Museum Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities only from his appointment on 13 April 1908 (Official Appointment Letter from Edward Maunde Thompson, Director and Principal Librarian, British Museum, to E. A. Wallis Budge) until his personal resignation on 19 January 1912 (Letter of Handcock to Budge, Departmental Archives, British Museum), having come into the Museum service from being an assistant master at Magdalen College School, Brackley, Northants. During his tenure within the Department Handcock was frequently ill, witness doctors’ certificates and other notes to Budge included in the Departmental Archives, British Museum.

edited, and corrected by the diligence of Leonard King, whose meticulous skill at such sorting matters had already appeared most notably in his edition of *Enūma eliš* (1902).⁴ That Leichty also subsequently (1964–1988) followed more fully in King's footsteps by engaging in various cataloguing projects related precisely to those Collections at the British Museum—a matter dear to the heart of King as evidenced in the *Guides* (1900 and 1908), and the *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection, Supplement* (1914)—makes this selection of focus not without some legitimate propriety in a volume honoring the long and productive career of Erle Leichty.

We first meet Leonard William King of the British Museum with reference to the University of Pennsylvania in 1906 as a name provided, at the request of Hermann Vollrat(h) Hilprecht, as documentation for the so-called Peters-Hilprecht Controversy volume, by Luzac and Company as one of their unidentified contributors to Luzac's Oriental List and Book Review.⁵ This controversy itself does not seem to have actually spilled over onto King or his colleagues at the British Museum.⁶ It should be noted, however, that King

⁴ Sidney Smith (29 August 1889–12 June 1979), Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum, 1931–1948, in a personal letter to C. C. Smith, dated 24 February 1964, remarked, "As a feat of pure scholarship his *Creation* was overwhelming; the search through tiny fragments of clay for bits of a text required that kind of complete concentration and reasoning I cherish. This faculty was nourished by King's habit—Campbell Thompson had it too—of repeating aloud in recitative the literary texts."

⁵ *The So-Called Peters-Hilprecht Controversy* (ed. Hermann V. Hilprecht; Philadelphia: A. J. Holman and Co., 1908) 348–9, including note *; King had reviewed Hilprecht, BE 20/1 (1906); cf. Paul Ritterband and Harold Wechsler, "A Message to Lushamar: The Hilprecht Controversy and Semitic Scholarship in America," *History of Higher Education Annual* 1 (1981) 5–41 (with reference to reviews, p. 34, n. 26). See also Bruce Kuklick, *Puritans in Babylon: The Ancient Near East and American Intellectual Life 1880–1930* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996) 123–40 (= Chapter 6), though this volume employs a narration of the early history of excavations at Nippur as a foil to his sub-titled intention through most of the preceding chapters. Otherwise note the equally idiosyncratic summaries to that of Kuklick's in C. Wade Meade, *Road to Babylon: Development of U.S. Assyriology* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974) 72–6; and in Cyrus Herzl Gordon, *The Pennsylvania Tradition of Semitics: A Century of Near Eastern and Biblical Studies at the University of Pennsylvania* (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1986) 9–10 and 29–32. The Peters of the Hilprecht-Peters Controversy is John Punnett Peters (16 December 1852–10 November 1921); cf. *WWWA* 1 (1942) 963–4; George Aaron Barton, *DAB* 14 506–7; Kuklick, *Puritans in Babylon* 26–7, with photo, p. 96 fig. 8. On Hilprecht (28 July 1859–19 March 1925), see *WWWA* 1 566; G. A. Barton, *DAB* 9 58–9; Benjamin R. Foster, *ANB* 10 825–7; Kuklick, *Puritans in Babylon* 6–7 ("Hilprecht's shadow over this book, sometimes dark, is always long") and 33–4, with photo, p. 95 fig. 5. King himself noted his own correspondence with Hilprecht "in the autumn of" 1906, discussing "some of the conclusions at which I had arrived with regard to the overlapping of the early Babylonian dynasties," in *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings including Records of the Early History of the Kassites and the Country of the Sea* (London: Luzac and Co., 1907) 1, 11–2 n. 3; cf. C. C. Smith, "Impact," 76 n. 3, and 165–6 including n. 4. The text under discussion appeared in Hilprecht, *Mathematical, Metrological and Chronological Tablets from the Temple Library of Nippur* [= BE 20/1 (1906)] pl. 30 No. 47 = CBS 19797, the first of the published fragments of the Sumerian King List; cf. Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List* (AS 11; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939) 1 and 7.

⁶ For one example of British Museum awareness and reaction, see Ernest Wallis Budge, *The*

contributed as an appendix a note on “The Nippur Deluge Fragment” to the longer encyclopedia article on “Nippur,” which was written by John Punnett Peters and had but a minimal hint of the larger controversy.⁷

We next meet Leonard King with reference to Penn in a letter now preserved in the Archives of the University of Pennsylvania Museum.⁸ Evidently, there had been correspondence from George Byron Gordon to King (though a copy has not yet emerged from among the extensive family holdings), subsequent to the former’s appointment as Director of the University Museum earlier in 1910. King’s belated response of congratulations, dated 17 August 1910, expressed pleasure in learning that the Museum’s collection of Nippur tablets was “now available to all Babylonian scholars” though, while he might wish to avail himself of that fact, he was not presently in a position to visit America. In fact King never did have occasion to visit America, although he had further interaction with Penn.

On 26 August 1910, according to a letter preserved in the administrative records, Hilprecht submitted his resignation as “Curator of the Babylonian and General Semitic Section of the Museum of Archaeology of the University

Rise & Progress of Assyriology (London: Martin Hopkinson & Co., Ltd., 1925) 246. That the controversy had a base in alternate archaeological sensibilities and methods is shrewdly observed by Svend Aage Pallis, *The Antiquity of Iraq: A Handbook of Assyriology* (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, Ltd., 1956) 287 and 305–6; and more recently by McGuire Gibson, “Nippur, B,” *RIA* 9/7–8 547–50, with general but unspecified reference to Kuklick, *Puritans in Babylon*, though one might note pp. 141–57 (= chapter 7 “Archaeology and Objectivity”).

⁷ L. W. King, “The Nippur Deluge Fragment,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed.; 1910–1911) 19, 708–9, who recognized its Kassite date; cf. C. C. Smith, “Impact,” 255–8. The Semitic text involved (CBS 13532) appeared under Hilprecht’s name in *The Earliest Version of the Babylonian Deluge Story and the Temple Library of Nippur* (BE series D V/1; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1910), derivatively in *Der neue Fund zur Sintflutgeschichte aus der Tempelbibliothek von Nippur* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1910), and has most recently been reedited by W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, *Atra-ḥašīs: The Babylonian Story of the Flood* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1969) 126–7. The specific involvement in the larger controversy by the original publication of this text is observed in Ritterband and Wechsler, “Message to Lushtamar” 20, with endnote awareness of King’s contribution (p. 36 n. 39).

⁸ Letter of L. W. King to G. B. Gordon, 17 August 1910; University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives, Administrative Records, Director’s Office, George B. Gordon, Box 11, Folder K. The letter was written on official stationery from the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum. On G. B. Gordon (4 August 1870–30 January 1927), see *WWA* 1 470; Budge, *Rise* 253 with photo facing p. 252; Elin Danien, *ANB* 9 286–7. Kuklick, *Puritans in Babylon* 117 claims Gordon to have been “not friendly to Near Eastern archaeology” but ignores the frequent contacts with Budge and/or King of the British Museum, who were concerned with “Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities”—though one might also note Kuklick’s general avoidance of the British side of all matters pertinent to his study! Peculiarly, neither Gordon nor his role receives reference in Ritterband and Wechsler, “Message to Lushtamar,” in spite of their pro-American, rather than German-dependent, view of the history of American Semitic scholarship. On the other hand, King in the first of his Schweich Lectures on 14 December 1916, paid particular homage to the “present energetic Director of the Museum, Dr. G. B. Gordon” for speeding up “the process of arranging and publishing the mass of literary material” held at Pennsylvania; cf. *Legends of Babylon and Egypt in Relation to Hebrew Tradition* (London: For the British Academy, 1918) 21.

of Pennsylvania,”⁹ though, as Erle Leichty reminded me, that resignation had been submitted “in a fit of pique”; its acceptance by the University apparently so shocked Hilprecht that he left the University, keeping with him his private collection of tablets and objects next to be found in Munich.¹⁰ Hilprecht, who had an American wife, did return after the First World War to retirement and death in Philadelphia, though most of the private collection remains in the Frau Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities at the Friedrich Schiller University in Jena.

Clearly, the resignation by Hilprecht and its acceptance by the University, effective apparently from the beginning of 1911, left the academic situation at Penn short of a major Assyriologist. A sequence of letters in the collection of King’s ephemerae documents shows how the university tried to solve this problem. On 13 September 1912, Edgar Fahs Smith, newly-appointed Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, wrote directly to King offering him, “in a perfectly unofficial way, but if you could give me an idea of whether you would like to come out, I can make you a definite offer,” the Chair and Professorship of Assyriology at an annual salary of £1,000.¹¹ King might have seemed the ideal candidate, not only by virtue of his extensive publications in Assyriology,¹² but also as a consequence of his excavations at Nineveh—even if those results were then but poorly published or known.¹³

⁹ Letter of H.V. Hilprecht to The Board of Managers of The Museum of Archaeology, University of Pennsylvania, 26 August 1910; University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives, Administrative Records, Near East Section, Box 5, Hilprecht Controversy 1898–1911 (2 of 2). The letter was written on private stationery from “Bit-Shulmi, Hailer bei Meerholz, Hessen-Nassau.” Details of the chronology of this resignation are also found in Ritterband and Wechsler, “Message to Lush-tamar” 21–3; and in Kuklick, *Puritans in Babylon* 136–40 and 158–62.

¹⁰ Letter of Erle Leichty to C.C. Smith, 3 November 2000. For a brief summary of Hilprecht’s activities after his resignation, including his travels before and his humanitarian efforts during the First World War, see Foster, *ANB* 10 826.

¹¹ Letter of E.F. Smith to L.W. King, 13 September 1912, family possession. Smith added rather peculiarly but quite emphatically, “You wouldn’t be in the slightest disturbed by Hilprecht or by Dr. Gordon.” On Smith (23 May 1854–3 May 1928), see C.A. Browne, *DAB* 17 255–6; he was Vice Provost from 1898 and Provost from 1911 until his resignation in 1920.

¹² For a comprehensive listing of those publications, see C.C. Smith, “Impact” 102–31 and “Reevaluation” 4–23.

¹³ On King’s excavations and their minimal publication, see C.C. Smith, “Impact” 63–70, with citations of older references; Richard David Barnett, *Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1976) 24–6; M. D’Andrea, “Letters” passim; John Malcolm Russell, *Sennacherib’s Palace Without Rival at Nineveh* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991) 43–4; R.D. Barnett, Erika Bleibtreu, and Geoffrey Turner, *Sculptures from the Southwest Palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh 1: Text* (London: British Museum Press, 1998) 7 and 17; J.M. Russell, *The Final Sack of Nineveh* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998) 22–6; Julian Edgeworth Reade, “Ninive (Nineveh),” *RIA* 9/5–6 392 and 431. Even King himself appears only once to have referred to any specific result of his excavations at Kuyunjik, namely “the existence of a Neolithic settlement” found “when sinking shafts into the lowest stratum just above the level of the plain;” cf. *A History of Sumer and Akkad* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1910) 243 n. 3.

Some Footnotes to the History of Assyriology

On 24 September, King responded to what he regarded as “a great honour,” giving as his reason for declining the fact that:

After so many years of service in the B.M. I feel it would be too great a wrench to give up my work here, though, had your offer come to me some few years ago, I have little doubt I should have accepted it gladly.¹⁴

We will come back subsequently to some particulars of this offer and King’s response, but we need first to note the immediate consequence. On 9 October 1912, in a letter marked “Personal” but sent to King at the British Museum, E. F. Smith sweetened the offer with the words, “Are there conditions under which you would be willing to consider taking up the Professorship of Assyriology in this University? In other words, what would bring you to us?”¹⁵ The draft of the subsequent reply, written in October but undated, expressed once again King’s personal thanks to Smith, but concluded, “What I feel is that my roots are too deep in this country to allow of my transplant <of> myself and my family to any other.”¹⁶

Some points in this correspondence warrant discussion, especially the proffered annual salary of £1,000. Under the gold standard at the beginning of the twentieth century, the pound sterling “traded within just a few cents of the official parity of £1=\$4.86 from 1900 to 1914,” so that the initial offering to King would have been as a full professor at the equivalent of U.S. \$4,860.¹⁷ Of comparable academic offers in that era, we could note that on 21 August 1906, Reginald Campbell Thompson was initially invited by Robert Francis Harper to come to the University of Chicago as an Instructor at an annual salary of \$1,200; on 26 September, this was raised to Assistant Professor at \$2,000.¹⁸ Thompson did serve in that capacity for academic years 1907–09.

¹⁴ Draft letter of L. W. King to E. F. Smith, 24 September 1912, family possession.

¹⁵ Letter of E. F. Smith to L. W. King, 9 October 1912, family possession.

¹⁶ Draft letter of L. W. King to E. F. Smith, October 1912, family possession.

¹⁷ Michael Dintenfass, “Gold Standard,” in *Twentieth-Century Britain: An Encyclopedia* (ed. F. M. Leventhal; New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1995) 329.

¹⁸ Thomas G. Klein, “The Letters of Reginald Campbell Thompson, from the 1904–05 Excavation of Nineveh, Introduced, Edited and Annotated” (M.A.T. thesis, University of Wisconsin—River Falls, 1992) 163. Campbell Thompson was present within the British Museum department from his appointment on 6 September 1899 (Official Appointment Letter from John T. Taylor, British Museum, to E. A. Wallis Budge) until his personal resignation effective 5 December 1905 (cf. Klein, “Letters” 162). Explanations for this resignation appear in Thompson’s private letters to his father, Reginald Edward Thompson, of 20 April and 18 May 1906 written from camps near the Red Sea, and to Harper of 3 September 1906 from his London address. On Thompson (21 August 1876–23 May 1941), see Godfrey Rolles Driver, “Reginald Campbell Thompson,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 30 (1944) 1–39; C. C. Smith, “Thompson, Reginald Campbell,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Vol. 54, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, 462–463). On Harper (18 October 1864–6 August 1914), see *WWA* 1 522; G. A. Barton, *DAB* 8 284–5; Budge, *Rise* 253–4; C. C. Smith, “Robert Francis Harper, 1864–1914,” in *Read More About It, Volume 3* 279–81 (based chiefly

Comparatively, the salary earned by Albert Ten Eyck Olmstead at the Universities of Missouri and Illinois, respectively, can be followed from 1909 through 1917 and then till 1929; starting as Instructor at \$1,000 in 1909, it progressed to Associate Professor at \$1,800 in 1914, Professor at \$3,000 in 1917, up to \$5,500 in 1927.¹⁹ Penn's initial offer to King in 1912 seems generous.

It is especially so when we consider King's salary at the British Museum, though it is probable that one should occasionally take into account some perquisites that do not appear within his salary base. According to the Trustees Archives, King was hired effective 15 August 1892, as Departmental Assistant of the Second Class at an annual salary of £120 plus £10 increment to become applied on each subsequent anniversary.²⁰ In the course of his career he became an Assistant of the First Class after a meeting of the Trustees on 6 November 1905,²¹ and was nominated for the position of Assistant Keeper of the Department by its head on 4 January 1909;²² this later recommendation, however, was not fulfilled until 21 July 1913, and then only at a salary of £520.²³ It remains difficult to identify what King had in mind in his initial reply to E. F. Smith, concerning the "some few years ago" when Penn's offer would have been acceptable. King did not marry until 21 February 1906, with children following on 5 December 1907 and 1 February 1910.²⁴ Whether these matters, or the delay concerning his promotion, are what he had in mind when he turned down Penn's general offer can no longer be discerned.

The matter of Hilprecht and Penn's offer, however, continued to remain in the back of King's mind. He had the opportunity in the spring of 1914 to pursue a "study vacation" within the major museums and cities of Europe, ostensibly working primarily upon their several collections of seals and

on British Museum materials). For a less favorable view of "Frank" (!) Harper, see Kuklick, *Puritans in Babylon* 31–2 and 109–12, though there is some merit to the notion Harper could enjoy the good life, including his cigars (as could King!), witness the exchange of correspondence with Thompson, a non-smoker!

¹⁹ James D. Rapp, "Albert Ten Eyck Olmstead, American Historian of Cuneiform Antiquity: A Bio-Bibliography and Historiographic Study" (M.A.T. thesis, University of Wisconsin—River Falls, 1971) 137–9. On Olmstead (23 March 1880–11 April 1945), see *WWWA* 2 405; John Anthony Brinkman, *DAB* Suppl. 3 572–3.

²⁰ Trustees Archives, British Museum.

²¹ Official letter of J. T. Murray, Treasury Chamber to The Trustees of the British Museum, 6 November 1905, Trustees Archives, British Museum.

²² Official handwritten letter of recommendation of E. A. Wallis Budge, Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, 4 January 1909, Trustees Archives, British Museum.

²³ Trustees Archives, British Museum; *Who Was Who 1916–1928* 587. See also note 32 below.

²⁴ Dates and particulars confirmed by marriage and birth certificates, and by references in letters or telegrams from L. W. King to E. A. Wallis Budge, dated respectively 27 February 1906, 5 December 1907, and 1 February 1910; Departmental Archives, British Museum.

tablet-sealings.²⁵ He passed initially from Paris to Berlin, where he learned that in order to have access to some desired materials in Constantinople he would require Hilprecht's authorization. Therefore, he detoured to Munich to meet with Hilprecht and saw for the first time Hilprecht's "private museum" and cuneiform tablet collection. In a personal letter to his wife, dated 13 May 1914, King told her of this necessary detour from his original and intended itinerary, and added a telling comment:

My meeting will be <an> interesting on<e> & I wonder if I shall get the permissions I want out of him? But I could not help them offering me his post & it is not as though we had accepted it.²⁶

That uncertainty of reception proved ungrounded. King not only got the desired permission for use of materials in Constantinople but was warmly received by Hilprecht and shown the extent of his private collection. Though King and Hilprecht had previously corresponded, it is clear the two had not met face to face. And the rather scurrilous recollection of Hilprecht by E. A. Wallis Budge seems not to have played any role at this date, though we are missing Budge's letters to King during this study tour.²⁷ Nevertheless, the mood before the meeting is a most interesting detail relative to the sequence of events as well as to that of King's subsequent correspondence with his wife, including in passing a most intriguing comment upon Hilprecht's wife: "Mrs Hilprecht is a typical American woman with a passion for collecting subjects. She has white hair & is lame & probably a little older than he is."²⁸

²⁵ C. C. Smith, "Impact" 87, with citations of King's own published references; see also the several collections of letters written between 24 April 1914 and 13 June 1914; respectively thirteen somewhat formal and quite business-like to E. A. Wallis Budge, Departmental Archives, British Museum, and twenty-seven very informal and intensely personal to his wife, Anna Maria King, in family possession.

²⁶ Letter of L. W. King from Hotel Prinz Albrecht, Berlin, to Anna Maria King, 13 May 1914, family possession.

²⁷ Budge, *Rise* 288–9. On Budge himself (27 July 1857–23 November 1934), see E. A. Wallis Budge, *By Nile and Tigris: A Narrative of Journeys in Egypt and Mesopotamia on Behalf of the British Museum between the Years 1886 and 1913* (London: John Murray, 1920) passim and *Rise* passim with photo facing p. 168; *WWA* 3 185–6; Sidney Smith, *DNB* 1931–1940 121–3; *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (3rd revised ed.; London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1995) 71–2 with photo. Corrective comments on Budge's autobiographical recollections, especially relative to his acquisition of cuneiform tablets, are found in C. B. F. Walker, "Introduction," in *Tablets from Sippar* 3 (vol. 8 of *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*; ed. Erle Leichty, J. J. Finkelstein, and C. B. F. Walker; London: British Museum Publications, 1988) xi–xxv.

²⁸ Letter of L. W. King from Hotel Rheinischer Hof, München, to Anna Maria King, 15 May 1914, family possession. This second Mrs. Hilprecht is to be identified with Mrs. William H. H. (Sallie Crozer) Robinson, daughter of Samuel Aldrich Crozer, whom he had married 23 April 1903; see G. A. Barton, *DAB* 9 59; Kuklick, *Puritans in Babylon* 123. Foster, *ANB* 10 826 notes that her "wealth and social standing made possible for him a way of life not typical of a university professor of the time;" cf. Ritterband and Wechsler, "Message to Lushtamar" 21.

The matter of the offer from Pennsylvania, however, does come back up once more in King's materials. In a draft of a letter, dated 20 November 1917, from Albert Tobias Clay to King, Clay expressed the thought to King that "you must rejoice when you think of what you escaped by not accepting their call."²⁹ To be sure, it must be noted that Clay himself had been among the younger appointees at Pennsylvania from 1892, when he assumed a lectureship until the academic year 1910–11. At that time he was named to the new chair at Yale as Laffan Professor of Assyriology, though Penn had promoted him professor of Semitic philology and archaeology in 1909, and he had served as departmental chair.³⁰

Finally, relative to King's own situation in Britain, we should note that upon his return from Europe, Cambridge University granted him an honorary Litt.D. on 23 June 1914,³¹ and on 24 March 1915 the University of London extended to him "the title of Professor of Assyrian and Babylonian Archaeology in the University."³² However, it has been impossible to ascertain whether some stipend was involved, or whether King actually performed any duties under that aegis, since he was seconded to the Office of the Admiralty—under the requirements of the First World War, according

Mrs. Robinson also brought to the marriage a fifteen year old son, who, as stepson to Hilprecht who had children by neither marriage, was admiringly recalled by Gertrude Bell in a letter of 4 June 1907 to her mother and in her diary entry of that same date.

²⁹ Draft letter of A. T. Clay to L. W. King, 20 November 1917, Babylonian Collection, Yale University (see also below note 41). King and Clay had earlier been in communication, when King was completing his *A History of Babylon* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1915), and Clay had provided in advance of publication "a transcript of his Larsa Kings' List with full permission to make use of it" (89 n. 5). Copies of letters from L. W. King to A. T. Clay, 1 May 1915 and 2 May 1915 discuss aspects of this Larsa Kings' List, Babylonian Collection, Yale University. The text itself appeared in A. T. Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1915) pl. 19 No. 32 = YBC 2142.

³⁰ On Clay (4 December 1866–14 September 1925), see *WWWA* 1 228; G. A. Barton, *DAB* 4 168–9; Budge, *Rise* 255–6 with photo facing 256; Meade, *Road* 37 and 71–2; C. H. Gordon, *Tradition* 14–8; B. R. Foster, *ANB* 5, 17–8. For a more pejorative view, linking Clay's acquisition of the Laffan Professorship to his having "ingratiated himself with <the New York financier John Pierpont> Morgan because of a long fight with Hilprecht," see Kuklick, *Puritans in Babylon* 107–8, 118, and 178, with photo on 95 fig. 6.

³¹ *Cambridge University Reporter* (1913–14) 1321; Notice in J. J. Withers, *Register of Admissions to King's College, Cambridge, 1797–1925* (1929) 191. See Letter of L. W. King to Anna Maria King, 8 June 1914, family possession.

³² Resolution of the Senate of the University of London, dated 24 March 1915, in a letter to L. W. King, 25 March 1915, family possession. Earlier, at its meeting on 19 November 1913, that same Senate had passed King's appointment to the Board of Studies for Archaeology, Theology, and Oriental Languages and Literatures; letter to L. W. King, 22 November 1913. King had originally assumed the duties of Lecturer in Assyrian at King's College in 1910; letter of A. Davies, Registrar of King's College, London, to C. C. Smith, 13 February 1964. See also F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *The Centenary History of King's College London 1828–1928* (London: George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., 1928) 425; notice by H. H. <= Harry Reginald Holland Hall>, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 2 (1915) 186; Donald John Wiseman, *The Expansion of Assyrian Studies* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1962) 12–3; C. C. Smith, "Impact" 82 and 94.

to a letter from the Director and Principal Librarian of the British Museum, Frederic George Kenyon, written on 15 January 1916—where he was found by the aforementioned letter from Clay.³³ King himself, though deceased (on 20 August 1919),³⁴ was sent a personal letter of commendation (dated 26 September 1919) for “the services you have been able to render to the Geographical Section of this Department <= Naval Intelligence> during the War”³⁵

This story did not quite end with the offer to King, since we need also note what else followed from Penn when King did not accept their offer.³⁶ There is a series of three letters written by G. B. Gordon, as Director of the University Museum, to E. A. Wallis Budge, successively detailing: (1) the offer of the appointment to Leroy Waterman, dated 24 May 1913; (2) an announcement, dated 8 July 1913, that Waterman had refused by virtue of a theological school offer;³⁷ and (3) a further note, dated 31 July 1913, that Arthur Ungnad was coming instead.³⁸ Alessandro Pezzati, currently Archivist of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, has related that “in the minutes of the meeting of the Board of Managers for May, 1913 there is discussion about offering the position <= Curator of the Babylonian Section> to Dr. LeRoy Waterman, who later declined” the offer.³⁹

³³ Letter of F. G. Kenyon, Director, British Museum, to E. A. Wallis Budge, 15 January 1916, Departmental Archives, British Museum. On Kenyon (15 January 1863–23 August 1952), see *WWW* 1951–1960 612–3; Harold Idris Bell, *PBA* 38 (1952) 269–94; *DNB* 1951–1960, 576–8.

³⁴ Death certificate; C. C. Smith, “Impact” 99–102.

³⁵ Letter of Wm. Sinclair, Naval Intelligence Department, Admiralty, to L. W. King, 26 September 1919, family possession.

³⁶ The data for this also comes from the British Museum records, specifically from the voluminous correspondence of Wallis Budge, officially Keeper of the then-designated Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities of the British Museum from 1894 to 1924 but already present within that department and its predecessor from 1883. Budge collected into great “scrapbook”-like volumes the vast assortment of correspondence that he had endured within his appointed role. On these volumes, their extent and content, see C. C. Smith, “Reevaluation” 26–9. On the matter of nonsense versus substance encountered by Keepers within the Department, see Budge, *By Nile and Tigris* 1, 32–7, which categorizes essentially parallel items found in the massive “scrapbook” collections.

³⁷ Waterman was often mentioned in correspondence with Wallis Budge, seeking his advice and notifying Budge of his own decisions, so that there remain preserved in those “scrapbooks” his own letters concerning his acceptance of the position at the Meadville Theological School in 1913, a position which then, in the aftermath at Chicago of the death of R. F. Harper, served as a stepping stone to his better position at the University of Michigan in 1915. Letters of L. Waterman to E. A. Wallis Budge, respectively: 20 January 1914, 24 May 1914, 20 August 1914, 23 September 1914, 18 October 1914, 13 June 1915, 26 September 1915, and 3 November 1915; Departmental Archives, British Museum. On Waterman (4 July 1875–9 May 1972), see *WWA* 5 759; Budge, *Rise* 256–7 with photo facing 256; Meade, *Road* 88. On Harper’s death in London, see above, note 18.

³⁸ Letters of G. B. Gordon to E. A. Wallis Budge, respectively, 24 May 1913, 8 July 1913, and 31 July 1913; Departmental Archives, British Museum. On Ungnad (3 August 1879–26 April 1945), see Adam Falkenstein, “Zum Gedächtnis,” *ZA* 50 (1952) 1–2; C. H. Gordon, *Tradition* 21.

³⁹ Letter of Alex Pezzati, Archivist, University of Pennsylvania Museum to C. C. Smith, 9 November 2000.

It would appear from this material that the original intent of a Professorship in Assyriology in the University of Pennsylvania, offered in 1912 to Leonard King, had within the year evolved into a desire for an Assyriologist who might rather come as Curator of the Babylonian Section within the University Museum; and Ungnad's presence, though not lengthy at Penn by virtue also of the First World War, demonstrates that fact. So does the subsequent presence of the American-born, British-naturalized, French-trained Stephen Herbert Langdon, who replaced Ungnad in 1916, and about whom King and Clay exchanged pejorative views in their correspondence of 1917.⁴⁰

The letter from L. W. King to A. T. Clay, 30 September 1917, Babylonian Collection, Yale University, had precipitated some of those pejorative remarks found in Clay's response, by referring to "that mess" into which Langdon had gotten himself by attacking Morris Jastrow in a manner throwing "discredit on the study of Sumerian."⁴¹ But equally negative comments about Langdon appear in two letters found within the Departmental Archives, British Museum. The first is a report from L. W. King to E. A. Wallis Budge, 4 January 1916, when Langdon was making use of the Students' Room in an unsatisfactory way.⁴² The second is from Harry Reginald Holland Hall, already on military duty, to E. A. Wallis Budge, 10 September 1918, when Hall was instructed, as a consequence of the illness of L. W. King, to make himself ready to go out to Mesopotamia to replace Campbell Thompson in excavations at Ur, etc. Hall did not wish to work with Langdon there in spite of intentions by Oxford University.⁴³ That Hall was not joined by Langdon

⁴⁰ On Langdon (8 May 1876–19 May 1937) in general and at Penn, see *WWW* 1929–1940 778; *WWWA* 1 703; R. C. Thompson, *JRAS* (1937) 719–26; Cyril John Gadd, *PBA* 23 (1937) 565–80; G. R. Driver, *DNB* 1931–1940 524; Budge, *Rise* 192–3; Meade, *Road* 111–2. Budge says that Langdon "became a British subject in 1913, and during the war served for three months 'as a regular' in the 22nd London Regiment, and for a year held the post of Curator of the Babylonian Section of the Philadelphia Museum." Driver does not mention Langdon's stint at Penn. Kuklick, *Puritans in Babylon* 161 goes so far as to state that "Penn courted an English academic who despised the United States even more palpably than had Hilprecht." See also note 45 below.

⁴¹ Letter of L. W. King to A. T. Clay, 30 September 1917, Babylonian Collection, Yale University. On Jastrow (13 August 1861–22 June 1921), see *WWWA* 1, 630; G. A. Barton, *DAB* 10, 3 and *In Memoriam, Morris Jastrow, Jr.* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1921); James Alan Montgomery, *AJSL* 38 (1921/22) 1–11; Meade, *Road* 35, 37, 75, and 121; C. H. Gordon, *Tradition* 6–7 and 13–32 (entitled "The Jastrow Years"!); While Jastrow's role in the Peters-Hilprecht controversy receives consideration, especially by Ritterband and Wechsler, "Message to Luschtamar," the matter behind the Langdon-Jastrow "mess" to which King and Clay refer is poorly defined. Kuklick, *Puritans in Babylon* 228 n. 52 identifies and documents partially "the Langdon-Jastrow fight," and even suggests, in a mode comparable to the other criticisms of Langdon, that he "received perhaps less criticism than he otherwise would have because an attack on him inevitably meant a defense of Germans" (173).

⁴² Letter of L. W. King to E. A. Wallis Budge, 4 January 1916, Departmental Archives, British Museum.

⁴³ Letter of H. R. H. Hall to E. A. Wallis Budge, 10 September 1918, Departmental Archives, British Museum. On Hall (30 September 1873–13 October 1930), see R. C. Thompson, *PBA*

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is verified in Hall's published report—a volume dedicated “in memory of Leonard William King 1919.”⁴⁴

Langdon was only at Penn for one year before reassuming the Shillito Readership in Assyriology at Oxford, which he held from its inception in 1908 until his sudden death.⁴⁵ Instead, Penn settled upon one of its own, Edward Chiera, who remained on as Instructor in Assyriology from the time of his own doctorate in 1913 until his departure for Chicago in the autumn of 1927.⁴⁶ But with that we have more than come full circle with these notes.

16 (1930) 475–85; Thomas Eric Peet, *DNB* 1922–1930 387–8; Budge, *Rise* 145 and 250, with photo facing 174; *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (3rd revised ed.; London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1995) 186–7 with photo.

⁴⁴ See H.R.H. Hall, *A Season's Work at Ur, al-'Ubaid, Abu Shahrain (Eridu), and Elsewhere Being an Unofficial Account of the British Museum Archaeological Mission to Babylonia, 1919* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1930). Noteworthy from that earlier date, when Hall expected King to recover, are a series of letters from Hall in the field to King, often seeking both Sumerological and archaeological advice but also reporting in detail upon his discoveries: 18 January 1919, 9 February 1919, 9 March 1919, and 26 June; family possession. However, no responses from King seem to have been forthcoming. These rather informal and often interrogative letters need to be compared with those formal reports Hall wrote to E. A. Wallis Budge: 12 January 1919, 16 April 1919, 10 June 1919, and 12 July 1919; Departmental Archives, British Museum. While Hall had arrived back into Britain, he did not learn of King's death in time to be present at the funeral; see letter of Hall to E. A. Wallis Budge, 25 August 1919, Departmental Archives, British Museum.

⁴⁵ Langdon was clearly present in London on 4 January 1916; at Pennsylvania on 20 November 1917; but back again in London before war's end. On the Shillito Readership, which was created specifically for Langdon by Miss Mary Wallace Shillito in 1908, when she offered £10,000 to Oxford University with that specific condition, see G.R. Driver, *DNB* 1931–1940 524; D.J. Wiseman, *Expansion* 11–12; Oliver Robert Gurney, *RIA* 6/7–8 487; Anon., “Professor O.R. Gurney M.A., D.Phil., F.B.A. (1911–2001),” *AnSt* 50 (2000) iii. Campbell Thompson held the Readership between Langdon and Gurney; see note 18 above.

⁴⁶ On Chiera (5 August 1885–20 June 1933) at Penn, see Meade, *Road* 77, 100–1, and 121–2; C.H. Gordon, *Tradition* 24; whereas Budge, *Rise* 252 and 257, has no sense of Chiera's ultimate importance. Otherwise see *WWVA* 1 216; John Albert Wilson, *DAB* Suppl. 1, 171–2; and Kuklick, *Puritans in Babylon* 169–71. [Editors' note: see Eichler p. 94 n. 37.]

TWO NEO-BABYLONIAN TEXTS OF FOREIGN WORKMEN

Ira Spar, Thomas J. Logan, James P. Allen¹



sb3.n wj nb.j, jry.j sb3yt.f

“My lord has instructed me, and I will carry out his teaching”

Amarna, Tomb of Aya

For Erle Leichty

It has long been known from the published corpus of Neo- and Late Babylonian administrative documents that many different ethnic minorities resided in southern Mesopotamia during the mid and late first millennium BCE.² Most evidence for foreign population groups is found in random mention of individuals in economic texts and administrative texts. In most instances foreigners are listed simply as individuals without notation as to their ethnic identity. Many who may be slaves cannot be identified, as they were given native names by either their overseers³ or parents.⁴ It is clear, however,

¹ The initial identification of many of the Egyptian names in the two texts presented here was made by Thomas Logan. James Allen identified additional names and provided information for the entries in this article. Note that in Egyptian vocalizations, *e* without diacritics represents an indistinct vowel. Abbreviations in the text follow those found in the CAD except for the following: *DN* = E. Lüddeckens, *Demotisches Namenbuch* 1 (Wiesbaden: Dr. L. Reichert, 1980–2000); *GM* = *Göttinger Miszellen*; *LÄ* = *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 1–7 (ed. W. Helck et al.; Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1972–92); *PN* = H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* 1–3 (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1935–77); Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique* = W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte* (Leuven: Peeters, 1983).

² See R. Zadok, “On Some Foreign Population Groups in First Millennium Babylonia,” *TA* 6 (1979) 164–81; I. Eph’al, “The Western Minorities in Babylonia in the 6th–5th Centuries B.C.: Maintenance and Cohesion,” *OrNS* 47 (1978) 74–90 (see especially, 74 n. 3 for additional bibliography); R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods: An Onomastic Study* (2nd ed.; Jerusalem: H. J. & Z. Wanaarta and Tel Aviv University, 1978); E. Weidner, “Jojachin, König von Juda, in babylonischen Keilschrifttexten,” in *Studies Dussaud* 923–35.

³ See the predominately Šamaš names given to Egyptians(?) working in the Ebabbar temple in CT 44 89 (BM 78177).

⁴ More rarely, a father with a Babylonian name is known to have given a son an Egyptian name. See VAS 3/4 196:11, *Pa-at-e-si* son of *Ha-âš-da-a-a*. In this case the father may have been of Egyptian origin despite his Babylonian name (“Born During the Marriage Festival”). For other examples see R. Zadok, “On Some Egyptians in First-Millennium Mesopotamia,”

that foreign groups were identified as minorities and that some groups had independent assemblies and juridical authority.⁵

Several studies have focused on the existence of Egyptians in Babylonian sources.⁶ One group of Egyptians is mentioned in several administrative texts originating in the Ebabbar temple at Sippar (CT 44 72 [BM 78294]; CT 44 89 [BM 78177]; CT 55 539 [BM 56348] and 794 [BM 57337] = Wiseman, *Iraq* 28 [1966] pl. 44; CT 56 87 [BM 57701]; CT 56 664 [BM 55848]; CT 56 724 [BM 57337]); BM 59410 and BM 61993 (Bongenaar and Haring, *JCS* 46 [1994] 59–71).⁷ These texts, some of which can be dated to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, contain names of Egyptians, most likely temple slaves (*širkū*, cf. BM 59410 obv. 1) who may have been prisoners of war, possibly from Nebuchadnezzar's defeat of the Egyptians at the Battle of Carchemish in 605 BCE or captured in his campaign four years later.⁸ In

GM 26 (1977) 67 and R. Zadok, "Egyptians in Babylonia and Elam During the 1st Millennium B.C.," *Lingua Aegyptia* 2 (1992) 144.

⁵ Eph'al, *OrNS* 47 (1978) 76; M. Dandamayev, "The Composition of the Citizens in First Millennium Babylonia," *AoF* 24 (1977) 146–7; G. Cardascia, "L'étranger," in *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin* 9 (Brussels: 1958) 105–17. Note *puhur* ^{luš}i-bu-tu ^{ša} ^{lumi}-šir-a-a in *Camb.* 85:3 cited by M. Dandamayev, "Egyptians in Babylonia in the 6th-5th Centuries B.C.," in *CRRAI* 38 (1992) 323.

⁶ A.C.V.M. Bongenaar and B.J.J. Haring, "Egyptians in Neo-Babylonian Sippar," *JCS* 46 (1994) 59–71; A. Leahy, "The Egyptian Names," in *Texts from Niniveh* (ed. J.N. Postgate and B. Kh. Ismail; TIM 11; Baghdad: Directorate General of Antiquities, 1993) 56–62; Zadok, *Lingua Aegyptia* 2 (1992) 139–46; Dandamayev, "Egyptians in Babylonia" 321–5; F. Joannès, "Contrats de mariage d'époque récente," *RA* 78 (1984) 71–81; G. Vittmann, "Zu einigen keilschriftlichen Umschreibungen ägyptischer Personennamen," *GM* 70 (1984) 65–6; R. Zadok, "On Some Egyptians in Babylonian Documents," *GM* 64 (1983) 73–5; G.J.P. McEwan, *The Late Babylonian Tablets in the Royal Ontario Museum* (ROMCT 2; Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1982) 51; Zadok, *GM* 26 (1977) 63–8; Zadok, *TA* 6 (1979) 164–73; M.A. Dandamayev, "Egyptian Settlers in Babylonia in the 6th-5th Centuries B.C.," *Drevniy Egipet i drevnaya Afrika* (Moscow, 1967) 5–26 (Russian); D.J. Wiseman, "Some Egyptians in Babylonia," *Iraq* 28 (1966) 154–9; J. Kohler and A. Ungnad, "Verzeichnis der nicht-babylonischen Eigennamen," in *Hundert ausgewählte Rechtsurkunden aus der Spätzeit des babylonischen Schrifttums von Xerxes bis Mithridates II. (485–93 v. Chr.)* (ed. J. Kohler and A. Ungnad; Leipzig: E. Pfeiffer, 1911) 68–9. Other studies focusing on Egyptian etymology of personal names in Babylonian sources include: H. Ranke, *Keilschriftliches Material zur altägyptischen Vokalisation* (APAW 1910/11; Berlin: Verlag der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, in Commission bei Georg Reimer, 1910); H. Satzinger, "Zu den neubabylonischen Transkriptionen ägyptischer Personennamen," *GM* 73 (1984) 89; E. Edel, *Neue Deutungen keilschriftlicher Umschreibungen ägyptischer Wörter und Personennamen* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte Bd. 375; Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980); J. Vergote, review of E. Edel, *Neue Deutungen*, *BiOr* 40 (1983) 596–9. For Egyptian personal names, see *PN*.

According to Zadok, *TA* 6 (1979) 173, Egyptians appear to have been one of the smallest ethnic minorities in Babylonia comprising only one percent of the personal names found in the Murašû archive dating to the second part of the fifth century BCE.

⁷ See Wiseman, *Iraq* 28 (1966) 154–9.

⁸ See Weidner, "Jojachin, König von Juda" 930 ff.; Wiseman, *Iraq* 28 (1966) 154–5; McEwan, *Late Babylonian Tablets*; and Eph'al, *OrNS* 47 (1978) 77 n. 9. For a record of a slave sale of an

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his other campaigns to the west Nebuchadnezzar also took foreign captives.⁹ It should also be noted that not all individuals with Egyptian names were slaves. An adoption contract from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar lists a certain *Ḫarmašu*, the Egyptian, as a judge in charge of a prison (^{lu}*dayyanu ša bīt kīli*).¹⁰

Two tablets from the 1886 collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art contain the names of Egyptians and are presented here.

The text of one tablet, MMA 86.11.110+511, containing notations of numerous Egyptian and other foreign names is similar in format to CT 44 89 (BM 78177) from the Ebabbar temple of Šamaš in Sippar, CT 56 87 and *Nbk.* 452. The MMA text, and probably the BM text, record the distribution of TÚG.KUR.RA-garments from the temple storehouse (*bit makkūri*) to workmen. The workmen are organized into work units of eight to twelve individuals.¹¹ Each group is supervised by a foreman (noted as a *rab ešerti* in BM 59410¹²) whose personal name is listed in the first line of each group of names. The foreman's name is then repeated at the end of the section along with the notation of the total number of workmen under his charge. A line is drawn on the tablet underneath each of the eleven groups of workmen. The name of the leader of the first group of nine workmen is broken, the other supervisors are respectively: *Ḫa-la-bé-su* (cf. CT 56 87 rev. iii 13, BM 59410 obv 2 = Bongenaar and Haring, *JCS* 46 [1994]), *Kinūnaya* (cf. CT 56 87 rev. iii 24, BM 59410 obv. 12, BM 57701 rev. iii 14 = Bongenaar and Haring, *JCS* 46 [1994]), *Ubār-Nabū*, *Pa-tu-ba-as-tū* (cf. BM 59410 rev. 18'), *Ḫu-ut-ma-ḫi-*, *A-mu-ru-ṭar-si* (cf. BM 57701 rev. iii 25), *Am-na-pi-*' (cf. BM 59410 rev. 3'), *Ḫu-ú-ru* (cf. BM 59410 obv. 22), *I-na-ḫu-ru-ú*, and *Ḫar-ma-šu*.

In total there appear to have been ninety-eight workmen attested in the MMA text. Seventy-three of the names can be read or reconstructed, thirteen names are fragmentary, and twelve names are in broken sections of the tablet. Most of the workmen appear to have been Egyptians; some appear to be West Semites; one is of Libyan origin (or named after a Libyan ruler); another may be Carian.

MMA 86.11.110+MMA 86.11.511 (Figs. 1 and 2)

H. 10.5 mm W. 6.5 mm Th. 1.5 mm
Nebuchadnezzar(?), month [x] day [x]
Purchase, 1886

Egyptian woman and her infant daughter taken as captive in Cambyses's Egyptian campaign in 525 BCE, see MMA 79.7.25 (CTMMA 3 62) and duplicates *Camb.* 334 and Pinches, *Peek* 17.

⁹ See Eph'al, *OrNS* 47 (1978) 81 n. 22.

¹⁰ McEwan, *Late Babylonian Tablets* 51.

¹¹ See also UCP 9 29.

¹² Cf. Bongenaar and Haring, *JCS* 46 (1994) 59–71.

Obv.

Col. i

- 1 [TÚG.KUR.RA^{meš} *šá a-na* lúERIN^{meš} ...]
- 2 [UD.x.KAM MU.x.KAM]
- 3 [1¹ ...]
- 4 [1¹ ...]
- 5 [1¹ ...]
- 6 [1¹ ...]
- 7 [1¹ ...]
- 8 [1¹ ...]
- 9 '1' I[...]
- 10 1 I[...]
- 11 1¹ *Pa-tú*-[...]
- 12 PAB 9 lú[ERIN]^{meš} [*šá*] I[x]-x-ti?

-
- 13 1 I[*Ha-la*]-'bé'-su
 - 14 1 [I]*Pa-tu*-[*ba-as*]-tú
 - 15 [1¹ x x]-x-x-du
 - 16 [1¹ x x]-qa-su
 - 17 [1¹ x x]-x-iš-šu
 - 18 [1¹ *Hi*]-ni-is-si
 - 19 [1¹ *Ha*]-at-ri-'
 - 20 [1¹ *P*]a-tu-e-si
 - 21 [1¹ r^x]-qa-bi-i-ri
 - 22 [1¹ *Pa-tu-ḥa-an-si*
 - 23 [1 x]-x-na-pi-ni-bi
 - 24 [1¹ r^dUTU⁹]-LUGAL-ÙRU
 - 25 [PAB 12 lúERIN]^{meš} *šá* 1¹ *Ha-la-bé-su*

-
- 26 [1¹ KI.NE.NE-a-a
 - 27 [1¹ *A-mu-ru-ṭar-si*
 - 28 [1¹ *Ka*]l-ba-a
 - 29 [1¹ r^x-id⁷]-ri-iḥ-'si'
 - 30 [1¹ *Se*]-e-pí

Col. ii

- 1 [1¹ ...]
- 2 [1¹ ...]
- 3 [1¹ ...] x
- 4 [PAB 8 lúERIN]^{meš} *šá* 1¹ KI.NE.N]E-a-a

-
- 5 [1¹ *Ú-bar*-^dA]G
 - 6 [1¹ *Si-ra*]-'ah⁷-ti
 - 7 [1¹ *A-mu-ru*]-ṭar-si
 - 8 [1¹ *Har*]-ma-šu

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9 [1 ¹Pa-tu]-mu-nu
 10 1 ¹A-¹la¹-ḫa-bi
 11 1 ¹Pa-tu-pe-e
 12 1 ¹Pa-tu-pi-nu-ú
 13 PAB '8' [lú]ERIN^{meš} šá ¹Ú-bar-^dAG

14 1 ¹Pa-tu-ba-as-tú
 15 1 ¹Ḫa-ri-ṭar-si
 16 1 ¹Šá-kin-NUMUN
 17 1 ¹Ḫu¹-ú-ru
 18 1 ¹Qú-ú-su
 19 1 ¹Si-ip-ta-'
 20 1 ¹Sa-ri-a-su
 21 1 ¹Pa-tu-mu-nu
 22 1 ^dAG-tak-lak
 23 PAB 9 lúERIN^{meš} šá ¹Pa-tu-ba-as-tú

24 1 ¹Ḫu-ut-ma-ḫi-'
 25 1 ¹U-na-ḫa-ru-ú
 26 1 ¹Sa-am-mi-ki
 27 1 ¹Pa-tu-ḫu-ú-ru

Rev.

Col. iii

1 1 ¹Ḫa-ap-ḫar/mur-ra-ad/t
 2 1 ¹Ḫa-at-ri-'
 3 1 ¹Ma-pi-'
 4 1 ¹Pi-ti-in-ḫa-a-tu
 5 1 ¹E-bé-e-su
 6 PAB 9 lúERIN^{meš} šá ¹Ḫu-ut-ma-ḫi-'

7 1 ¹A-mu-ru-ṭar-si
 8 1 ^dAG-šam-ma-'
 9 1 ¹Ḫar-ma-ṣu
 10 1 ¹Pa-tu-ḫi-²-ú
 11 1 ¹Pa-tu-ba-as-tú
 12 1 ¹Si-ra-aḫ-ti
 13 1 ¹Tak-la-a-ta
 14 1 ¹Pa-tu-mu-nu
 15 1 ¹Tap-na-aḫ-tú
 16 1 ¹Pa-tu-si-ri
 17 PAB 10 lúERIN^{meš} šá ¹A-mu-ru-ṭar-si

Col. iii

- 18 1 ¹*Am-na-pi-'*
 19 1 ¹*A-pi-re-e-tu*
 20 1 ¹*I-na-ḥa-ru-ú*
 21 1 ¹*Uk-ka-a*
 22 1 ¹*He-e-ri*
 23 1 ¹*A-mu-tú*
 24 1 ¹*A-mu-ru-tar-si*
 25 1 ¹*Sa-mu-nu-ḥu-tu*
 26 PAB 8 ^{lú}ERIN^{meš} *ša' ¹Am-na-pi-'*

-
- 27 1 ¹*Ḥu-ú-ru*
 28 1 ¹*Pa-ṭu-mu-nu*
 29 1 ¹*Tap-na-aḥ-tu'*
 30 1 [¹ ...]

Col. iv

- 1 [¹ ¹x x]-x-ḥu-ur
 2 [¹ ¹x]-am-'
 3 [¹ ¹x-²ú-še-em
 4 [PAB 7 ¹]úERIN^{meš} ¹*Ḥu-ú-ru*
-
- 5 [¹ ¹I-n]a-ḥu-u-ru-ú
 6 [¹ ¹]Qú-su-sa-me-eš-ki
 7 [¹ ¹]Pa-ṭu-mu-nu
 8 [¹ ¹]Ḥar-ma-ṣu
 9 [¹ ¹]Še-²eh'-ru
 10 1 ¹Qú-su-sa-me-eš-ki
 11 1 ¹Sa-ri-ki-bi
 12 1 ¹Ḥu-ú-ru
 13 PAB 8 ^{lú}ERIN^{meš} ¹*I-na-ḥu-ru-ú*

-
- 14 1 ¹Ḥar-ma-ṣu
 15 1 ¹x-am-tu-ú
 16 1 ¹Qú-ú-su
 17 1 ¹Pa-ṭu-ba-as-tú
 18 1 ¹Si-ip-ta-'
 19 [¹ ¹]Ḥu-ú-ru
 20 [¹ ¹Ta]k-la-ta
 21 [¹ ¹x x]-na-bu/pu-ú
 22 [¹ ¹Pa-ṭu-b]a-as-tú
 23 [PAB 9 ^{lú}ERIN^{meš}] ¹Ḥar-ma-ṣu

-
- 24 [TÚG.KUR.RA^{meš} *ša'*] É.NÍG.GA
 25 [*ša' É.BABBAR.RA* ^{lú}x-x]-²x'-a-a
 26 [...^{lú}mi-ṣi]r-a-a

Notes to the Text

Col. i

Lines 1–2. See CT 44 89:1–2.

Line 11. Pa-ṭu-[...] = Eg. *p3-dj*-[...] “The one whom [...] has given”; voc. *Pede*[...]. See Leahy, TIM 11 60.

Line 13. *Ha-la-bé-su* = Eg. *ḥlbs* (meaning unknown; the end may incorporate the name of the god Bes); cf. *DN* 1 843. Voc. *ḥalabēse* (ἁλαβησις). See Wiseman, *Iraq* 28 (1966) 38 (BM 57337:1). Weidner, “Jojachin, König von Juda” 928, compares *Ḥalabesu* to *Ḥa-la-bi-zu*, one of several sailors (^{lū}*malāḥu*) from Ashkelon. Weidner considered the name to be Philistine. See also CT 56 87 rev. iii 1 for *Ḥa-la-bé-su* and CT 56 724:1 where the name is written *Ḥa-la-bé-e-su*. The existence of the PN in TIM 11 3, 10, 15 together with other Egyptians accords with its identification as an Egyptian personal name. Bongenaar and Haring, *JCS* 46 (1994) 66 (BM 59410 obv. 2) suggest a possible Libyan origin.

Line 14. *Pa-ṭu-ba-as-tū* = Eg. *p3-dj-b3stt* “The one whom Bastet has given;” cf. *PN* 1 123:5; *DN* 1 303. Voc. *Ped(e)ubāste* (πετουβαστις). See col. ii 14, 23; rev. iii 11, rev. iv 17, 22 where presumably another individual with this same name is listed as an overseer of nine men and col. iii 11; iv 17 and 22 and BM 59410 obv. 9, Bongenaar and Haring, *JCS* 46 (1994) 69. See also Zadok, *Lingua Aegyptia* 2 (1992) (8), and Zadok, *GM* 64 (1983) 73.

Line 15. [...] *-du*. Too broken for identification.

Line 16. [...] *-qa-ṣu* = Eg. [...] *-ka-ti(?)* (meaning unknown); cf. *PN* 1 350.I. Voc. [...] *-káti*.

Line 17. [...] *-iṣ-ṣu* = Eg. [...] *-‘dḏ(?)* “[...] youngster;” cf. *PN* 1 103.18, 127.1, 249.3. Voc. [...] *-‘idḏe*.

Line 18. *Ḥi-ni-is-si* = Eg. *Hn-n.s-sw(?)* “Would that he were hers;” Uncertain; cf. *PN* 1 229.29 (read *hn-n.j*), 425.14. Voc. *hinnisse*.

Line 19. *Ḥa-at-ri-’* = Eg. *ḥtrj* “Twin;” cf. *PN* 1 260.22; *DN* 1 850. Voc. *ḥatrí’* (ἁτρε, ῥατρε, ἁθρε, ἁθρης). See also iii 2.

Line 20. *Pa-ṭu-e-si* = Eg. *p3-dj-jst* “The one whom Isis has given;” cf. *PN* 1 121.18; *DN* 1 290. Voc. *pedeēse* (παθησε, πατησις). See also Bongenaar

and Haring, *JCS* 46 (1994) 68–9, Zadok, *Lingua Aegyptia* 2 (1992) 141 (29), Zadok, *GM* 64 (1983) 74, and Leahy, *TIM* 11 60.

Line 21. *x-qa-bi-i-ri*: Origin uncertain, probably not Egyptian.

Line 22. *Pa-tu-ḥa-an-si* = Eg. *p3-dj-ḥnsw* “The one whom Khonsu has given;” cf. *PN* 1 125.21; *DN* 1 336. Voc. *Pedeḥánse* (πατεχωνσις). See also CT 56 87 iii 7 and Zadok, *Lingua Aegyptia* 2 (1992) 141, as well as Zadok, *GM* 64 (1983) 73:1.

Line 23. *x-na-pi-ni-bi* = Eg. *x-n(?)-p3y.j-nbw* “[...] of/for(?) my lord;” cf. *PN* 1 107, 18. Voc. [...] *napinṭbe*.

Line 24. *Šamaš(?)*-*šarra-ušur*: We may assume that as the next individual with a Babylonian name in the distribution list (see l. 25, *Kinūnaya*) can clearly be identified as Egyptian (see below), that *Šamaš(?)*-*šarra-ušur* as well as *Kalbaya* (i 27), *Ubār-Nabū* (ii 5, 13), *Šākin-zēri* (ii 16), *Nabū-iaḫlāk* (ii 22), and *Nabū-šammā* (iii 8) are also (Egyptian?) slaves given Babylonian names, or in the case of *Nabū-šammā*, a name containing a Babylonian divine element. R. Zadok (personal communication) notes that PNs with *šarru* are typical of individuals who belong to the palatial sector. *Šamaš(?)*-*šarra-ušur*, “Šamaš(?), protect the king,” may therefore have been a prisoner of war who was donated by the king as a *širku* to the Ebabbar temple.

Line 26. *Kinūnaya*: See also ii 4 and BM 59410 obv. 14, BM 57701 rev. iii 14, Bongenaar and Haring, *JCS* 46 (1994) 62–3. This overseer is described as being an Egyptian in CT 44 72:18 and CT 56 350:5–6. Note also BM 57337 obv. 2, Wiseman, *Iraq* 28 (1966). See further Zadok, *Lingua Aegyptia* 2 (1992) 141 (12).

Line 27. *A-mu-ru-ṭar-si* = Eg. *jmnw-j.jr-dj-sw (?)* “Amun is the one who has given him;” cf. *PN* 1 26.24; *DN* 1 63. Voc. *Amu(na)redáyse* (ἄμορταῖος, ἄμορορταῖος). The identification is problematic as the syllable-final *r* does not have a corresponding liquid in the Egyptian name, though it is perhaps influenced by the Egyptian syllable-final *y*. See also iii 7, 17, 24, BM 61993 iii 6' *A-mu-ru-ṭa-²-is*, Bongenaar and Haring, *JCS* 46 (1994) 65. For CT 56 664 rev. i 6(?) and 11, see Zadok, *Lingua Aegyptia* 2 (1992) 140 (3) and *A-mur-ṭa-is* (6). Note also [*A-mur-ṭa*]²-*is* in BM 59410 rev. 38', Bongenaar and Haring, *JCS* 46 (1994) 71.

Line 28. *Kalbaya*: a common Neo-Babylonian name that may have been assigned to an (Egyptian?) workman.

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Line 29. 'x'-*id-ri-iḥ*-*'si(?)*' = Eg. [...] *-rḥ-sw* "[...] is the one who knows him;" cf. *PN* 1 141.2, 407.17; *PN* 2 268.14, 334–4. Voc. [...] *-riḥse*.

Line 30. *Se-e-pi* = Eg. *sfj/sjff* "Child;" cf. *DN* 1 215 and 905; cf. *PN* 1 175.14–15, 397.12. Voc. *sēfe* (–σηφς). See also BM 61993 iii 7', CT 56 87 iii 26, CT 56 724 rev. 3 and Zadok, *Lingua Aegyptia* 2 (1992) 140 (7); Vittmann, *GM* 70 (1984) 65:6; and Bongenaar and Haring, *JCS* 46 (1994) 70.

Col. ii

Line 5. *Ú-bar-Nabû*: a common Neo-Babylonian name that may have been assigned to an (Egyptian?) workman.

Line 6. *Si-ra-aḥ-ti* = Eg. *z3-rḥtj (?)* "Son of a washerman;" cf. *PN* 2 282.14. Voc. *sirāḥte*. See also rev. col. iii 12 and *Sa-ra-aḥ-ti* (BM 59410 rev. 33'), Bongenaar and Haring, *JCS* 46 (1994) 70.

Line 8. *Ḥar-ma-ṣu* = Eg. *ḥrw-wd3.w* "Horus is sound;" cf. *PN* 1 246:3; *DN* 1 796. Voc. *ḥarwād'* (ἡρωαδ'; ὁρωατης). For the Egyptian *w* to Akkadian *m* or *u* shift, see Bongenaar and Haring, *JCS* 46 (1994) 68. See also rev. iii 9. iv 8, 14, 23, as well as *Ḥar-r[i-m]a-ṣu* in BM 59410 rev. 36' (Bongenaar and Haring, *JCS* 46 [1994] 62) and *Ḥar-ú-ma-ṣu* in BM 59410 obv. 8, rev. 5', rev. 26'. In Babylon 28122 rev. 20, obv. 17 (Weidner, "Jojachin, König von Juda" pl. 2), *Ḥar-ma-ṣu* is identified as an Egyptian overseer (^{lū}SAG *mī-ṣir-a-a*). See also Zadok, *Lingua Aegyptia* 2 (1992) 140 (4), 141 (26). The name is also found in CT 56 724:7, Wiseman, *Iraq* 28 (1966) 156f.

Line 9. *Pa-tu-mu-nu* = Eg. *p3-dj-jmnw* "The one whom Amun has given;" cf. *PN* 1 122.23; *DN* 1 281. Voc. *Ped(e)amūne* (πετ(ε)αμουνς). See also ii 21 below and BM 59410 obv. 23 with the writing *Pa-[te]-e-mu-nu*, Bongenaar and Haring, *JCS* 46 (1994) 69, Zadok, *Lingua Aegyptia* 2 (1992) 141 (27), and Zadok, *GM* 26 (1977) 64 (13). Other notations of Amon include *Ú-sa-mu-nu* (BM 59410 obv. 16) and *Ḥa-at-pe-e-mu-[nu]* (BM 59410 rev. 9').

Line 10. *A-la-ḥa-bi* = Eg. 'r.w-*ḥpwj* "They have brought up the Apis;" cf. *PN* 1 70.16; *DN* 1 106: shortened form of 'r.w- *ḥpwj-r-mn-nfr* "They have brought the Apis up to Memphis." Voc. 'aluháp'e. See also BM 59410 rev. 30' (Bongenaar and Haring, *JCS* 46 [1994] 65).

Line 11. *Pa-tu-pe-e* = Eg. *p3-dj-wpj-w3wt (?)* "The one whom Wepwawet has given;" cf. *PN* 1 122.23; *DN* 1 297. Voc. *Ped(e)up(u)ē*. Greek πετρως

suggests a different final vowel ($\bar{a} > \omega$), but cf. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique* 231. Alternatively, the vocalization may represent the shortened form *p3-dj-wpj* (DN 1 297). See also CT 56 664 i 25 [*Pa-ṭ*]u-pe-e.

Line 12. *Pa-ṭu-pi-nu-ú* = Eg. *p3-dj-p3j-njw*t (?) “The one whom the One of Thebes has given” Uncertain, perhaps a variant of more common *p3-dj-jmn*. For *p3j-njw*t = *p3-n-njw*t see PN 2 353; DN 1 438. *nu-ú* is most likely *njw*t “The City (of Thebes),” biblical *nō’-(’āmôn)* “City (of Amun),” Coptic **NE/NH** < **nū*. *p3-n/p3j*, however, should correspond to *pa* rather than *pi*. Voc. *Pedepinū*.

Line 15. *Ḥa-ri-ṭar-si* = Eg. *ḥrw-jjr-dj-sw* (?) “Horus is the one who has given him” Cf. PN 1 246.7. See comments on i 27. Voc. *ḥa(ra)redáyse*.

Line 16. *Šākin-zēri*: a common Neo-Babylonian PN that may have been assigned to an (Egyptian?) workman.

Line 17. *Ḥu-ú-ru* = Eg. *ḥrw* “Horus” Cf. PN 1 245.18; DN 1 786. Voc. *ḥōre* (ḫwp; ὥρος). See ii 27, iii 27, iv 4, 12, 13, 19 below, CT 56 724, 6 and Wiseman, *Iraq* 28 (1966) 157 and Zadok, *Lingua Aegyptia* 2 (1992) 140 (25) and note, *Si-ḥur-ru* (CT 56 87 ii, 22 [*Lingua Aegyptia* 2 (1992) 141 (21) who cites Edel, *SÖAW* 375, 30 f.9]). For attestations of the name in other texts see, Zadok, *TA* 6 (1979) 172, *TBER* 78 (AO26755), F. Joannès, “Contrats de mariage d’époque récente,” *RA* 78 (1984) 78–9, and BM 59410 rev. 19’ (Bongenaar and Haring, *JCS* 46 [1994] 68).

Line 18. *Qú-ú-su*: See also iv 16 for this Edomite DN and the PNs *Qu-ú-su-šá-ma-*’ son of *Qu-ú-su-ia-da-*’ in S. Dalley, “A Cuneiform Tablet from Tell Tawilan,” *Levant* 16 (1984) 19–22 ll. 5–6, 9 and *Qu-ú-su-ia-da-*’ in *Dar.* 301:16. See also Zadok, *West Semites* 200 and McEwan, *Late Babylonian Tablets* 25 rev. 5’; see also iv 16.

Line 19. *Si-ip-ta-*’ = Eg. *z3-p3-t3* (?) “Son of the land” Uncertain. Cf. PN 1 112.3, 120.17. Voc. *siptá’*. Perhaps better *z3-ptḥ* (PN 1 282.1, voc.), voc. *Siptáḥ*, but *ḥ*, should equate to NB *ḥ*. See also rev iv 18. For *Si-ip-ta-ḥu* (CT 56 87 rev. ii 29, CT 56 664 i 24) = Eg. *S3-ptḥ* see Zadok, *Lingua Aegyptia* (1992) 140 (1) PN 1 282.1, see Vittmann, *GM* 10 (1984) 65:7 and BM 59410 rev. 1’ (Bongenaar and Haring, *JCS* 46 [1994] 10).

Line 20. *Sa-ri-a-su*: Origin uncertain. If Egyptian, perhaps *srjs.w* “Whom they have awakened” (without parallel), voc. *seri’āsu*.

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Line 22. *Nabû-taklak*: a common Neo-Babylonian name that may have been assigned to an (Egyptian?) workman.

Line 24. *Hu-ut-ma-ḫi-*' = Eg. *ḫṣṭj-m ḫyt* "First of Fish" (divine name). Voc. *ḫutmaḫē'e*. The element *ma-ḫi-*' Could correspond to Egyptian *m-ḫ-ṣt* "(is) in front," but the initial element *ḫu-ut* does not suggest a suitable subject. Preservation of the feminine *t* indicates *ḫṣṭt* (fem.) or *ḫṣṭj* (masc.) rather than simple *ḫṣt* as normally transcribed. The deity is usually shown as male (LÄ II 1043), indicating the latter. See also iii 10 where presumably another person with this same name is listed as an overseer of nine men. A *Ḫar-ma-ḫi-*' (Eg. *ḫrw-m-ḫṣt* "Horus in front") son of the Persian *Ba-ga-da-ta-*', is found in PBS 2/1 84:13; 104:9; 192; 13:5; 51:6; 130; 143:3; 198:2. See also *Hu-ut-na-aḫ-te* (Jacobsen, *Copenhagen* 68:6, 10) interpreted by Zadok, *GM* 26 (1977), as *ḫṣ.t-nḫt* (more probably *ḫṣṭj-nḫt*: see above) with reference to PN 1 232, 19.

Line 25. *I-na-ḫa-ru-ú* = Eg. *jrt-(nt)-ḫrw-r.w* "The Eye of Horus is against them;" cf. PN 1 42.11; DN 1 72. Voc. *inaḫarów* (ἰναρός); iv 5 *Ina-ḫu-u-ru-ú* perhaps *inaḫorów*. See also iii 20, iv 5, 13.

Line 26. *Sa-am-mi-ki*: origin uncertain. The PN may be derived from the West Semitic root *smk*, "to support." See Zadok, *West Semites* 408 (index) and esp. 121; see also YOS 6 231:25 (*Sa-mi-ku*).

Line 27. *Pa-tu-ḫu-ú-ru* = Eg. *pṣ-dj-ḫrw* "The one whom Horus has given;" cf. PN 1 124.19; DN 1 322. Voc. *Pedeḫōre* (πατωρ, πατανρις, πατενρις). See also *Pa-at-ḫu-ú-ru* (BM 59410 rev. 17'), Bongenaar and Haring, *JCS* 46 (1994) 69.

Col. iii

Line 1. *Ḫa-ap-ḫar/mur-ra-ad/t*: origin uncertain. If Egyptian, the initial *ḫa-ap* could represent *ḫḫ.f*... "May he live for ..." (cf. PN 1 67.9 *ḫḫ.f-n-ḫnsw*, χαποχωνσιος), less likely *ḫpwj* "Apis," cf. ii 10). For Apis see Eph'al, *OrNS* 47 (1978) 76 n. 7 with extensive bibliography. The element *ḫar-ra-ad/t* is not attested elsewhere. See Zadok, *West Semites* 113, 342 for the root *mrd*.

Line 3. *Ma-pi-*' = Eg. *mj-pṣj* "Who is this?" cf. PN 1 420.18. Voc. *mapī'e*.

Line 4. *Pi-ti-in-ḫa-a-tu* = Eg. *pṣy.tn-hdw* (?) "Your (pl.) conqueror." Uncertain; cf. 264.3. Voc. *Pitenhāde*. The final *tu* evidently rules out a form of *nḫt*, "force."

Line 5. *E-bé-e-su*: probably not Egyptian, though *bé-e-su* could represent the Egyptian god Bes. For *E-bi-su* (CTN 2 113:6'), see Zadok, *West Semites* 219 who proposes an Arabian etymology.

Line 8. *Nabû-šam-ma-'*: See *Cr.* 312:6 where a *Nabû-šammā* is noted as a son of *Nabû-uballit* and *Nd* 755:4 *Ša-am-ma-'* son of *Rīmūt-Bēl*. See also Zadok, *West Semites* 73 ff.

Line 10. *Pa-tu-ḫi-'ú* = Eg. *p3-dj-jḫjw/jḫj.w* (?) "The one whom the/their cattle have given." Uncertain; cf. *PN* 1 106.16, 119.9–10, 122.14, 396.21. Voc. *pede(e)ḫī'u*.

Line 13. *Tak-la-a-ta* = Eg. *ta-ka-la-ta* "Takelot" (Libyan name); cf. *PN* 2 330.10. Voc. *takalāta*. See also rev iv 20, CT 56 87 iii 16, BM 59410 obv. 15 (Bongenaar and Haring, *JCS* 46 [1994] 71) and Zadok, *Lingua Aegyptia* 2 (1992) 141 (14). The name is written *Tak-la-ta* in BM 59410 rev. 20' as well as in CT 56 664 ii 15'. See also Vittmann, *GM* 10 (1984) 65.

Line 15. *Tap-na-aḫ-tú* = Eg. *t3y.f-nḫtw* "His force;" cf. *PN* 1 375.21; *DN* 1 1232. Shortened form of *X-t3y.f-nḫtw* "DN is his force." Voc. *tafnāḫte* (τεφναḫτις). See also iii 29 and Talqvist, *APN* 230. For the writing *Ta-pa-na-aḫ-te-*' see BM 59410 rev. 25', Bongenaar and Haring, *JCS* 46 (1994) 71.

Line 16. *Pa-tu-si-ri* = Eg. *p3-dj-jsjrt* "The one whom Osiris has given;" cf. *PN* 1 123.I; *DN* 1 298. Voc. *ped(e)usīre* (πατοῦσιρε; πατουσιρις, πετοσιρις). See also Zadok, *Lingua Aegyptia* 2 (1992) 140 (2), Zadok, *GM* 26 (1977) 65 (15) and BM 59410 rev. 13' and BM 61993 rev. iii9' Bongenaar and Haring, *JCS* 46 (1994) 69.

Line 18. *Am-na-pi-'* = Eg. *jmnw-m-jp3t* "Amun in Luxor;" cf. *PN* 1 27.18; *DN* 1 64. Voc. *Am(e)n(em)ápī* (ἀμενωπις). See also iii 26 and BM 59410 rev. 3', Bongenaar and Haring, *JCS* 46 (1994) 65. Zadok, *Lingua Aegyptia* 2 (1992) 140 (5) who, following Wiseman, *Iraq* 28 (1966) pl. 44 (BM 49785 obv. 11; BM 57337 obv. 5) and CT 56 724:5 reads the PN as *Am-na-mar-ḫi*.

Line 19. *A-pi-re-e-tu* = Eg. *jpy-rd.w* (?) "Ipi has grown." Uncertain; cf. *PN* 1 22.15–16; *DN* 1 62. Voc. *apirēde* (or *apiriēde*?).

Line 21. *Uk-ka-a* = Eg. *jky* (?) (Meaning uncertain). Uncertain; cf. *PN* 1 48.5. Voc. *ukkāya*.

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Line 22. *Ĥe-e-ri* = Eg. *hrj* (?) “Calm.” Uncertain. Cf. *PN* 1 230.21, 231.1; *DN* 1 746. Voc. *hēri*.

Line 23. *A-mu-tú*: origin uncertain. The name may also be read as *A-mu-ud* (although one would expect the writing *A-mu-du*) and be derived from West Semitic ‘*ammūd*, “pillar” (R. Zadok, personal communication).

Line 25. *Sa-mu-nu-ĥu-tu*: origin uncertain. If Egyptian, perhaps *smn.w-ḥwt.w* “They have established their temple” (without parallel), voc. *samunuḥūtu*; less likely *z3-jmn-m-ḥst.w* “The son of Amun is in front of them” (without parallel), which should show *m/n* before the final element (voc. **s(i)amunun/mḥūtu*). See also *Qa-aḥ(?)*-*sa-mu-nu* in Babylon 28122 rev. 23 (Weidner, “Jojachin, König von Juda” 931). According to Zadok, “Phoenicians, Philistines, and Moabites in Mesopotamia,” *BASOR* 230 (1978) 58–9, the first element of the PN may be Phoenician.

Rev. Col. iv

Line 1. [x x]-*x-ĥu-ur*: origin uncertain. In view of ii 17 and 27, the preserved element is probably not the name of the god Horus.

Line 2. [x]-*am-ʾ*: origin uncertain.

Line 3. [x]-ʾ-*ú-še-em*: origin uncertain

Line 6. [*Qú-su-sa-m*]-*e-eš-ki*: initial element uncertain. [*sa-m*]-*e-eš-ki* evidently represents Egyptian *p-s(j)-(n)-mtk* “Psamtik” (ψαμμητικός) without the initial article *p*. See Weidner, “Jojachin, König von Juda” pl. II (Babylon 28122 obv. 21, rev. 23, 24) for *Pu-sa-meš-ki* the monkey trainer (^{lū}*šū-šá-an šá ú-qu-pe-e*) and BM 59410 obv. 4, Bongenaar and Haring, *JCS* 46 (1994) 71. Note also *Pi-si-sa-ma-aš-ka* father of ^t*Na-aḥ-ṭe-e-su* (despite ^t rather than *t*, probably Eg. *nḥt-jst* “Isis is forceful,” voc. *Naḥtēse*, νεχθησις) in *TBER* 93–4 obv. 2 ff. edited by Joannès, *RA* 78 (1984) 72–9 and M. Roth, *Babylonian Marriage Agreements 7th–3rd Centuries B.C.* (AOAT 222; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner Verlag, 1989) no. 34. The parties and witnesses of this marriage contract all have Egyptian names. For Psamtik see also Eph’al, *OrNS* 47 (1978) 76 n. 7.

Line 9. *Še-eḥ-ru*: possibly an Akkadian nickname, *šeḥru*, “Youngster/Kid,” given to a young (Egyptian?) slave. Cf. CT 56 87 rev. iii 22, (*Še-ḥi-ru*), and Vittmann, *GM* 70 (1984) 66, who questions whether the name is Egyptian or Semitic.

Line 11. *Sa-ri-ki-bi*: origin uncertain, probably not Egyptian.

Line 15. *x-am-tu-ú*: origin uncertain. The first sign in the name may be *ša* although one should expect *šá*.

Line 16. *Qú-ú-su*: for the West Semitic deity Qōs, see Zadok, *West Semites* 200.

Line 21. [x x]-*na-bu/pu-ú*:- not identified.

Lines 25–26. Two different ethnic groups, one of which can be reconstructed as Egyptians (*miširaya*, see CT 44 89 rev. iv 7'), are identified by the gentilic ending *-a-a*. The second group are most likely West Semites who may have served in the Egyptian army prior to their capture. Both groups are recipients of garments. For the identification within workgroups and distribution lists of individuals as members of an ethnic group see further Wiseman, *Iraq* 28 (1966) and Weidner, "Jojachin, König von Juda."

A second tablet in the Museum's collection concerns the distribution of flour rations (l. 10) to individuals, some of whom have Egyptian names. The names in lines 1, 2, and 3, respectively, *Aḫḫēšu*, *Nabû-ušur*, and *Kī-Šamaš* are Akkadian but may be names assigned to Egyptian(?) or other foreign slaves. *Se-e-pi* (l. 7), (see MMA 86.11.110+86.11.511 note to i 30, above), *Bēl-pa-de-e-su*, and *A-ma-a* are Egyptian. *A-da-a*, may have been a foreign mercenary captured in war, although identified as an Egyptian (see note to l. 6 below). The text is dated to day one of the month of Ulūlu (l. 11). The year and place in which the text was written is not recorded. The tablet most likely dates to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar and comes from the Ebabbar archive.

MMA 86.11.117 (Figs. 3 and 4)
H. 5.4 mm W. 3.7 mm Th. 1.1 mm
Nebuchadnezzar(?), month 6 day 1
Purchase, 1886

Obv.

- 1 4 PI 1 BÂN 'ŠEŠ^{meš}-šú
- 2 4 PI 1 BÂN 'dAG-ú-šur
- 3 4 PI 1 BÂN 'dEN-pa-ṭ[e]-e-su
- 4 4 PI 1 BÂN 'Ki-i-[^d]UTU
- 5 4 PI 1 BÂN 'ARAD-^dAG
- 6 4 PI 1 BÂN 'A-da-d[a]
- 7 'Se-e-pí

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Rev.

8 3 BÁN ^lA-ma-a
9 1 PI 1 BÁN ina IGI ^lŠEŠ^{meš}-šú
U.E. 10 ZÌ.DA PAD^{bá} x x x
11 ITI.KIN UD.1.KÁM

Notes to the Text

Line 3. ^ldEN-pa-ṭ[e]-e-su = Eg. *b'l-p3-dj-sw* “Baal is the one who gave him;” cf. *PN* 1 93.24–28, 126.6; *PN* 2 306.13. Voc *ba'alpedīse*. See Zadok, *Lingua Aegyptia* 2 (1992) 141 (29) for a *Pa-ṭ[e]-e-su* who in *Nbk.* 459 is identified as a “farmer” (*ikkāru*) and above i 20 for *Pa-ṭu-e-si* = Eg. *p3-dj-jst* “The one whom Isis has given.”

Line 6. *A-da-d[a]* = Eg. *j.djdj* (?) (meaning unknown); cf. *PN* 1 54.22 (?). See CT 44 89 i 12 (BM 78177) where the name is identified as Egyptian (rev. iv 7'). Zadok (personal communication), suggests comparison with Ἀδαδος, a Carian attested in the second century BCE. The name may then represent a Carian mercenary who served in the Egyptian army prior to becoming a prisoner of war. See W. Blümel, “Über die chronologische und geographische Verteilung einheimischer Personennamen in griechischen Inschriften aus Karien” in *La decifrazione del Cario. Atti del 10 simposio internazionale, Roma 3–4 Maggio 1994* (ed. M.E. Gianottia et al.; Rome: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche, 1994) 80 (ref. courtesy of R. Zadok).

Line 8. *A-ma-a* = Eg. *ʿ3my* (?) (Nickname). Cf. *PN* 1 60.25. Voc. *ʿamāya*. See BM 56348:1 (Wiseman, *Iraq* 28 [1966] pl. 44) where the name in l. 2 is identified as being an Egyptian. Zadok, *Lingua Aegyptia* 2 (1992) 141 (30) following Wiseman reads the name as *A-ba-a* although the scribe in the MMA texts differentiates between *ma* (with the top horizontal wedge placed slightly to the left of two aligned parallel horizontal bottom wedges) and *ba* (with three horizontal wedges parallel to one another, but with the middle horizontal wedge indented and the bottom horizontal wedge inscribed slightly to the left of the top horizontal wedge, cf. ii 14 [*ba*], ii 24 [*ma*]). But note the writing *A-ba-a* in BM 59410 rev. 12' (cf. Bongenaar and Haring, *JCS* 46 [1994] 65).

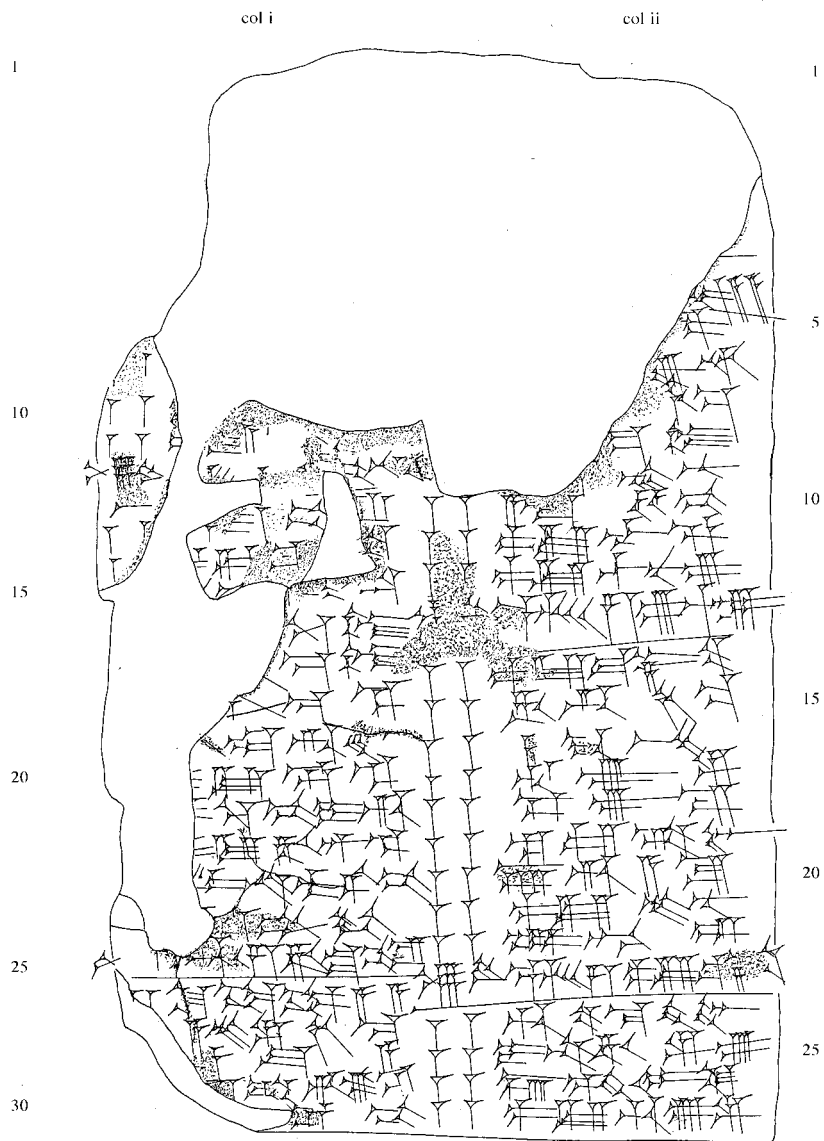


Fig. 1. MMA 86.11.110+511 obv.

Two Neo-Babylonian Texts of Foreign Workmen

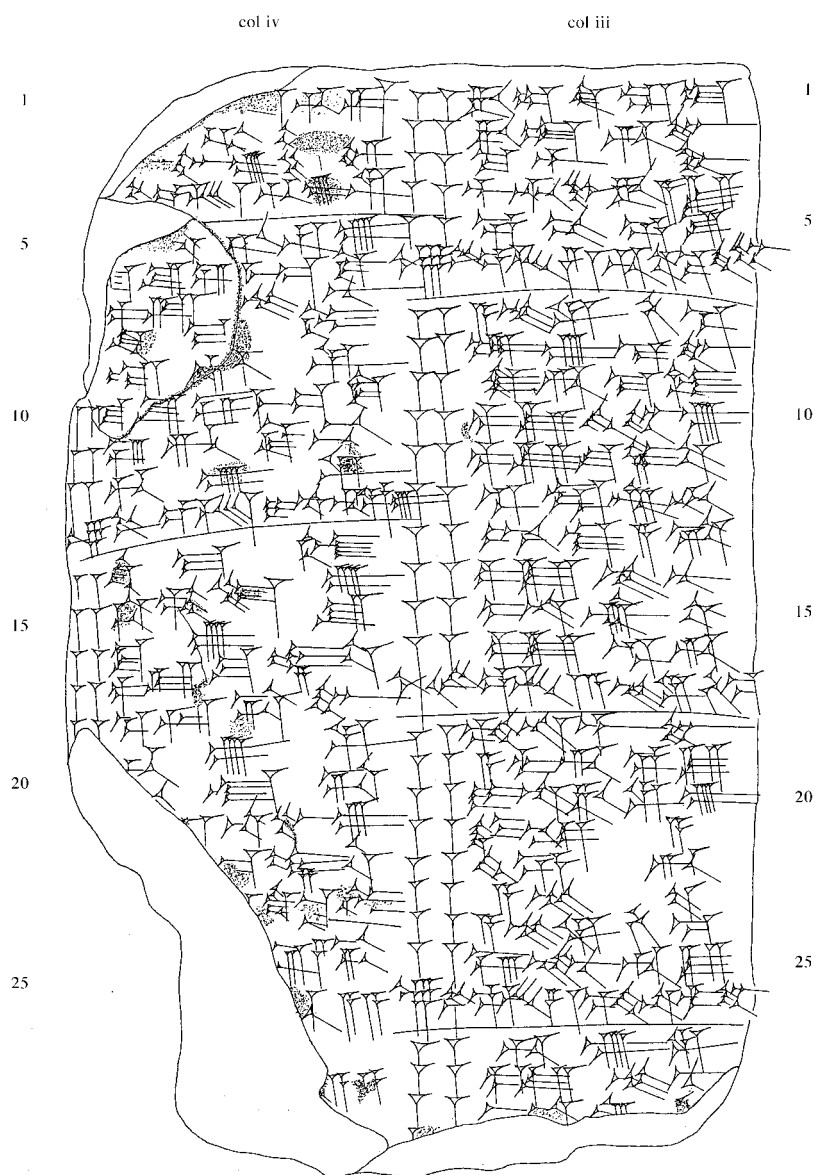


Fig. 2. MMA 86.11.110+511 rev.

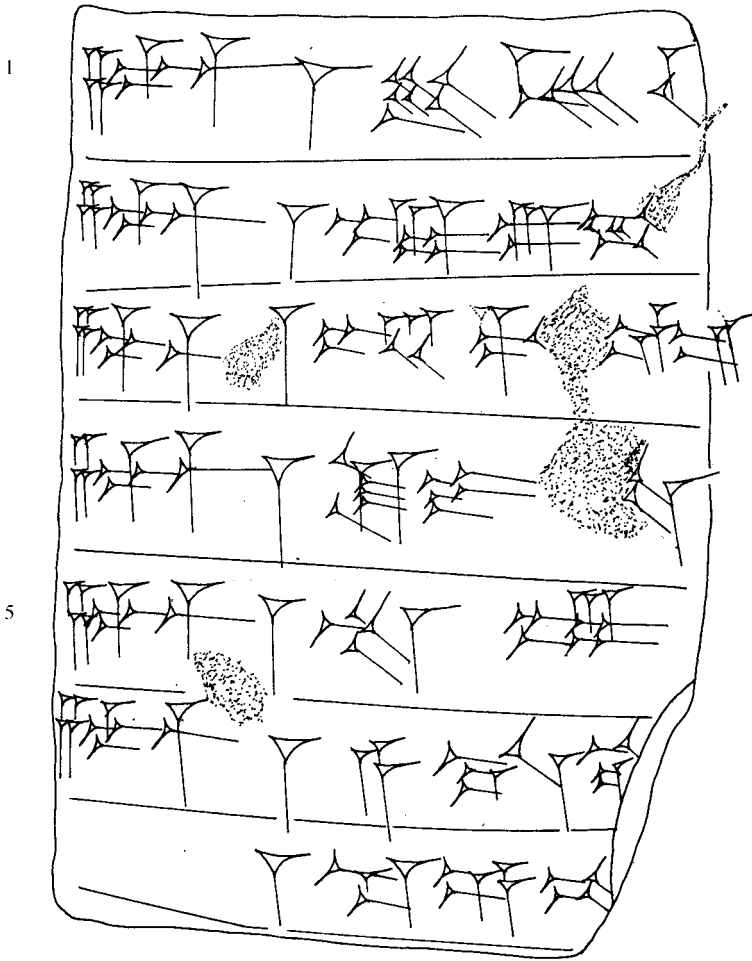


Fig. 3. MMA 86.11.117 obv.

Two Neo-Babylonian Texts of Foreign Workmen

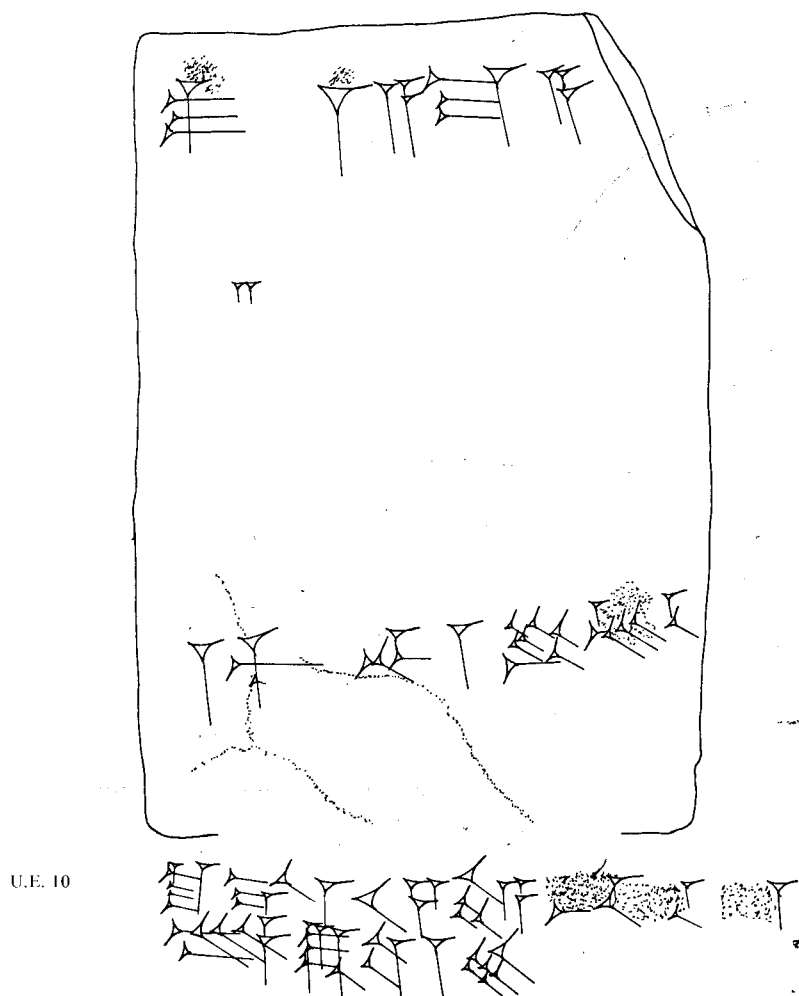


Fig. 4. MMA 86.11.117 rev.

PARYSATIS IN BABYLON*

Matthew W. Stolper

In 1904 Albert T. Clay published in BE 10 the first copies of Murašû texts dated in the reign of Darius II (424–404 BC). Several texts mentioned the name of a woman, Pūrušātu. Bruno Meissner at once recognized the name as a transcription of the Iranian name *Paruṣyāti-, “full of bliss,” otherwise transmitted through Greek sources as Parysatis. Meissner identified the bearer of the name as the Achaemenid queen known from Xenophon, Ctesias, Plutarch, and other Greek historians.¹ Here was contemporary, non-literary evidence of the woman whom the Greek writers had made notorious: the daughter of Artaxerxes I and his Babylonian consort Andia, the half-sister and spouse of Darius II (also the son of a Babylonian consort), the mother of the successor Artaxerxes II and his younger brother Cyrus, the supporter of Cyrus’s rebellion and avenger of his death, the poisoner of her reigning son’s spouse Stateira, at last sent away from the Achaemenid court to Babylonia. Historians portrayed her as a baleful figure who corrupted the royal blood and hastened the degeneration of the royal house and the failure of its empire.² With such lurid anecdotes spun around her, she was an object of artistic attention, too. Only two years before the University of Pennsylvania published BE 10, Camille Saint-Saëns and Jane Dieulafoy had collaborated on a *drame lyrique*, “Parysatis.”³

Recent historians of the Achaemenid empire give more attention to something less colorful than Xenophon reported about Parysatis, that she controlled villages, with their fields and their inhabitants, and that these

* I am indebted to Dr. Beate Salje, Director of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin, for permission to publish VAT 15618 (Fig. 1); to Joachim Marzahn and Olof Pedersén for assistance and information; and to Pierre Briant, Jan Tavernier, and Wouter Henkelman for comments and corrections. Responsibility for errors of style, substance, and judgment is mine. Abbreviations are those of the *Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago* and of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

¹ B. Meissner, “Parysatis,” *OLZ* (1904) 384–5; review of Clay, BE 10, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* (1904) 2210.

² Summaries of classical sources: J. Miller, “Parysatis,” *Paulys Real-Enzyklopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 36 (2nd ed.; Waldsee and Stuttgart: Alfred Druckenmüller and J.B. Metzler, 1949) 2051 f.; J. Wiesehöfer, “Parysatis,” *Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike* 9 (ed. H. Cancik and H. Schneider; Stuttgart and Weimar: J.B. Metzler, 2000) 381 f. Summary critique of modern historiography on Parysatis: M. Brosius, *Women in Ancient Persia (559–331 B.C.)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) 3 f., giving Meissner credit for inaugurating the modern study of Achaemenid royal women.

³ Saint-Saëns, *Parysatis, drame de Madame Jane Dieulafoy* (Paris: Durand & Fils, 1902); based on Dieulafoy’s novel, *Parysatis* (2nd ed.; Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, 1890).

assets figured in political events. In the course of Cyrus the Younger's advance against Artaxerxes II in 401 BC, his army stopped over at villages in Syria, in the vicinity of Aleppo, that belonged to Parysatis, "given for [her] girdle."⁴ These villages were the staging area from which the army set out to destroy the palace and park of Belesys, a recent governor of Syria, committing the first explicit violent act of Cyrus's rebellion against Artaxerxes.⁵

After Cyrus's defeat and death at the battle of Cunaxa, the retreating Greeks were allowed to plunder another group of villages of Parysatis located along the Tigris, in the vicinity of the confluence with the Lower Zab. Tissaphernes, the satrap of Sardis and Cyrus's arch-enemy, gave them permission to take the grain, cattle, and movable goods, but not to enslave the villagers (πλὴν ἀνδραποδῶν). Tissaphernes distinguished between the movables that were a matter of necessity for the Greeks and the personnel who were a source of wealth and power for the proprietor of the villages. Furthermore, Xenophon observed the political meaning of the bond between properties and proprietor. He explicitly interpreted Tissaphernes' offer of plunder as an act of retribution, a way of "gloating over Cyrus" (Κύρῳ ἐπεγγεῶν) by despoiling the queen mother who loved him better than she loved the king and who had contributed material support to his rebellion.⁶

Meissner correctly observed the import of this woman's appearance in the Murašû texts, namely, that she was one of several members of the royal family and the Achaemenid court who controlled property and personnel in fifth-century Babylonia. Several of these figures, like Pūrušātu, had names that were recognizable from the classical narratives of Achaemenid history. The collocation of the names and ranks in the Murašû texts made it overwhelmingly likely that these were the very people found in the Greek narratives, and not homonymous men and women. Later publications of Murašû texts bolstered this likelihood.

These texts were sources of detail that corroborated the episodic Classical narratives of Achaemenid history (narratives which could never have been reconstructed from the contemporary Near Eastern record itself). But in addition, to a degree that Meissner could not yet have appreciated, they showed that the holdings of Parysatis in Babylonia were part of a system of

⁴ (κῶμαι) εἰς ζώνην δεδομέναι, Xen. An. 1.4.9. See P. Briant, "Dons de terres et de villes: l'Asie Mineure dans le context achéménide," *Revue des Études Anciennes* 87 (1985) 49–61; G. Cardascia, "La Ceinture de Parysatis: une Morgengabe chez les Achéménides?" in *Studies Garelli* 364–7 on medieval counterparts to this terminology; Briant, *Histoire de l'Empire Perse* (Paris: Fayard, 1996) 971 on this and similar terminology.

⁵ Xen. An. 1.4.10–11; cf. M. Stolper, "The Kasr Archive," in *Achaemenid History, IV: Centre and Periphery* (ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt; Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1990) 202 f., on the political implications of this act.

⁶ Xen. An. 2.4.27. This is presumably the episode referred to in the terse epitome of Ctesias (apud Photios) § 58 as the "seizing of one of the towns of Parysatis" (τῶν τῆς Παρυσάτιδος πόλεων κατάληψις). See P. Briant, *Histoire de l'Empire Perse* 474 f.

land use, recruitment of labor and payments, and political control that was widely applied and that linked the men and women around the Achaemenid kings to deeply rooted practices and institutions of their subjects. They implied that Parysatis's villages elsewhere, though they appeared as passing scenery to a modern reader following the Anabasis as a story of Greek adventure, belonged to a similarly deep administrative and economic context. At the same time, they showed that Xenophon was right to give political meaning to the villages, for the Babylonian assets that were of concern in the Murašû texts—land, tenants, workers, and overseers—were caught up in the succession struggle that brought Darius II to the throne in 424 BC. They were among the resources that supported the contenders, and they were among the rewards of victory for Darius's allies.⁷

The name of Pūrušātu (Pūrušātiš, etc.) appears in eleven Murašû texts, some dealing with her property, others mentioning her subordinates among witnesses to transactions concerned with other properties.⁸ Her subordinates included an estate manager (*paqdu*), who also held a share in her estate and oversaw land held by other subordinates; a man with the still obscure title *ustarbaru*, “chamberlain?”;⁹ and a man entitled judge (*dajānu*) of the “house” (*bītu*) or the “gate” (*bābu*) of Pūrušātu. It is probably a reflection of her political rank, and perhaps of her social rank, that the only other *ustarbarus* in late Achaemenid texts whose titles are specified by association with a person are called *u*. “of the king”¹⁰ and the only other judges in late Achaemenid texts whose titles are specified by association with a person are judges of Gūbaru, that is, of Gobryas, the satrap of Babylonia.¹¹

⁷ M. Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire* (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1985) 68 f., 99–103, 122–4; “Mesopotamia, 482–330 B.C.,” in *The Fourth Century B.C.* (vol. 6 of *Cambridge Ancient History*; ed. D. M. Lewis et al.; 2nd ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 246 f.

⁸ Listed and summarized in Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire* 63 f.; M. A. Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia* (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda, 1992) 115 f. See Augapfel 30 f. (with edition and translation of PBS 2/1 60); Cardascia, *Murašû* 95 f. (with edition and translation of TuM 2–3 185; Cardascia, “La Ceinture de Parysatis” 367–9 (with editions and translations of PBS 2/1 50 and 75); Briant, *Histoire de l'Empire Perse* 476 (with translation by Cardascia of PBS 2/1 50).

⁹ Citations and bibliography in J. Tavernier, “Iranica in de Achaemenidische Periode (ca. 550–330 v. Chr.)” (Ph.D. diss., Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 2002) 700. See Eilers *Beamtennamen* 81–106; Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia* 52; W. Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen* (Göttinger Orientforschung, III. Reihe, 3; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975) 258 s.v. **vastrabara*–.

¹⁰ On BE 10 129, see Stolper, “Iranians in Babylonia,” *JAOS* 114 (1994) 618, commenting on Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia* 53.

¹¹ *ustarbaru* of Pūrušātu: PBS 2/1 38 lower edge; of the king: BE 10 15:15 f., upper edge; 91:18; PBS 2/1 43:3; 65:1. *dajānu ša bīt* (Ē) *Purušātu*: BE 10 97:14, lower edge; TuM 2–3 185:14, upper edge; *dajānu ša bābi* (KÁ) *ša Purušātu*: PBS 2/1 105:14 (same person). *dajānu ša* (or: *ša bābi ša*, *ša ina IGI*) *Gūbaru*: BE 10 84:11, lower edge; 128:14, upper edge; PBS 2/1 105:13, 133:20, lower edge; 224:9; Stolper *Entrepreneurs and Empire* No. 32 rev. 4^o.

Hitherto, the only Babylonian records of Parysatis's Babylonian affairs have been these texts from the Murašû archive. They are all from Nippur and all from regnal years 1–11 of Darius II, 424–413 BC. We can now add to this a fragmentary legal text excavated at Babylon. It was written almost twenty years later, when Parysatis was queen mother, after the battle of Cunaxa, after the acts of revenge that the Greek historians attribute to her, and perhaps after her retirement to Babylon.¹² It is an ordinary receipt for a year's rent paid for farmland of Parysatis; among the witnesses is another servant of Parysatis.

VAT 15618

[Babylon?]

5/VII/10 Artaxerxes II

Bab 14269

30 September 395 BC

- (1) [x KÙ.BABBAR] *ši-mi* ŠE.BAR ù 'ZÚ'.LUM.MA
- (2) [GIŠ.BAR ŠE.NUMUN *šá*] ^f*Pur-ru-šá-a-ta ina* 'DA?' É mSIG₅-ia
- (3) [DUMU? *šá*? ...]-^r*x-ga-ad-du* ^r*šá ina* ŠU^{II}
- (4) [mdUTU-a-a] DUMU *šá* mNIGIN-ir *šá* MU.10.KÁM
- (5) ^m*Ar-tak-šat-su* LUGAL mdUTU-a-a DUMU *šá*
- (6) mNIGIN-ir *ina* ŠU^{II} mdEN-MU.NA DUMU *šá* mdEN-^rDÙ-uš^r
- (7) *ma-ḫi-ir e-t[i]-ir ú-il-tim u* GÍD.[DA]
- (8) ^r*šá* *si-pir-ri* [*šá*?] KÙ.BABBAR *u mim-ma ra-šú-tú*]
- (9) [ga]b-bi *šá ina* É mdUTU-^ra-a^r [(...)]

rev.

- (10) [a-na muḫ-ḫi md]EN-MU.NA *te-[il-la-']*
- (11) [*šá* ...] x x [*šá*]-i-ma
- (12) 'LU.MU.KIN₇' [...]-ma-a DUMU *šá* mdEN-KAM
- (13) [m]^r*Pat*^r-né-e'-^rtum^r lúARAD *šá* ^f*Pur-ru-šá-a-t*[a]
- (14) [m]^dAG-MU.N[A] DUMU *šá* mNIGIN-ir
- (15) [mNi]-din-t[um ... md]EN-KAM lúARAD *šá* m_x[...]
- (16) [...] ^rlúŠID DUMU? *šá* m^r[É]-sag-il-lil'-bir^l
- (17) [DIN.TI]R²ki itūDU₆ UD.^r5^r.KÁM MU.10.KÁM
- (18) [m]^r*Ar-tak-šat-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR

(lower edge)

[NA₄.KIŠIB] / [m*Pat-né-e*]-tum // ^rNA₄.KIŠIB^r / mdAG-MU.[NA]

(upper edge)

[NA₄].KIŠIB / m^rNi-din-tum^r

(1–7) Šamšaja, son of Upaḫḫir, has received from Bēl-ittanna, son of Bēl-īpuš [x silver], equivalent to barley and dates, [rent for arable land of] Parysatis, adjoining² the property of Damqija, [son of ...]-gaddu, (the rented land being) under the control of [Šamšaja], son of Upaḫḫir, (the rent being) for year 10 of

¹² "In accordance with her wish (βουλομένην)," Plut. *Artax.* 19.6.

Parysatis in Babylon

King Artaxerxes. He is paid in full.

(7–11) (Any) promissory note or (any) document by a *sepīru*-scribe? concerning silver or any other obligation owed by Bēl-ittanna that may turn up in the possession of Šamšaja is [the property of Bēl-ittanna(?)].

(12–15) Witnesses: [...]mā, son of Bēl-ēreš; Patnētu?, servant of Parysatis; Nabû-ittanna, son of Upaḥḥir. Nidintu, [son of?] Bēl-ēreš, servant of ...

(16–18) Scribe: [...], son of Esagil-lilbir. [Babylon?]. Month VII, day 5, year 10, Artaxerxes, King of Lands.

(lower edge) [Seal of Patnē]tu? (ring impression). Seal of Nabû-ittanna (ring impression). (upper edge) Seal of Nidintu (ring impression).

Comments

2. Instead of *ina* ʾDAʾ (or «*ina*» ʾDAʾ), probably not *ina* ʾURUʾ¹, since in late Achaemenid Babylonian legal texts place names compounded with personal names of the form URU *Bīt* PN do not include a patronym, in the form URU *Bīt* PN DUMU/A (*ša*) PN₂. But cf. URU É ^m*Naṭīri ša* ^m*Ikkari* BE 10 129:4, TuM 2–3 148:2.

3. Evidently a personal name ending with West Semitic *gadd*, “fortune” (as a common noun or as a divine name); cf. *Ba-il-ga-ad-du*, *Nabû-ga-ad-du* in R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods* (Jerusalem: H.J. & Z. Wanaarta and Tel-Aviv University, 1977) 62, 74, 100 f.

5. As in the Murašû texts and elsewhere, *ina* ŠU^{II} characterizes land as “under the control, oversight, management” of an estate manager, bailiff, etc., as distinct from *ina* IGI, describing land as “in the possession” of a tenant.

7–11. Enough is preserved to put the restoration of these lines as a quitclaim clause beyond serious doubt, but this form of the clause is exceptional. The usual enumeration of documents that are declared void in quitclaims is some combination of the elements *u’iltu*, “promissory note,” *gabarû*, “copy,” *giṭṭu*, “document,” and *šaṭāru*, “text.” Here, *si-pir-ri*, a common spelling of *sepīru*, “scribe writing in alphabetic script” (although the traces and available space preclude initial determinative ʾLÚ¹), suggests an intended contrast between a legal record on a cuneiform tablet and a version in Aramaic script on leather or papyrus.

13. [m]Pat[?]-né-e[!]-ʿtum[?]: collated by O. Pedersén, July, 2002 (reading Šuk[!]-). Cf. Iranian *Pati-naida-, Elamite Bat-ti-na-a-da PF 1083:2 (M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana* [SÖAW 286; Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1973] 143 8.285; Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen* 88; Tavernier, “Iranica in de Achaemenidische Periode” 541).

17. In late Achaemenid legal texts, determinative KI marks names of major cities, determinative URU marks names of villages. This tablet was one of 315 excavated at the Ninurta temple on the mound of Ishin Aswad at Babylon in late 1901 (Pedersén, personal communication; see O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East 1500–300 B.C.* [Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1998] 186 and 188, Babylon 11 and see addendum, below), so a spelling of the name of Babylon is the most likely restoration. Less likely, because of the spacing of the text on the tablet surface, are Borsippa ([BÁR.SIP]A^{ki}) and Kutha ([GÚ.DU₈].ʿA^{ki}).

VAT 15618 agrees with the Murašû texts in spelling the name Parysatis with -u- in the first syllable, against -a- in Greek. Wilhelm Eilers recognized the Murašû spellings as transcriptions of an alternate form with epenthetic -u-, *Pauru-šyāti-š. Walther Hinz surmised that this epenthesis was a dialect characteristic, proper to “Median” rather than to Old Persian. If so, this name conforms to the general pattern whereby Babylonian regularly transcribes non-Persian (“Median”) forms (e.g., *Barziya*) and not competing Persian forms (e.g., *Bardiya*).¹³

The name *Parušyāti- is not peculiar to a single person. It appears as a man’s name in Elamite transcription, Bar(r)ušiyatiš, disburser of rations in at least thirty-five Persepolis Fortification tablets from regnal year 23 of Darius I, 499–98 BC.¹⁴ It also recurs in Classical sources as the name of a another royal woman, Parysatis (II), the youngest daughter of Artaxerxes III Ochus (hence

¹³ Eilers, *Beamtennamen* 15 n. 6; “Verbreitung und Fortleben alter Epenthese,” in *Commemoration Cyrus* (Acta Iranica 1; Tehran and Liège: Bibliothèque Pahlavi, 1974) 281 f.; Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen* 182, cf. 191 s.vv. *paurāta-, *paurubāta-, *paurušyāti-. Most other commentators ignore this epenthesis. Tavernier, “Iranica in de Achaemenidische Periode” 544, reasserts it, postulating an underlying *Pauru-šāti-š. Babylonian spellings could also be explained without recourse to epenthesis, as examples of transcription of Iranian <a> with Babylonian /u/ when there is an <u> in the preceding or following syllable (e.g., Bab. *Aḥ-ru-tu-uš* PBS 2/1 122:9, *Aḥ-ru-tu-uš-šú* PBS 2/1 116:4 beside *Aḥ-ra-tu-uš* BE 9 74:3 from Ir. *Xratu- or *Āxratu-; Zadok, *BiOr* 33 [1976] 216 to l. 3), but the absence of any spellings with /a/ in seventeen occurrences makes this unlikely.

¹⁴ Most occurrences with seal PFS 0026. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana* 141 8.266; Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen* 182; Tavernier, “Iranica in de Achaemenidische Periode” 537.

a great-granddaughter of the earlier queen Parysatis), captured by Alexander after the battle of Issus in 333 BC and later married to Alexander at the mass wedding in Susa in 324.¹⁵ Then is the Purrušāta of this text the same woman named in the Murašû texts, and the same woman as the spouse of Darius II and mother of Artaxerxes II? Nothing in the text explicitly excludes the possibility that she was a different woman with the same name.

Nevertheless, to suppose a second Babylonian Parysatis is unparsimonious. Women who figure as property-holders in late Achaemenid Babylonian legal texts are regularly identified as the wives and/or daughters of named men (and sometimes also as servants or subordinates of other named men or women).¹⁶ The absence of any indication of descent or marriage—as in mentions of Pūrušātu in Murašû texts—suggests that the woman's name alone is sufficient identification. That would be true of the king's wife or mother. But precisely because it was true of her, it would not be true of another, homonymous woman land-holder. That is, a text such as this is not expected to confirm the identity of Parysatis the Achaemenid queen, but it can be expected to make an explicit distinction between her and a like-named contemporary of different status.¹⁷

If VAT 15618 does indeed name the same Parysatis as the Murašû texts and the Greek authors, then three features merit comment, none of which is explicit in the preserved text: the date, the place, and the circumstances of the transaction and its record.

Pūrušātu appears in the Murašû archive only as a consequence of the rise to power of Darius II. If VAT 15618 names the same woman, it comes from the reign of Darius's successor, Artaxerxes II. The seal impressions agree with this inference. All were made by rings, not by cylinders or stamps, a circumstance that is common in Achaemenid Babylonian legal texts from

¹⁵ Arr. *Anab.* 7.4.4, Curt. 3.13.12, see H. Berve, vol. 2 of *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1926) 306, No. 607. F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1963 [originally Marburg, 1895]) 244 also lists as “ungeschichtlich” a Parysatis named by Synkellos as spouse of Hystaspes and mother of Darius I.

¹⁶ Among many examples: UET 4 53 (Barber Archive, Darius II: division of property held jointly by man and wife); UET 4 38 (Barber Archive, Darius II, twenty-year [fictive] lease to woman tenant); VAS 5 121 (Artaxerxes, lease of orchard, part of dowry property); Moore Michigan Coll. 2 (Artaxerxes, lease of house in woman's possession, on authorization of husband); RA 85 53 (Xerxes, promissory note for assessed rent on dowry property); RA 85 58 (Artaxerxes I, sale of real estate by man and wife); BM 47341 (Kasr Archive, Artaxerxes I, sale of real estate to woman identified by descent and marriage); YBC 11611 (Tattannu Archive; Xerxes, Re'indu, daughter of Parnakku, seller of real estate, along with her sons).

¹⁷ A tantalizing possibility that this is a like-named later woman of similar status remains open. If Parysatis, the daughter of Artaxerxes III is intended, the text is from October, 349 BC. Nevertheless, the name of the king's youngest daughter would be less self-identifying than the name of the earlier and more powerful Parysatis, and one could expect her to be identified with a title or epithet, perhaps *mārat bīti* (DUMU.SAL É), or even a transcription of Old Iranian *duxθrī-.

the reign of Darius II and later, but not in texts from the reign of Artaxerxes I or earlier.¹⁸ In that case, VAT 15618 extends the contemporary record of Parysatis by nearly twenty years, giving her a career as a Babylonian landlord of more than thirty years, roughly commensurate with her political career in Classical sources.

The fact that the tablet was excavated at Babylon makes a strong presumption that it was written at Babylon, hence that the rented land of Purrušāta was in the vicinity of Babylon. That her Babylonian holdings were not a single block around Nippur is no surprise, given Xenophon's evidence of her villages in Syria and northern Mesopotamia. Many late Achaemenid legal texts show that men and women with Iranian names held land that they rented out in most regions of Babylonia. If Parysatis is correctly identified here, VAT 15618 is the first Babylonian evidence of an individual Achaemenid aristocrat with land in more than one region of Babylonia itself.

To be sure, the tablet is damaged and the explicit mention of Purrušāta's land and of rent paid for it (line 2) is reconstructed. Still, the reconstructions are secure, based on many formal comparanda and supported by the surviving portions of the text. The thing to which dates and barley are related, and that can be said to be "in the hands" of a named individual is not likely to be anything except land; the thing received that can be said to be "of" a given regnal year is not likely to be anything except rent or taxes; and the commodity received that can be said to be the "equivalent" of barley and dates is not likely to be anything except silver.

The circumstances reflected in this receipt are comparable to those found in the Murašû texts that mention Parysatis's property. Purrušāta was the proprietor of farmland that included grain fields and date orchards. It was under the control of an estate manager, Šamšaja, son of Upaḥḥir. It was held on lease by Bēl-ittanna, son of Bēl-īpuš. Since Bēl-ittanna had the means to pay in silver, he was not a simple tenant farmer, but a commercial contractor. He stood in much the same relationship to Purrušātu and her Babylonian estate manager as the Murašûs did to her and Ea-bullissu, her *paqdu*, "bailiff," in the Nippur region. VAT 15618, the receipt for his payment of rent, must stem from the records of Bēl-ittanna or his heirs. If Parysatis outlasted the Murašû firm, her staff had no difficulty finding other Babylonian firms to deal with.

¹⁸ Linda B. Bregstein, "Seal Use in Fifth Century B. C. Nippur, Iraq: a Study of Seal Selection and Sealing Practices in the Murašû Archive," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1993) 362 f.

Addendum

The tablets excavated at the Ninurta Temple at the Ishin Aswad mound in late 1901, together with other texts that the Babylon excavations recovered and still others that the Vorderasiatisches Museum bought in Paris in 1900, form a group of about 550 tablets and fragments that Olof Pedersén now labels Babylon N14 the archive and library of Tābija (*Archive und Bibliotheken in Babylon: Die Tontafeln der Grabung Robert Koldeweys 1899-1917* [Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 25; Saarwellingen: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 2005] 228–47). Michael Jursa labels published components of this group (all unexcavated) the Sîn-ilī archive (*Neo-Babylonian Legal and Administrative Documents: Typology, Contents and Archives* [Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record 1; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2005] 69–71 §7.1.2.10). Almost all of the dated texts in this group come from the interval between year 6 of Nebuchadnezzar II and year 18 of Darius I (599–504 BC). There is no connection of prosopography or contents between the dozen texts from the reigns of Artaxerxes I and II and the main, earlier group. Hence, despite the excavated context, the archival and social context of VAT 15618 remains uncertain.

A photograph of the obverse of VAT 15618 appears in Olof Pedersén, *Archive und Bibliotheken in Babylon* 230 fig. 102.

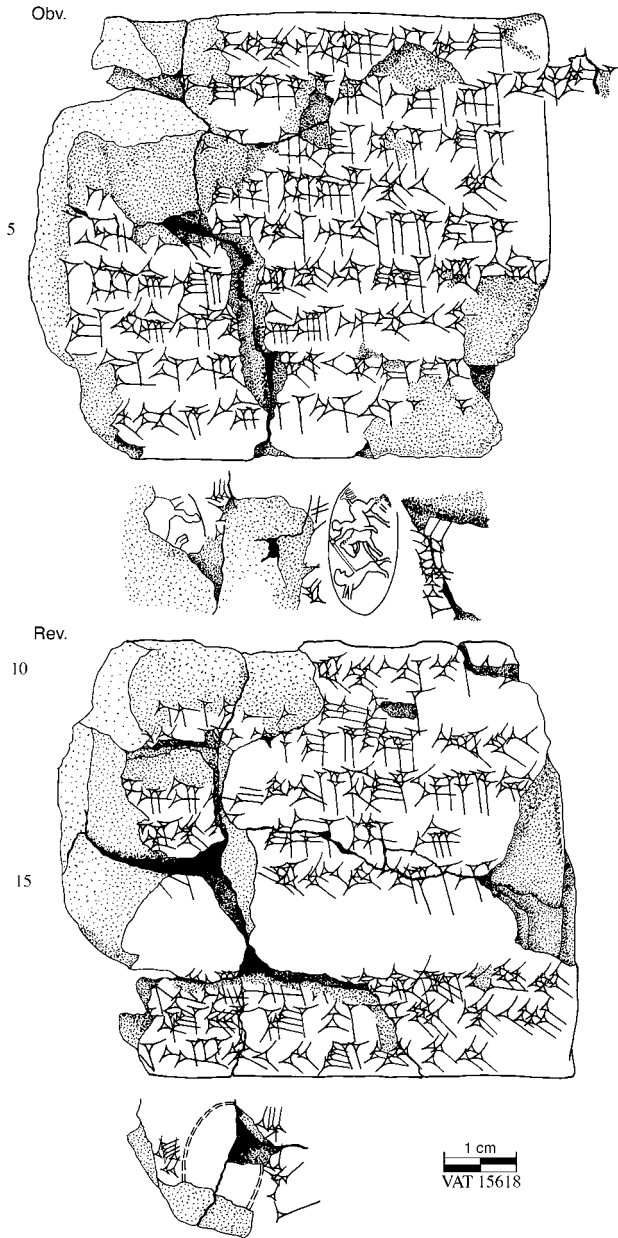


Fig. 1. VAT 15618

F FOR FAKE? TWO EARLY MESOPOTAMIAN-LOOKING OBJECTS IN A SWISS COLLECTION

Claudia E. Suter

Years ago, Erle came back from a trip to Switzerland and told me with excitement that he had unexpectedly come across two early Mesopotamian objects while visiting the Impressionist collection of the Bührle Foundation in Zürich. As a student of Mesopotamian art with an interest in modern art and coming from Basel, I felt some disgrace that it had required my Assyriology professor from across the Atlantic to bring these pieces to my attention. First thing on my next visit home, I went to Zürich and inspected the statuette and bowl, which, together with a few other ancient objects, are exhibited in a vitrine standing forlornly in the corridor at the end of a flight of rooms full of Western paintings. After I held them in my hands and saw them close-up, my eagerness to follow Erle's suggestion and publish them slowly ebbed. Doubts arose about their authenticity. Further investigation as well as the eyes of two colleagues substantiated the suspicion. As a student, I did not think it sensible to publish forgeries, and my notes ended up as the beginning of a dossier of uncompleted projects. In the meantime several exhibitions of forgeries took place¹ and a book on the "Great Lie" had been published,² which included a vast collection of ancient Near Eastern fakes. Thus I now dare to take out my file from the doomed dossier in the hope that Erle, to whom I am grateful for teaching me above all "fast-reading Akkadian," will find some pleasure in my observations on his discoveries and the related topic of forgery.

Collecting and forging works of art go hand in hand. On a grand scale, they are phenomena of modern times. Nevertheless, like everything else, they have an origin in the past and a development on which I would like to dwell a bit before moving to the two objects *delicti*.

Various "museums" of antiquities have been postulated for ancient Mesopotamia, the most famous among them being the "Palastmuseum" at

¹ *Vrai ou Faux? Copier, Imiter, Falsifier* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1991); M. Jones, *Fake? The Art of Deception* (London: British Museum, 1990); F.A. Norick, *Too Good to be True* (Berkeley: University of California, 1993); and R. Cohon, *Discovery and Deceit: Archaeology and the Forger's Craft* (Kansas City: Nelson Atkins Museum of Art, 1996). For earlier such exhibitions, see the list in the catalogue of the exhibition *Fälschung und Forschung* (Essen/Berlin: Folkwang/Skulpturengalerie der Staatliche Museen, 1976) 204–5.

² Oscar White Muscarella, *The Lie Became Great: The Forgery of Ancient Near Eastern Cultures* (Studies in the Art and Archaeology of Antiquity 1; Groningen: STYX, 2000).

Babylon.³ But these did not serve the purpose of conserving objects for their archaeological value. They contained either a collection of royal monuments of previous times found during the restoration of a temple or palace, which then contributed to the legitimation of the present ruler, or they were an assemblage of royal monuments that had been taken as booty or tribute: not for the appreciation of their aesthetic value but to symbolize the victory over the enemy and to deprive the latter of the power inherent in these images. Similarly, forging in the ancient Near East was limited to legal documents (for example, the Cruciform Monument), seals that authenticated such documents, and precious objects such as making/faking gems and jewels of glass.⁴ Neither art independent of function nor an art market as yet existed.

This situation changed in the classical world. Skilled artisans began to emerge from anonymity. As a consequence of the “Greek miracle,” art experienced a revaluation. Some works of art, such as the cult image of Athena that Phidias made for Athens’ Parthenon, began to be appreciated as expressions of an individual artist’s personality. In late Hellenistic and Roman times copies of famous images were made for the educated upper classes for display in their private houses and gardens.⁵ A new market arose and with it the inducement for forgery. Phaedrus, a writer at the time of Augustus, cynically reports that “certain artists nowadays succeed in getting a higher price for their new productions if they inscribe the name of Praxiteles on their marbles, Myron on their polished silver, and Zeuxis on their paintings. So much greater is the favor that biting envy bestows on bogus antiquities than upon sound modern productions.”⁶ By that time, Greek originals had come to Rome mainly by way of booty.⁷

As Gombrich observed, “this industry making reproductions for sale implies a function of the image of which the pre-Greek world knew nothing. The image was pried loose from the practical context for which it was conceived and admired and enjoyed for its beauty and fame, that is, quite simply within the context of art.”⁸ Previously sculpture and painting served a specific function within a specific context. The deprivation of this social

³ P. Calmeyer, “Museum,” *RIA* 8 453–5. For the “Palastmuseum,” see now also A. Kuhrt, “The Palace(s) of Babylon,” *Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens* 4 (2001) 81–2.

⁴ For the forgery of texts and seals, see E. Ebeling, “Fälschung,” *RIA* 3 9; for the Cruciform Monument, see also Jones, *Fake?* 60 n. 34; for the forgery of precious stones, see D. Collon, *First Impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East* (London: British Museum, 1987) 135.

⁵ See R. Chevallier, *L'artiste, le collectionneur et le faussaire: Pour une sociologie de l'art Romain* (Paris, Armand Colin, 1991) 95–101 and F. Queyrel, “Copies et faux dans la sculpture,” in *Vrai ou Faux?* 19–20 with bibliography.

⁶ Phaedrus *Fabulae* V Prologue 4–9; *Babrius and Phaedrus* (trans. B.G. Perry; The Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1965) 350.

⁷ See Chevallier, *L'artiste* 46–65 (Chapter 2: Raps d’œuvres d’art).

⁸ E. H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion* (London: Phaidon Press, 1968) 120.

Two Early Mesopotamian-Looking Objects

purpose of artistic production can thus be viewed as the trigger for the subsequent market with and forgery of antiques. Collecting antiques is marked by a rupture or estrangement in the relationship to the object, and it may be this gap between collector and object that makes this type of collecting so fascinating.

The market dealing with original art works and antiques developed in the Renaissance. Not only was classical antiquity rediscovered, but a changed society allowed for art to become merchandise. Until then the commission of artistic production was almost exclusively the privilege of the ruling elite, royal circle, or temple/church. Now art works as well as copies were commissioned by noblemen and wealthy citizens, who took on the role of patrons of the arts and collected art for its aesthetic value. As a by-product, the profession of the art dealer came into being, without whom forgery is hardly possible. He provides for the black-box between the provenience of an object and its destination. Another factor that certainly spurred the faking of antiques was the renewed popularity of ancient Greek works. It was not uncommon to restore incomplete sculptures to their original entirety, and the industry of reproductions revived. Moreover, copying ancient sculptures became an indispensable part of every sculptor's apprentice. The step from overly restoring and copying is not far from that of forging.

The story of Michelangelo's *Sleeping Amor* shows how easily one could be seduced into faking.⁹ While working on a commission by Lorenzo di Medici, the young Michelangelo found spare time to create a *Sleeping Amor* in "classical style." Although Lorenzo perceived the beauty of the masterpiece, he did not think it fit for his park. He suggested to use it instead for a "speculation," namely to sell it as an antique on the Roman market, for which purpose it was buried for a while in acidiferous soil. At first, the speculation worked: the dealer Baldassare sold the antique to Cardinal Riario. When later the truth was discovered, it was not considered a real fraud, because skill was admired above everything else.

In the 19th century industrialization caused another dramatic change in the structure of society. The newly rich industrialists and newly founded state museums replaced the patrons of the past, and the demand for modern and ancient art steadily increased. This development reflected an increase of literature on forgery around the turn from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries, designed mainly to advise the collector and protect him from buying fakes.¹⁰ The handbooks, however, could not prevent major scandals such as the Louvre's acquisition of the *Tiara of Saitaphernes*, or the dispute over the so-called *Moabitica*, which degenerated into a battle between German

⁹ F. Arnau, *Kunst der Fälscher, Fälscher der Kunst: Dreitausend Jahre Betrug mit Antiquitäten* (Düsseldorf: Econ Verlag, 1959) 101–3.

¹⁰ See the bibliography in E. Unger, "Fälschungen," *RIA* 3 4–5.

and French scholarship.¹¹ In the twentieth century art is rarely produced on commission and is more individualistic than ever; it is no longer merely merchandise but an object of financial speculation. The Deutsche Bank, for example, owns an enormous collection of modern art, while a new awareness of forgeries views the antiquities market with suspicion.

The motives for collecting ancient art hardly need further comment. Collecting is a universal human instinct, and antiques are for sale. Among the motives for forging art, however, it seems interesting that financial gain is not the only one. Some celebrated artists such as Phidias, Apelles, and Corot signed works of their students in order to help them out.¹² The Renaissance artist Andrea del Sarto allegedly copied a Raphael for patriotic reasons, in order that Florence could remain the leading art capital.¹³ Less well-known artists faked to demonstrate their skill.¹⁴ The famed van Meegeren, who inspired Orson Welles' *F for Fake*, claimed revenge on art connoisseurs as his motive.¹⁵ Another motive for the forging of antiques involves the attempt to prove a theory: ardent followers of the hypothesis that Bronze and Iron Ages coincide, for example, produced an object consisting of both metals.¹⁶ Finally, the incentive may simply be to trick or humor a colleague. Thus a museum curator was asked for his expertise on a small pot inscribed with the letters MJDD. He deciphered the inscription as "Magno Jovi Deorum Deo" and placed the pot on exhibit. As it turned out, the pot was modern, and the letters stood for "Moutarde Jaune de Dijon."¹⁷ Cases of smuggling such faked objects into the dig of a colleague for this purpose demonstrate that even excavated objects are not entirely beyond doubt.

There are various types of forgeries: excessive restoration of an incomplete original; a copy of a not widely known original; a variation on an original; the creation of a work in a particular style of the past; the creation of a unique object with characteristics (such as an inscription) to make it seem ancient. As banal as it may sound, the detection of a forgery depends in all cases on the skill of the forger and the connoisseurship of the expert. To prove that an object is a forgery becomes increasingly difficult on a sliding scale

¹¹ Both stories and similar incidents are documented in great detail in A. Vayson de Pradenne, *Les fraudes en archéologie préhistorique* (2nd ed.; Grenoble: Millon, 1993); for the *Tiara of Saitaphernes*, see 399–437; for the *Moabitic*, see 351–78.

¹² T. Almeroth, *Kunst- und Antiquitätenfälschungen: Eine strafrechtliche, kriminologische und kriminalistische Studie über Techniken der Kunstfälscher und ihre Absatzpraktiken* (Frankfurt a. M.: Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, 1985) 97 with nn. 270–1.

¹³ Almeroth, *Kunst- und Antiquitätenfälschungen* 97 with n. 274. More frequently written documents were faked for this purpose, see, e.g., the case of *Annius of Viterbo* in Jones, *Fake?* 64 n. 42 or for the creation of national poems, Jones, *Fake?* 67–9 nn. 46–7.

¹⁴ Almeroth, *Kunst- und Antiquitätenfälschungen* 94 with n. 257.

¹⁵ Almeroth, *Kunst- und Antiquitätenfälschungen* 92 with n. 243.

¹⁶ Almeroth, *Kunst- und Antiquitätenfälschungen* 95 with n. 261.

¹⁷ Almeroth, *Kunst- und Antiquitätenfälschungen* 96 with n. 267.

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from a straightforward copy of an original to an object that is unique. Scientific methods employed to this end largely depend on the material of which the object is made.¹⁸ Organic materials, for instance, can be submitted to a radio-carbon test for verifying their age, while stone is less suitable for such testing.

The two Mesopotamian-looking objects in Zürich are made of limestone. Both were purchased from E. Borowski in Basel in 1954 and 1956. One is a statuette of a standing woman (Fig. 1), 25.3 cm high, with her hands folded on her chest. She wears a long fringed garment leaving her right shoulder and arm bare. Her head is covered with the *polos*, a headgear attested only in representations of Early Dynastic women at Mari and near-by Terqa.¹⁹ At Mari a statuette almost identical to Bührle's was excavated (Fig. 2).²⁰ This in itself is not sufficient proof that Bührle's statuette is a forgery, since the same donor may have dedicated an image of herself in two different temples. A close comparison of the two sculptures, however, makes it more than likely that the Bührle statuette is indeed a modern copy of the Mari statuette.

In what ways do the two ladies differ? The excavated one is nearly the same size, only 2.3 cm less in height, but made of alabaster. Both alabaster and limestone are common stones used for this kind of sculpture, the latter being more easily available and cheaper. The Mari statuette is missing her right upper arm and shoulder, as well as her feet (later reconstructed in the Aleppo Museum), and her hands are broken. To restore the bare upper arm and shoulder was not too difficult, as the seam of the dress is preserved on the original and clearly visible on its back. With the reconstruction of the feet, the creator of the Bührle statuette apparently had a problem: they are crude and lack any indication of toes, which are always modelled in Early Dynastic statuary. Similarly, the hands are left shapeless, as if they were worn.

Evidently our artist was not a very skilled sculptor. He managed to imitate the simple block-like overall shape of the statuette but failed in the more demanding details such as hands and feet. Furthermore, the fringes of the dress and the vertical seam falling over the left arm are less modelled than in the original and the diagonal incisions along the vertical seam entirely missing. The workmanship of the face is of inferior quality, making the lady look ugly. The nose and eyebrows are coarse; part of the mouth is

¹⁸ For overviews on the techniques of the forger depending on the material and the scientific testing methods to detect them, see Almeroth *Kunst- und Antiquitätenfälschungen* 140–83 and 211–22. The various scientific testing methods are also well described in detail in *Fälschung und Forschung* (see note 1) 187–99.

¹⁹ See J.M. Asher-Greve, *Frauen in altsumerischer Zeit* (BiMes 18; Malibu: Undena Publications, 1985) 81.

²⁰ First published by A. Parrot, "Les fouilles de Mari, première campagne (hiver 1933–34)," *Syria* 16 (1935) 27f., pl. 10:1. See also A. Parrot, *Mari* (Paris/Neuchâtel: Ides et Calendes, 1953) fig. 22, and *Le temple d'Ishtar* (MAM I; Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1956) 84–5 n. 37. The best reproduction is in E. Strommenger and M. Hirmer, *Fünf Jahrtausende Mesopotamien* (Munich: Hirmer, 1962) pl. 109.

broken away, probably an attempt to correct the failed outline still visible. The reserved space for the inlay of the frontal hair,²¹ quite unusual in Early Dynastic statuary, is exaggerated. Finally, the treatment of the eyes betrays the forger. Inlaid eyes, so typical of early Mesopotamian sculpture, usually consist of irises made of lapis lazuli, the remaining white parts of the eyeballs made of shell, and lids made of lapis or a black stone.²² The Mari lady has the inlays of irises and lids preserved, while those of the white parts of the eyeballs are missing. Evidently misunderstanding his/her prototype, the creator of the Bührle statuette left the missing inlays in stone. Moreover, the sharp contours suggest that a modern drill was used for hollowing out the irises.

There is another awkward detail. Early Dynastic statues were not infrequently sculpted in several pieces—head, body, feet—which were then dowelled together.²³ Head and body of the Mari lady were actually found in separate rooms of the Ishtar-Temple at Mari.²⁴ Interestingly, the Bührle lady shows joints along the neck, between ankles and dress, and along the lower edge of the junction connecting the dress with the platform. The modern glue in these joints is clearly visible. This detail seems almost too closely imitative of the original, unless the forger thought that a complete statue without any breaks might look suspicious.

If my assumption that the Bührle statuette is a forgery, an imitation of this particular Mari statuette, is correct, the misunderstood eyeballs and the faintly modelled vertical seam missing its diagonal incisions may suggest that it was copied from a photographic reproduction rather than from the original in Aleppo. By 1954, when Mr. Bührle purchased the statuette, the first publication of the Mari statuette from 1935 as well as another from 1953 had appeared;²⁵ in both publications this statuette appears to be of inferior quality.

The other Mesopotamian-looking object is a conical bowl carved on its outer surface with a row of five rams (Fig. 3). It is pieced together from nine fragments and measures 9.5–10 cm in height and 19 or 8 cm in upper or lower diameter, respectively. The rams walk on a band divided into squares. Their bodies are seen in profile, while their heads look full-face at the viewer. Their fleece consists of rows of tufts, and, curiously, they lack tails.

Sculpted stone vessels originated in the Jemdet Nasr period, that is, the transition from the late Uruk to the Early Dynastic period (ca. 3100–2900 BCE). At that time, they were the primary medium for images carved

²¹ For a rare example of inlaid frontal hair still in place, see the female statuette from Ur in W. Orthmann, *Der alte Orient* (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1975) pl. IV.

²² For good examples, see Strommenger and Hirmer, *Fünf Jahrtausende Mesopotamien* pls. XX, XXI, 91, 97, 102.

²³ A. Spycket, *La statuaire du proche-orient ancien* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1981) 128–31.

²⁴ Parrot, *Syria* 16 (1935) 27f. and *Le temple d'Ishtar* 84–5 n. 37.

²⁵ See note 20.

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in relief.²⁶ These images represent topics relevant to the new urban society that created them. The most extensive image is carved on the famous Uruk Vase²⁷: it thematizes the production of surplus in agriculture and animal husbandry, the fruits of which are offered to the deity by the new “chief” of society. The representation on a large trough of a flock of sheep surrounding a reed barn marked with Inanna’s symbol can be regarded as a variation on the theme.²⁸ An abbreviated version is depicted on a conical bowl from Ur,²⁹ which shows a row of bulls above each of which is carved the head of an ear of corn. The same image occurs on a seal, on which the ears of corn are behind the bulls.³⁰ As Basmachi observed,³¹ the row of animals carved around a vessel yields, when rotated, an endless pattern comparable to the impression produced by a cylinder seal. Thus the image of a row of domesticated animals and ears of corn symbolizes the abundance or surplus production from animal husbandry and agriculture as depicted in more detail on the Uruk Vase.

Vessels representing simply a row of bulls are quite frequent, though most examples were purchased on the art market.³² The largest number of such vessels found in regular excavations comes from Tell Agrab and has not yet been properly published.³³ In contrast, there is only one other vessel known to me that represents a row of rams. The bowl was “presented” to the Iraq Museum (Fig. 4),³⁴ that is, it did not come from regular excavations.

²⁶ A. Moortgat, *Die Kunst des alten Mesopotamien* (Köln: DuMont, 1967) 18–9; D. Hansen, “Frühsumerische und frühdynastische Flachbildkunst,” in *Der alte Orient* (ed. W. Orthmann; Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1975) 179. For a recent dating of these vessels, see L. Martin, “Steingefässe,” in *Uruk Kleinfunde III. Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka Endberichte* 9 (ed. E. Lindemeyer and L. Martin; Mainz: von Zabern, 1993) 46–7.

²⁷ Strommenger and Hirmer, *Fünf Jahrtausende Mesopotamien* pls. 19–22; Martin, “Steingefässe” pls. 19–25 no. 226.

²⁸ Strommenger and Hirmer, *Fünf Jahrtausende Mesopotamien* pl. 23; Martin, “Steingefässe” pls. 38–9 no. 336. This vessel is not from regular excavations. The same image, but with cows instead of sheep and another symbol on the barn, is depicted on a bowl from Khafaje now in the Iraq Museum; see F. Basmachi, “Sculptured Stone Vases in the Iraq Museum,” *Sumer* 6 (1950) 168–9 pl. I:2.

²⁹ Strommenger and Hirmer, *Fünf Jahrtausende Mesopotamien* pl. 28.

³⁰ Strommenger and Hirmer, *Fünf Jahrtausende Mesopotamien* pl. 16, third row right.

³¹ Basmachi, “Sculptured Stone” 167.

³² Three such vessels are published in the final reports of the excavations of Uruk, one of which was purchased; see Martin, “Steingefässe” nos. 171, 188, 237. For other purchased ones, see G. R. Meyer, *Altorientalische Denkmäler im Vorderasiatischen Museum zu Berlin* (Leipzig: VEB E. A. Seemann, 1965) fig. 11; Basmachi, “Sculptured Stone” pl. I 6; O. White Muscarella, *Ladders to Heaven: Art Treasures from Lands of the Bible* (Ontario: Royal Museum, 1979) no. 9; and *A Glimpse into the Past: The Joseph Ternbach Collection* (Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1981) no. 13.

³³ Meanwhile, see Basmachi, “Sculptured Stone” pl. I 4, 9; III 7.

³⁴ E. Douglas van Buren, *Fauna in Mesopotamia* (AnOr 18; Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1939) 66 fig. 68; Basmachi, “Sculptured Stone” pl. II 3; *Sumer, Assur, Babylone: Chefs-d’oeuvres du Musée de Bagdad* (Paris: Association Française d’Action Artistique, 1981) no. 43.

Basmachi wrote the following about it: “The artistic execution of this piece shows no resemblance to the art of the Uruk Period, or to that of the beginning of Jemdet Nasr. The work bears the mark of primitive simplicity in the way in which it is carried out and in the complete lack of self-expression shown by the sculptor.”³⁵ Did he consider it a forgery?

The Iraq Museum bowl is made of the same material and of about the same size (9 cm high and 22 cm in diameter) as the Bührle bowl. It represents seven rather than five animals and depicts rosettes above them, while the band on the bottom, on which they are standing, is omitted as if it were originally made of another material. The rendering of the rams is almost identical on the two bowls but stands in sharp contrast to that on other sculptures as, for example, the Uruk Vase and the trough mentioned above. Those rams, seen in profile, are modelled more voluminously and naturally. All four legs are seen striding, while on the bowls the forelegs stand stiff. They have a mane along throat and chest, rather than what looks like a goat’s beard, and lack any structuring of their fleece. A distinction between different sub-species of sheep in these early representations does not seem probable to me.³⁶

If both bowls are forgeries, we would be confronted with a case of the creation of works in a particular style with no immediate prototype. The representation of a row of rams instead of bulls on a stone bowl of the Jemdet Nasr period is conceivable, since sheep were as much domesticated as cows and are represented in similar contexts. Nothing in the imagery is really “wrong”: rows of animals are often represented with body in-profile and head full-face; the band of squares as a ground-line appears on vessels from the Diyala; rosettes also appear in other similar contexts at this time as, for example, next to the lambs on the small sides of the trough mentioned above. In sum, composition and iconography are compatible with Jemdet Nasr period stone vessels. The only argument for the bowls being fakes remains the vague entity style in its stricter sense of artistic execution, which looks to Basmachi awkwardly un-Mesopotamian. But one could also explain the strange style and inferior quality with a supposed provenience from a provincial site.

If one of the bowls is, in Muscarella’s words, “not guilty,” then the other may be copied from it. Considering the strange beard, we can ask whether

³⁵ Basmachi, “Sculptured Stone” 171.

³⁶ Inspired by Hiltzheimer’s observation that pending ears in sheep are a sign of prolonged domestication, Douglas van Buren, who published the first reproduction of the Iraq Museum bowl (see note 34), distinguished two types of sheep represented in the Jemdet Nasr period, based on whether their ears stand upright or are pending (*Fauna in Mesopotamia* 63–6). According to her distinction, the Iraq Museum bowl would represent the same type as the trough mentioned above, while the Uruk Vase would represent the other type. To me the *Gestalt* of the rams on the Uruk Vase and the trough looks much more alike—and different from that of the rams on the Iraq Museum bowl.

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the artists who made the “innocent” bowl wanted to represent not rams but goats and thus can explain the different look from the rams represented on other stone vessels of the same period. As a rule of thumb, goats can be distinguished from sheep by the upright, as opposed to pending, tail. Unfortunately, the backs of the animals depicted on the Iraq bowl cannot be clearly seen in the various reproductions, nor are the tails described in the publications.³⁷ But if they were missing, I would have expected Douglas van Buren, who inspected the objects in her study on ancient Mesopotamian fauna in the Iraq Museum, to have mentioned it. The fact that the animals on the Bührle bowl lack tails altogether may indicate that this bowl was copied from reproductions of the Iraq Museum bowl, the first of which appeared 1939. Comparing the animals more closely with those on the Iraq bowl, one can see that their workmanship is cruder: their faces, exhibiting strange frontal hair, are nearly rectangular, and their fleece is made of fewer rows of strangely looped tufts.

The problem with unprovenienced objects made in a conceivable style and without an immediate prototype is that there will never be entirely unambiguous proof that they are not genuine, unless the forger made a serious mistake. Unfortunately, neither bowl carries a label such as the vase sold as ancient Greek with the inscription “327 vor Christi Geburt.”³⁸

³⁷ See note 34.

³⁸ Almeroth, *Kunst- und Antiquitätenfälschungen* 224 with n. 886.



Fig. 1. Statuette in the Bührle Foundation, Zürich
(Photo Walter Drayer; courtesy Bührle Foundation).

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Fig. 2. Statuette from Mari in the Archaeological Museum of Aleppo (after Strommenger and Hirmer, note 20, pl. 109).



Fig. 3. Bowl in the Bührle Foundation, Zürich
(Photo Walter Drayer; courtesy Bührle Foundation).

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Fig. 4. Bowl presented to the Iraq Museum
(after *Sumer, Assur, Babylone* note 34, no. 43).

DIVINATION: THEORY AND USE

Niek Veldhuis

It might be hazardous to dedicate an article on divination to Erle Leichty; after all would he not be reading old news that he had figured out decades ago? Since Erle's contributions are largely—though not exclusively—concerned with first millennium material, I feel somewhat safer in exploring Old Babylonian evidence. I will once again ask the old question: what is divination, and what does it tell us about Babylonian thinking?¹

The discussion of divination in Mesopotamia has often started from the corpus of omen collections, their origin, or what they tell us about the “Mesopotamian mentality.” In this contribution I wish to investigate the subject from the point of view of the practice of divination. For the Old Babylonian period we have abundant evidence for this practice from a wide variety of sources: letters, reports, models, compendia, and prayers. As it turns out, divination may be put to different uses in different contexts, corresponding to different beliefs about communication between humans and gods. It does not give us access to *the* Mesopotamian or Babylonian world-view—for the simple reason that such a view did not exist.

1. To Tell the Future

Old Babylonian reports demonstrate that extispicy was used to obtain answers to very specific questions.² We happen to have three, perhaps four, such omen

¹ I should like to thank Piotr Michalowski and Eleanor Robson for their critical remarks on the general contents of this paper and for corrections of numerous details.

² Almost forty such reports are known, often published in unexpected places. Slightly different lists (both with previous literature) are found in Ulla Jeyes, *Old Babylonian Extispicy. Omen Texts in the British Museum* (PIHANS 64; Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1989) 190–1 n. 51 (with unpublished examples listed on p.187 n. 6) and W.R. Mayer, “Ein altbabylonischer Opferschaubericht aus Babylon,” *OrNS* 56 (1987) 245; add A. Tsukimoto, “A Report on Divination by Means of a Sacrificial Bird,” *Oriens* 18 (1982) 107–10 = Farouk N.H. Al-Rawi, “Cuneiform Inscriptions in the Collections of the John Rylands Library, University of Manchester,” *Iraq* 62 (2000) 35–43 no. 1064 (where it is classified as a Nuzi-type text); and Farouk N.H. Al-Rawi, “Texts from Tell Haddad and Elsewhere,” *Iraq* 56 (1994) 21–63 no. 5. Several further reports from Tell ed-Der remain unpublished (see below note 11). See now also the articles: Ulla Koch-Westenholz, “Old Babylonian Extispicy Reports,” in *Studies Walker* 131–45; and Seth Richardson, “Ewe Should Be So Lucky: Extispicy Reports and Everyday Life,” in *Studies Walker* 229–44.

reports made up for one single person: the merchant Kurû who lived in Babylon during the reign of Samsuditana.³ One of these reports begins as follows:

I lamb, ritual of the diviner
The merchandise that he (= Kurû) bought,
will it be sold for a profit in the market place?
I performed the left side.
The head of the Station was lacerated. The Path was there.
The Seat was placed at the end of the Path.⁴

The omen reports simply list the significant marks on the liver and then come to a conclusion (in all known cases the conclusion is favorable). The omen compendia, which relate every mark to a specific prediction, played no role in the process of extispicy. There is one unusual report, however, which does quote omens in full; it may be illustrative to discuss one item:

The left Path was turned to the right
(meaning): attack of the enemy,
he will raise against this man together with the robber.⁵

The example makes two things clear. First, the people who wrote these reports did have access to the relevant compendia; they just did not care to use them—with this one exception. Second, the report illustrates why they did not care: this extispicy was performed concerning a marriage; the omens talk about enemies, illnesses, an army, and traveling—but nothing about marriage. In the end this report—as all others—balances the plusses and the minuses to come to the final conclusion: favorable.

How widespread was this kind of divination? Could anybody ask a diviner for an animal inspection for whatever reason? There is, of course, no direct answer to this question but we may consider a few things. A

³ See for this person Rosel Pientka, *Die spätaltbabylonische Zeit. Abiešuh bis Samsuditana. Quellen, Jahresdaten, Geschichte* (IMGULA 2; Münster: Rhema, 1998) 285 (note that there are two persons of this name in Babylon under Samsuditana). Two of Kurû's reports were studied by Claus Wilcke, Review of H. Klengel, *Altbabylonische Texte aus Babylon* (VS 22), *ZA* 60 (1990) 302–4. Furthermore, Kurû is mentioned in the bird extispicy report published by Tsukimoto, "Report" 107–10, where he may well be the client. A fourth omen report, VAT 13158 (Horst Klengel, "Altbabylonische Texte aus Babylon. Eine Nachlese zu VS 22," *AoF* 11 (1984) 100–1) does not preserve the name of the client, but was found in the same archaeological context as one of the Kurû reports (VAT 13451 = VAS 22 81). For the archaeological information see O. Pedersén, "Zu den altbabylonischen Archiven aus Babylon," *AoF* 25 (1998) 335; see also Niek C. Veldhuis, "Reading the Signs," in *Studies Drijvers* 167.

⁴ Albrecht Goetze, "Reports on Acts of Extispicy from Old Babylonian and Kassite Times," *JCS* 11 (1957) 91 no.8 (YBC 11056), with Claus Wilcke, *ZA* 60 (1990) 303.

⁵ VS 24 116, edited by W.R. Mayer, "Opferschaubericht" 245–62. The report published by Farouk N.H. Al-Rawi, "Texts from Tell Haddad" 35–43 no. 5 also quotes an omen, but this is a rather unusual piece anyway.

late Old Babylonian⁶ letter that was found in Babylon illustrates the kinds of questions that were appropriate for divination, suggesting that no major crisis was needed to consult a god:

We have repeatedly performed extispicy for a journey to Babylon, but it was unfavorable.

After the festivities, if the extispicy turns out favorable, I will come to Babylon with Aqar-Nabium.⁷

Most of the reports, and most of the omen compendia, concern the inspection of the entrails of a lamb or a sheep. The animal was offered to a deity, and in practice the diviner probably kept the meat. There is, therefore, an economic factor involved, and it is probably not by accident that the clients we know by name are often merchants. There is one omen report, again mentioning the name of our merchant Kurû, which gives the results of the inspection of a sacrificial bird. Bird-extispicy is further attested in a number of omen compendia from Babylonia proper and is referred to several times in the Mari letters.⁸ Birds were no doubt much cheaper than lambs and enabled a wider public to participate. Another kind of offering that could be used for divination is oil. There are no omen reports concerning oil, but we do have divinatory handbooks from the Old Babylonian period that explain the meaning of patterns of oil on water.⁹ Administrative texts confirm that there were deliveries of lambs, birds, and oil for diviners for the purpose of divination.¹⁰

One may reconstruct the whole procedure then as follows: a diviner had oil, birds, and lambs in stock. A client could come with a question, paying for the oil or the animal that was killed, and perhaps an additional fee for the work of the expert. Kurû apparently was so rich that he could sacrifice lambs for very specific questions. Two of his reports are dated, proving that he had two extispicies done within a single month, both concerning business matters.

⁶ All the dated extispicy reports and many of the references in letters to divination for private persons come from the period of Ammišaduqa and Samsuditana. Mari evidence, however, shows that private consultation existed by that time, too (see, e.g., ARM 26/1 no. 1).

⁷ VS 22 91; edited by Fritz Rudolf Kraus and Horst Klengel, "Spät-altbabylonische Briefe aus Babylon (VS 22: 83–92)" *AoF* 10 (1983) 61–2.

⁸ For the bird compendia and the Mari material see J.-M. Durand, "La divination par les oiseaux" *MARI* 8 (1997) 273–82.

⁹ See Giovanni Pettinato, *Die Ölwahrsagung bei den Babyloniern* (2 vols.; Studi Semitici 22; Rome: Istituto di studi del vicino oriente, 1966). Various other types of divination are attested in Old Babylonian compendia: smoke omens, 'chance encounter' omens (*Šumma ālu* type); teratological omens; astrological omens; and omens concerning the behavior of a sacrificial animal. All these types are rare compared to extispicy and will not concern us here.

¹⁰ Lambs: for instance VAS 22 79 (Babylon) and BE 6/1 80 (Sippar); birds: BE 6/1 118. For oil deliveries see Pettinato, *Ölwahrsagung* 21.

The first use of divination is, not unexpectedly, to investigate the future. The practice is based upon the belief that the god knows the answer to any question and may be moved to provide this information by an appropriate offering.

2. To Shape the Future

Another use of extispicy is nicely illustrated by two tablets that were unearthed by the Belgian excavation in Sippar-Amnānum (Tell ed-Der) in the house of Ur-Utu, gala-maḥ priest of the goddess Annunītum. The find included four extispicy reports, but these have not been published so far.¹¹ Among the published tablets we find two prayers, asking for the beneficial outcome of an extispicy ritual.¹² The two texts are built upon the same pattern. The first reads as follows:

O god, my lord Ninsianna,
accept this sacrifice
be present in my sacrifice
and give an oracle of well-being and health
to Ur-Utu your servant.
Regarding Ur-Utu, your servant who is now standing here
making a sacrifice for you, from the twentieth day of Nisannu
to the twentieth day of Nisannu next year
three hundred and sixty days and three hundred and sixty nights
by the doing of a god, by the doing of a goddess
by the doing of a king, by the doing of a notable
by the doing of a poor man
by the doing of destiny or somebody's plan
by the doing of somebody known or unknown
will Ur-Utu be fit and well?¹³

The prayer continues to ask the same for Ur-Utu's relatives and ends with the supplication to give an 'oracle of well-being and life' to Ur-Utu. The second prayer, addressed to Annunītum, similarly asks for well-being and health for Ur-Utu for a whole year, to start in the month Nisannu; unfortunately the day is broken away. The evidence suggests that this is a yearly routine that Ur-Utu went through, perhaps even on a fixed day, Nisannu 20.

¹¹ See L. De Meyer, "Deux prières *ikribu* du temps d'Ammi-šaduqa," in *Studies Kraus* 271 n. 8.

¹² Similar prayers have been studied in detail by Ivan Starr, *The Rituals of the Diviner* (BiMes 12; Malibu, Calif.: Undena Publications, 1983).

¹³ IM 80213, published by De Meyer, "Deux prières" 271–81.

In most late Old Babylonian extispicy reports the question asked is very general, not as specific as Kurû's inquiries.¹⁴ They simply inquire about well-being (*šulmu*), or, in one case, well-being for one year (*šulum* MU 1 KAM).¹⁵ CBS 1462a is one of the reports that mentions no question at all. The result is reported as: '(the inspection) was favorable for your well-being' (*ana šulmika šalmat*).¹⁶ In all these cases we may question what exactly is going on here. It is plausible that at least some of these sacrifices were made in the context of a regular festival or a similar occasion where an offering was due anyway. One report quite explicitly says that the offering was part of the *kispum* ritual for dead ancestors.¹⁷ Is the client making a consultation about the future, out of curiosity so to say, or is he rather trying to influence this future by obtaining the god's benevolence? The inspection of the entrails may be understood as an enquiry to see whether the sacrifice had been accepted. Ur-Utu's prayer is quite explicit in its wording in his desire for an "oracle of well-being and health." Ur-Utu's sacrifice is based upon the belief that a gift to the god will do good for his family.

3. To Protect the King

Divination in Old Babylonian Mari has been studied in much detail, most importantly in ARM 26/1. From the massive amount of information on divination in the Mari corpus I wish to single out one document, the so-called Protocol of the Diviners (ARM 26/1 no. 1) which sheds light on the practice of divination in still another context. The diviner swears that he will report to the king any dangerous signs that he may find while inspecting a sacrifice either in royal service or for a private person. Moreover, he is bound by oath to tell the court when he is asked to carry out extispicy for someone who plans to revolt against the king.

The same system of divination is again put to a different use here. The diviners were supposed to keep a lookout for divine warnings written in a

¹⁴ For an overview see Fritz Rudolf Kraus, "Mittelbabylonische Opferschauprotokolle," *JCS* 37 (1985) 154–5.

¹⁵ VAT 13158, published by Klengel, "Eine Nachlese zu VS 22," 100–1. The animal was offered to "Sin of Heaven." An omen report (BM 97433; Ammišaduqa 13) with an offering to Sin simply inquires about the well-being of the client (*ana šulum Ilšu-ibnišu*). See also Jean Nougayrol, "Rapports paléo-babyloniens d'haruspices," *JCS* 21 (1967) 220 text B: *ana šulum Kubburum*. BM 97433 has now been edited by Seth Richardson, "Ewe Should Be So Lucky" 237.

¹⁶ Albrecht Goetze, "Reports on Acts of Extispicy from Old Babylonian and Kassite Times," *JCS* 11 (1957) 89–105 no. 6 (copy on page 92). Line 6 is to be read *ZĒ* ana GÛB da*-ar*-sa-at* (collated).

¹⁷ Jean Nougayrol, "Rapports paléo-babyloniens d'haruspices" 222–3, text G (UZU *têrtum ša kispim*); see also *Bab* 3 (1909) pl. 9 "1 lamb for *lipit qāti* for the well-being of Bêltānu, to the god of her father." See Albrecht Goetze, "Reports on Acts of Extispicy" 94 (no.5).

code that only they were able to decipher. The ambiguity between enquiry and supplication that we saw in the previous two uses is absent here. There is no need for the king to offer anything himself for the communication process to work; he does not even need to ask a question. This particular use of divination requires the existence of a more or less organized network of diviners, who may pick up the signals from above, not unlike the system in place at the Neo-Assyrian court where experts in various cities in Assyria and Babylonia were employed in order to cover all significant events in the skies. Although diviners in the Mari kingdom could serve private persons they were appointed by the court as officials. It is unlikely that anybody but a king could afford to use divination in this way. It is likely that other Old Babylonian rulers had similar systems in place, but we do not have their archives.

This royal use of divination is based upon the belief that the gods may warn the king against the scheming of his enemies, that they may write—out of their own initiative—their message in any of the animals sacrificed anywhere in his kingdom.

4. To Collect and Speculate

So far little has been said about omen compendia. Old Babylonian collections of omens are not as numerous as their first millennium counterparts, but they are not rare either. An example is HY 150, an extispicy compendium concerning The Path (*padānum*).¹⁸ The compendium is not remarkable, except for the fact that it is one of the few that was found in a controlled excavation. It was unearthed in the courtyard of an Old Babylonian structure—perhaps a public building—in Tell Yelkhi, a town in the kingdom of Ešnunna in Northern Babylonia. This building yielded a number of administrative tablets, including loans, and several texts related to extispicy.

The best-preserved section of HY 150 (obv. ii) reads:

- 2' *šumma i-mi-ti pa-d[a-nim qū-um ša-bi-it IGI]*
3' *um-ma-ni-ia iṭ-ṭa*
4' *šumma qa-ab-la-at pa-da-nim qū-um ša-[bi-it]*
5' *uṭ-ṭi-i i-na ekallim*
6' *šumma šu-me-el pa-da-nim qū-um ša-bi-it <<IGI>>*
7' *um-ma-an* ^{lū}KUR *iṭ-ṭa*

If a ligament seizes the right of the path
[the eyes of] my troops will be obscured.

¹⁸ A copy of this tablet was published in O. Rouault and C. Saporetti, “Old Babylonian Texts from Tell Yelkhi,” *Mesopotamia* 20 (1985) 37; also C. Saporetti, “Cuneiform Texts Discovered at Tell Yelkhi,” *Sumer* 40 (1979–81) 247.

If a ligament seizes the middle of the path
my obscurity¹⁹ in the palace.
If a ligament seizes the left of the path
<<the eyes of>> the troops of the enemy will be obscured.

The description of the liver uses the same technical vocabulary that was used in the actual practice of extispicy as we know from the extispicy reports. One corner of the building where this tablet was found had an offering table and a pedestal; it was used as a chapel and may well have seen animal offerings. May we conclude, then, that there is a direct link between the Tell Yelkhi omen compendium and the practice of extispicy? I believe not.

Omen compendia seem to have had little practical value. Most compendia, such as the Tell Yelkhi *padānum* text, treat only one mark on the liver, and do so at great length. If the diviner were going to consult them he would have needed a whole library for his performance, and diviners who went on campaign with the army would have been faced with a serious problem. The binary interpretation of marks on the liver, however, is hardly so complicated that one would feel the need for such a reference library. The relevance of omen compendia is not a practical but rather an intellectual one; it is a place where one may speculate about the meaning of things.

There are numerous references to divination in third millennium sources, most famously in Gudea Cylinder A. Yet, no early divination compendia are known, and they are not likely to exist. Diviners in the third millennium knew their trade; there was no use for writing in the process of divination. Omen compendia were put to writing for the first time in the Old Babylonian period, the same period in which an entirely new set of lexical texts was invented and put to use in the scribal schools.²⁰ To be sure, the lexical list by itself was not new, since word lists existed from the very beginning of cuneiform writing. In the Old Babylonian period, however, the list as a textual type is put to a much wider use. Lists are used to explain writing, Sumerian vocabulary, grammar, and mathematics. List-like texts are used to record laws, medicine,

¹⁹ The juxtaposition of the three omens demonstrates that the first word of ii 5' is not to be read *ud-di-i* (*uddû*: "trouble," etymology unknown; see Richard I. Caplice, "Akkadian 'Uddû,'" in *Studies Oppenheim* 62–6), but rather *uṭ-ṭi-i*, parallel to *it-ta* in 3' and 7'. Inspection of the known references for *uddû* demonstrates that in all but one instance the reading with /t/ is as acceptable as the traditional reading with /d/ (note that Caplice's example 10 does not belong here and that his *uddātu* is to be read *tamṭātu*). The one exception known to me is *SpTU* 5 248 obv. 31: *ū-du-ū* (reference courtesy Mary-Frances Wogec, Berkeley). The fact that attested first millennium spellings vacillate between a single and a double consonant is an indicator for the uncertainty on the part of the scribes of the correct derivation of the word. The word *uddû*, therefore, may be removed from the dictionaries to be replaced by *uṭṭû* (with late variant *udû*) < *etû* D.

²⁰ These new lists include Proto-Ur₅-ra, Proto-Ea, Proto-Diri; the acrographic lists, etc. I will argue elsewhere that with few exceptions the core elements of the elementary scribal curriculum were created in the Isin period.

and omens. The list becomes the privileged format for recording knowledge. The list-like format of the omen compendium, therefore, indicates that this is scholarly knowledge. It connects to the conventional format of a knowledge text, a format that was expanded and explored in particular in the Old Babylonian period. The scholarly speculation in the omen compendia serves to explain and justify what everyone worthy of the name diviner knew: the positive and negative values of the marks on the liver.

The methodical structure of the passage from HY 150 quoted above (right, middle, left) is very characteristic of compendia; so much so that it enables the full reconstruction of a broken text. The systematic variation of the protases and the often observed subtle relation between protasis and apodosis provide an elegant tool for intellectual speculation. The “ligament” is a negative feature, so that its occurrence to the right (*pars familiaris*) should be negative for “my troops” and the occurrence on the left (*pars hostilis*) predicts trouble for the enemy troops. A ligament that seizes “the middle,” however, predicts trouble for the heart of the kingdom: “my obscurity in the palace.” For all this clever interpretation, what a diviner at work needed to know was only the positive or negative value of the sign. The comparison with lexical texts is valid in more than one sense. Knowledge of lexical texts enables a scribe to read and write Sumerian. However, the lexical corpus goes well beyond the necessary and seems to indulge in the pleasure of listing for its own sake. Similarly, there are clear terminological and interpretative links between the compendia and the practice of extispicy, but this practice does not begin to exhaust the relevance of the compendia. The problem that many omen protases are either unlikely or downright impossible is no problem at all once we admit that the speculative or scholarly side of divination is a context and use of its own, with its own relevance. Nougayrol has published a charming Old Babylonian colon model with an omen for “when the colon looks like a scorpion.”²¹ The apodosis is broken; the reverse contains an illustration of the colon in question. People who opened sacrificial animals on a daily basis knew that they were never going to see a colon like that. Speculation does not stop at the border of the possible; the systematic character of compendia actually encourages crossing this border, exploring the observed, the likely, the unlikely, and the impossible on an equal footing.

Speculation in lexical texts as well as in omen compendia was widely expanded in the centuries to come. Ann Guinan has argued that first millennium *Šumma ālu* contains moral knowledge.²² It is easy enough to find illustrative examples (*Šumma Alu* 5 22–23):

²¹ Jean Nougayrol, “Textes Religieux (II),” *RA* 66 (1972) 141.

²² Ann Guinan, “The Perils of High Living: Divinatory Rhetoric in *Šumma Alu*” in *Studies Sjöberg* 227–35.

Divination: Theory and Use

If the foundation of a house encroaches onto the street, that house will be abandoned and its owners will repeatedly change.

If the foundation of a house is lined up with the street, the owner of that house will be lucky; that house will endure.²³

Here the omens have no link with any practice of fortune-telling at all. They simply say: it is good to build a house in line with the street. It is not good to appropriate part of the public space. The speculative side of divination is very important for an evaluation of the immense corpus of omen texts. Omens were used to *think*, to think not only about the world as observed, but also about unlikely and impossible events. The speculative side of divination reveals a scholarly attitude in which the world was seen as one big semiotic system: everything may somehow be read and interpreted as either positive or negative. This speculative side was an easy target for parody in the so-called “Aluzinnu text.”²⁴ The modern title is a misnomer because the *aluzinnu* or “jester” appears in only one of its six sections and has nothing to do with others. Each of the sections is a parody on a well-known learned textual type or a class of learned professionals: god lists; royal inscriptions;²⁵ learned professions (here the jester is the parodist); heroic narrative (uncertain, since very little is preserved); omens; and menologies. The best-preserved passage of the omen section runs as follows:

3' *šum-ma ina nab-re-e ku-šu it-tab-ši*
4' *a-kil^{lú} NAR.MEŠ ina ga-ši-ši il-la-lu₄*
5' *am-me-ni ina nab-re-e ku-uš-šu ib-ba-ši*

6' *šum-ma ḫum-mu-ru ina la-sa-mi u-taḥ-ḫir*
7' *GÚ.GAL ÍD i-kàs-su-ma ana A.MEŠ i-nam-du-u*
8' *a-di ḫum-mu-ru la-sa-ma i-ba-'ú*

9' *šum-ma šu-ri-pu ina ÍD it-ta-ḫar-miṭ*
10' *dam-qu-ti LUGAL¹²⁶ šu-ba-ti-šu-nu i-tab-ba-lu-ma*
11' *a-na UDUN em-me-ti ú-šer-ri-du-šú-nu-ti*

²³ Sally M. Freedman, *If a City is Set on a Height* (vol. 1; OPSNKF 17; Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1998).

²⁴ Several sections are translated in Benjamin R. Foster, *Before the Muses. An Anthology of Akkadian Literature* (Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1993) 824–6 with bibliography. To Foster's list of sources one may now add VS 24 118; CTN IV 204–6; and several Neo-Babylonian school texts with extracts in Petra D. Gesche, *Schulunterricht in Babylonien im ersten Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (AOAT 275; Ugarit-Verlag: Münster, 2000) 806 (text index).

²⁵ No king is mentioned, but the royal prerogative of bragging is assumed by a woman who claims to have the limbs of an elephant and asserts that she has no rival.

²⁶ The text has NI, which seems to make no sense. Confusion between LUGAL and NI is hard to imagine in Assyrian writing, but is easier to understand if the copy in question has a Babylonian ancestor.

12' *a-di šu-ri-pu-u ina ÍD šin-nu-ú i-tan-li-pu*²⁷

3' If it is cold during the Nabrû festival,
they will hang the chief singer on a stake:
“why is it cold during the Nabrû festival?”

6' If a cripple is delayed in running,
they will bind the canal inspector and throw him in the water
until the running cripple arrives.

9' If ice melts in a river,
they will strip off the clothes of the king's choice troops;
they will put them in a hot oven
until the blocks of ice in the river freeze together two by two.

This perversion of regular omen collections works on a number of levels. The chief singer in line 4' does not sing the ritual laments of the Nabrû festival but is reduced to lamenting his own fate. “If ice melts in a river” (line 9') is a parody by itself because this protasis does not describe an (im)possibility but a necessity: in this part of the world ice in a river is *always* melting, and the melting, therefore, is incapable of delivering a divine message. The apodosis plays with hot and cold, making fun of the well-known associative technique for producing protases. The final sentence of the passage quoted includes the verbal form *i-tan-li-pu*. The verb *itlupu* (*elēpu* Gt) is used primarily in teratological omens describing the poor creatures' arms, legs, or other body parts grown together. Our text indulges in the formation of a complicated hyper-correct verbal form, with a secondary dissimilation of a reduplicated /l/: *itanlipu* (< *itallipu*), a form not attested anywhere else as far as I know. This learned form is used to describe something that is not so unlikely in Groningen or Philadelphia but that the compiler of this text must have regarded as utterly impossible: blocks of ice in a river freezing together.

Parody may be effective only if it makes fun of something that is important and well regarded. Rather than demonstrating that the first millennium Babylonian and Assyrian literati themselves had come to the conclusion that their divinatory handbooks were off the wall, the “Aluzinnu text” underlines, more than any serious text could do, the importance and prestige of the speculative scholarly omen collections of the time.

²⁷ CTN IV 205 iii 3'–12'.

5. Conclusion

The practice of Old Babylonian divination and the (religious) beliefs in the background may thus be quite complex. In the first two examples we saw the ambivalence in extispicy rituals between communicating with the gods about the imminent future, and an attempt to obtain the god's benevolence. The two may seem quite incompatible to us. Fortune telling requires a deterministic world view, whereas the *do ut des* kind of sacrifice requires a cosmos where initiative can be taken and one's will may be imposed. In such readings of the sacrificial animal the omen compendia and their apodoses are not relevant at all. Whether the omen predicts "my obscurity in the palace" or "the eyes of the troops of the king will be obscured" (see HY 150 above) does not matter: both are negative. In the practice of extispicy the compendia are ignored, nobody seems to worry about the accuracy of their predictions. The diviners of the Mari king, however, had to look for features that might predict a revolt, while at the same time using these same features as simple binary marks in the extispicy routine. Did they believe in the accuracy of the apodoses or not?

The omen compendia do not relate directly to the practice of extispicy; they represent a scholarly and speculative discourse of their own. The potential of this discourse was more fully explored in the first millennium tradition, but all its elements were there already in the Old Babylonian period.

I will not attempt to solve the discrepancies here; quite the contrary I would suggest that the divinatory system was a flexible system, capable of being used in different contexts and for different purposes. Belief systems exist in a context and people do not usually hold consistent beliefs through different contexts.²⁸ There is no need, therefore, to find a theory or theology of divination that equally holds true for Kurû, for Ur-Utu, for the Mari king, and for the Tell Yelkhi scribe. It follows that a description of "Babylonian religion" (in the singular) to my mind is an impossibility, not because we know nothing about it (as Oppenheim's dictum seemed to imply) but because (religious) beliefs²⁹ are bound to contexts and discourses and cannot be described as if they were an abstract philosophical system consistent and true for everybody everywhere. Divination is a tool, like a database program, that may be put to a variety of uses; there is no point in harmonizing these findings, or to search for the true version of the "Babylonian worldview." It was this flexibility that made divination suitable for thinking and speculation, for an intellectual endeavor that is still fascinating to the present day.

²⁸ See Paul Veyne, *Did the Greeks Believe in their Myths? An Essay on the Constitutive Imagination* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988).

²⁹ I put the adjective between parentheses because I doubt that there was a meaningful difference between religious beliefs and common-sense beliefs in antiquity.

FOUR BROTHERS AND A THRONE

M. W. Waters

It is my pleasure to contribute to Erle Leichty's Festschrift a small token of my approbation, admiration, and appreciation. This article stems from Erle's unstinting willingness to secure collations of various texts for me in the British Museum during his work there in the summers. It seems fitting to offer the preliminary results of one such collation in this volume.

In July, 2002, at my request, Erle collated one line from the tablet BM 92502 (84-2-11, 356), copy A of Chronicle 1 of the Babylonian Chronicle series published by A. K. Grayson.¹ In Text A iii 33, the sign describing the relationship of Ḫuban-ḫaltaš II with his predecessor, Ḫuban-ḫaltaš I, is broken:

Ḫum-ba-ḫal-da-šú II^ú [x]-šú AŠ AŠ.TE DÚR^{ab}
Ḫumba-ḫaldašu šanú [x]-šú ina kussê ittašab

Grayson's restoration and commentary (p. 81) reads: "[mār(?)]-šú: There is no evidence for this restoration but it is the only plausible one." This reading, followed by J.-J. Glassner, has served as the basis for identifying Ḫuban-ḫaltaš II as the son of Ḫuban-ḫaltaš I in those subsequent treatments wherein any family relationship is noted.²

There are numerous genealogical quandaries in the Neo-Elamite period because of the lack of sources and the interpretive difficulties of those extant. Motivated by this fact, and on the assumption that the restoration "[mār(?)]-šú" (i.e., [DUMU?]-šú) was not the only possibility, I asked Erle to collate this line of the Chronicle text. His collation indicated that there are traces of ŠEŠ (two Winkelhaken) at the break, so this line of the Chronicle reads:

Ḫum-ba-ḫal-da-šú II^ú [ŠE]Š-šú AŠ AŠ.TE DÚR^{ab}
Ḫumba-ḫaldašu šanú [aḫ]ušu ina kussê ittašab

Ḫuban-ḫaltaš II, his (i.e., Ḫuban-ḫaltaš I's) brother, succeeded to the throne.

The identification of Ḫuban-ḫaltaš II as the brother (not the son) of Ḫuban-ḫaltaš I establishes a sequence of four brothers who ruled successively in

¹ *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (TCS 5; Locust Valley, N.Y.: J.J. Augustin, 1975).

² J.-J. Glassner, *Chroniques mésopotamiennes* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1993) 183. See D. T. Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam: Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 274 and M. W. Waters, *A Survey of Neo-Elamite History* (SAAS 12; Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2000) 37.

Elam for thirty-six years: Huban-ḫaltaš I (689–691), Huban-ḫaltaš II (681–675), Urtak (675–664), and Te’umman (664–653). The fraternal relation of Huban-ḫaltaš II, Urtak, and Te’umman is established by K 2867+ r. 1, a text that identifies Te’umman as the brother of the fathers of Huban-nikaš II, Huban-appa, and Tammaritu (sons of Urtak) and of Kudurru and Parû (sons of Huban-ḫaltaš II).³

The revelation that Huban-ḫaltaš I and Huban-ḫaltaš II were brothers, while significant in other respects (see below), does not dramatically impact our knowledge of Huban-ḫaltaš I’s reign, since so little of it is known. Extant Assyrian sources and the Babylonian Chronicle are for the most part silent for the ten years after the Battle of Ḫalule (691), including the years of Huban-ḫaltaš I’s reign. The Babylonian Chronicle’s reference to the return of Uruk’s gods from [Ela]m(?) is uncertain, and even if “Elam” is the correct restoration there is no additional context supplied for this event.⁴

The relationship of Huban-ḫaltaš I with his predecessor Huban-menanu (692–689) is not known, and this presents a significant problem for analysis of this part of Neo-Elamite history. Huban-menanu was the son of Ḫallušu (699–693) and brother of Kudur-Naḫḫunte (693–692). The Babylonian Chronicle relays the succession from Huban-menanu to Huban-ḫaltaš I (iii 25–27) but provides no information on their familial relationship, if there was one. Assyrian sources shed no light on this transition. Thus, it is unclear if the four brothers were sons of Huban-menanu or someone else. It is also unclear whether all four brothers had the same father and mother or were the offspring of multiple partners of one parent. One may hypothesize a single royal line or rival dynasties with that of the four brothers supplanting that of Huban-menanu, which may be traced back to the first Neo-Elamite king on record, Huban-nikaš I (743–717). Further, it is possible, though highly speculative based on the available evidence, to consider that this fraternal succession was based upon a model such as may have been used in the *sukkalmah* period of the 19th to 16th centuries.⁵ Even if such a parallel was

³ The Babylonian Chronicle iv 12–13 and Esarhaddon Chronicle l. 18 (Grayson, *Chronicles* 84 and 126) identify Urtak as the brother of Huban-ḫaltaš II, but no chronicle relates information regarding Te’umman’s accession. *ABL* 576:8 identifies Te’umman as “the brother of the king of Elam,” a reference to Huban-ḫaltaš II.

⁴ Grayson, *Chronicles* 81 iii 28–29. See L. Levine, “Sennacherib’s Southern Front,” *JCS* 34 (1982) 44–5 n. 52 and M. W. Stolper, “Political History,” in E. Carter and M. W. Stolper, *Elam: Surveys of Political History and Archaeology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984) 94 n. 382. “Elam” is a possible reading (a vertical wedge is the only visible sign of the GN before the “KI”—collation by Erle Leichty), but it is not decisive.

⁵ See Potts, *Archaeology of Elam* 162–6 and references, with particular emphasis on the lack of a consistently identifiable pattern of reign and office in the *sukkalmah* period itself. P. de Miroschedji has applied a *sukkalmah* model to the Neo-Elamite period, “La localisation de Madaktu et l’organisation politique de l’Élam à l’époque néo-élamite,” in *Studies Steve* 216–20.

germane, it must be noted that there is no other such line of succession (i.e., four brothers) among attested Neo-Elamite kings. Neo-Elamite sources in themselves do not provide a coherent chronology or even sequence of kings' reigns. Mesopotamian sources, though offering a distorted view, must be considered paramount.⁶ There is no identifiable pattern of succession in the Neo-Elamite period. The successive reigns of these four brothers should be considered an anomaly rather than a Neo-Elamite version of some as-yet-unidentifiable *sukkalmaḥ* parallel.

The identification of Ḫuban-ḫaltaš I as a brother of Ḫuban-ḫaltaš II offers some potential insight into another conundrum of Neo-Elamite studies: the association of the Neo-Elamite king Te'umman (664–653), prominent in Assyrian sources, with the Tepti-Ḫuban-Inšušinak (son of Šilḫak-Inšušinak II) who made several dedicatory inscriptions at Susa. The presumed identification of Ḫuban-ḫaltaš I as the father of Ḫuban-ḫaltaš II, and thus likewise of Urtak and Te'umman, made a Te'umman/Tepti-Ḫuban-Inšušinak connection problematic.⁷ With Ḫuban-ḫaltaš I identified as a brother of Ḫuban-ḫaltaš II, Urtak, and Te'umman, one obstacle in the Te'umman/Tepti-Ḫuban-Inšušinak connection is removed. The father of these four brothers is not named in any Mesopotamian source. If this Te'umman/Tepti-Ḫuban-Inšušinak connection is correct, did Šilḫak-Inšušinak II father all four of the brothers? One general problem is that there is no clear place in the chronology for a king (as he labels himself in his own inscription) Šilḫak-Inšušinak II, unless one posits simultaneous kings in Elam before the mid-seventh century.⁸

As related by the sources, the four brothers also shared a penchant for disease and mysterious deaths. The Babylonian Chronicle notes that Ḫuban-ḫaltaš I was stricken one midday (VII/23) and died at that same day's sunset, but no additional details are provided. Ḫuban-ḫaltaš II's fate is even more cryptic: "without becoming ill, [he] died in his palace" (NU GIG *ina* É.GAL-*šú mīt*).⁹ The cause of Urtak's death is also unknown. The Babylonian Chronicle has a gap at this point, and Assyrian sources only allude to the fact of his death: "on a day not appointed by fate, death became hostile" (*ina UD-me la šim-ti-šu mu-u-tu ú-gar-ru-u*). Te'umman was beheaded in the course of the Elamite defeat at the Battle of Til Tuba. He suffered a notable affliction (probably a stroke) sometime before this battle: "at that time a misfortune

⁶ See M. W. Waters, "Mesopotamian Sources and Neo-Elamite History," in CRRAI 45/1 (2001) 473–82.

⁷ For arguments against the identification of this Tepti-Ḫuban-Inšušinak with the King Te'umman of Assyrian sources, see F. Vallat, "Nouvelle analyse des inscriptions néo-élamites," in *Studies Spycket* 385–95.

⁸ See Waters, *Neo-Elamite History* 40–1 and 48–50 for discussion and references.

⁹ Grayson, *Chronicles* 81 iii 30–1 and 84 iv 11.

befell him, his lip was paralyzed, his eye rolled, a *gabāšu* was set within it” (*ina UD-me-šú-ma mi-iḫ-ru im-ḫur-šu NUNDUN-su uk-tam-bil-ma IGI^{II}-šú is-ḫur-ma ga-ba-šu iš-ša-kin ina ŠĀ^{bi-ša}*).¹⁰

There is ample opportunity for conjecture with regard to connections among the medical and cryptic references to the deaths of these kings, especially with respect to presumed incest in the royal family and medical issues generated thereby. Assessment of the regnal transitions also allows ample room for speculation, since neither the chronicles nor Assyrian sources provide insight into the attendant political circumstances. The exception to this is the adverse relationship between Urtak and Te’umman, which Te’umman continued with the sons of Ḫuban-ḫaltaš II and Urtak, who had fled to Assyria upon Te’umman’s accession and one of whom (Ḫuban-nikaš II, son of Urtak) was to succeed Te’umman with Assyrian support.¹¹

¹⁰ R. Borger, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1996) 96 B iv 55 and C v 63 for Urtak and 98 B v 10–12 and C vi 1–3 for Te’umman. For *gabāšu*, see CAD G 3 “contraction.”

¹¹ See M. W. Waters, “Te’umman in the Neo-Assyrian Correspondence,” *JAOS* 119 (1999) 473–7; Potts, *Archaeology of Elam* 280–1; and Waters, *Neo-Elamite History* 56–8.

TIŠATAL AND NINEVEH AT THE END OF THE 3RD MILLENNIUM BCE*

Richard L. Zettler

Nearly twenty-five years ago Robert Whiting published a single Ur III administrative document from Tell Asmar (As 31-T.615) with unusual and “immediate significance outside its archival context” because of the historical “tidbits” it contained.¹ The text, dated to the 9th month of Šu-Suen year 3, recorded the ensi of Ešnunna’s distribution of 60 sila of linseed flour and 90 sila of flour for Tišatal, the man (lú) of Nineveh and over one hundred followers, on the authority of Babati, who sealed the tablet. The inscription on Babati’s seal showed that he was not only a high-ranking state official, but the brother of Abi-Simti, Šu-Suen’s mother, and therefore Shulgi’s wife.²

The reference to Tišatal, man of Nineveh, is one of the few contemporary references to Nineveh, a polity that apparently lay outside the direct control of the kings of the 3rd Dynasty of Ur, and Whiting speculated that Tišatal was on a “state visit” as part of a diplomatic overture following Šu-Suen’s military campaign into the neighboring territory of Simanum, the previous year.³

* Abbreviations, where used, are those of the University of Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary. I would like to thank Walter Farber for permission to publish 6 NT 559 (A 31210), Miguel Civil and Robert D. Biggs for collating it, and Clemens Reichel for photographing the tablet. I would also like to thank David I. Owen and Tonia Sharlach for providing various references and Piotr Michalowski for reading a draft of the article.

¹ Robert Whiting, “Tiš-atal of Nineveh and Babati, Uncle of Šu-Suen,” *JCS* 28 (1976) 173–82.
² Whiting, “Tiš-atal of Nineveh” 178–82. See also C. B. F. Walker, “Another Babati Inscription,” *JCS* 35 (1983) 91–6.

³ Whiting, “Tiš-atal of Nineveh” 177–8. In contrast to Whiting, Michalowski has suggested that Tišatal’s “state visit” may have been tied to the (re)building of the defensive wall—called Muriq-Tidnim in Šu-Suen’s reign—against the Amorites (personal communication Dec. 15, 2002). Simurru, perhaps to be located between the Adhaim and the Lesser Zab (Claus Wilcke, “Zur Geschichte der Amurriter in der Ur-III-Zeit,” *WO* 5 [1969] 10; but see Douglas R. Frayne, “On the Location of Simurru,” in *Studies Astour* 243–69) was acting in concert with the Amorites and though the Ur dynasts controlled Zimudar, the end point of Muriq-Tidnim in the Diyala region (Albrecht Goetze, “Šakkanakkus of the Ur III Empire,” *JCS* 17 [1963] 6 n. 74; S. Lieberman, “An Ur III Text from Drehem Recording ‘Booty from the Land of Mardu,’” *JCS* 22 [1969] 59–62) and had subdued Simanum, to the northwest of Nineveh, in the mountains around modern Mardin (Miguel Civil, “Šū-Sin’s Historical Inscriptions: Collection B,” *JCS* 21 [1967] 36), they would nevertheless have needed Nineveh and other nearby polities as strategic allies. For Michalowski’s reconstruction of events surrounding the construction of Muriq-Tidnim, see “The Royal Correspondance of Ur” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1976) 51–6 and 224–43; “Königsbriefe,” *RIA* 6 54 and 57–8.

A memorandum from Nippur, 6 NT 559 (A 31210), provides additional details on Tišatal's "state visit," documenting his presence at Nippur at the end of the same month of Šu-Suen year 3. Erle Leichty's work on the Kuyunjik tablet collections in the British Museum makes it particularly appropriate to include the protocol with its early reference to Nineveh in a volume that celebrates his long-standing (and ongoing) dedication to the University of Pennsylvania and its Museum's Babylonian Section, as well as his many contributions to the field of ancient Near Eastern studies.

The text 6 NT 559 derives from the Inanna temple excavations, carried out from the third (1951–52) through the eighth (1962–63) field seasons. The Inanna temple excavations yielded more than 1200 administrative records, as well as more than 150 literary and lexical texts, dating to the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur.⁴ The bulk of those texts, including 6 NT 559, were found in secondary contexts in the fill of a foundation platform that the Parthians constructed for their temple in the 2nd century. The text 6 NT 559 came from the center of the platform (field designation "SB Level II, Locus 76"), and like the other Ur III texts recovered was probably originally part of the Inanna temple's archive.

The tablet (Figs. 1–4) measures 3.8 by 4.0 cm. and has four lines of text on the obverse and five on the reverse. The last line on the obverse is only partially preserved, but the lower edge of the tablet is intact. Nippur's epigrapher, Albrecht Goetze, described it in his field catalogue as an "Ur III rec. [record] of an unusual kind," and made the notation "Ti-iš-a-hu! en_x-si" next to the entry. The text reads as follows.

obv.

ṁti-iš-a-tal énsi
80 guruš
lú ni-nu-[a]^{ki}-me
[...]-ka

rev.

5 ṛnam-a'-érim íb-ku₅
gír ba-za-za dumu bu-ša-am-ka
i^{tu}gan-gan-è
u₄ 28 ba-zal
mu ši-ma-nu-um^{ki} ba-ḫul

⁴ Richard L. Zettler, *The Ur III Temple of Inanna at Nippur* (BBVO 11; Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1992) 51–3 and 91. For the literary and lexical texts, see Gonzalo Rubio, "Sumerian Literary Texts from the Time of the Third Dynasty of Ur" (Ph.D. diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 1999).

Tišatal and Nineveh at the End of the 3rd Millennium BCE

Translation

Tišatal, city ruler, (and) 80 men, Ninevites ... (they) swore an oath. “Conveyor.”
Bazaza, son of Bušam. 9th month, 28th day, Šu-Suen year 3.

Line 1. Instead of lú as in the Tell Asmar text, Tišatal is characterized as énsi, a title common for foreign rulers.⁵

Lines 2–3. Tišatal’s retinue is somewhat smaller than at Ešnunna, where he was accompanied by more than a hundred men styled lú ús-sa, “followers.” The fact that the retainers accompanying him are explicitly described as Ninevites makes it likely that Tišatal, the city ruler, was in fact the city ruler of that northern state.

Line 4. The restoration of line 4 would be little more than speculation. The signs on the tablet are relatively large, and the space available leaves room for three or perhaps four at most. As in various legal texts, the line may have recorded the place where Tišatal and his retinue swore the oath.⁶ Given the tablet’s findspot and the association of Inanna/Ištar with Nineveh, it is tempting to suggest a restoration [é-^dInanna]-ka. The head of a vertical wedge just visible in front of the -ka would not rule out “Inanna.”

Line 5. The reading ʾnam-a-¹érim is relatively certain. I know of no other occurrences of nam-a-érim, but the meaning of the line seems clear.

Line 6. Bazaza, son of Bušam, occurs only in this text from the Inanna temple excavations and is otherwise unknown from Nippur. He is perhaps to be identified with the Bazaza, sukkal (envoy), who served as “conveyor” in various distributions involving “foreign” ambassadors and rulers at Drehem from the later years of Amar-Suen into the reign of Ibbi-Suen (see Appendix 1). Bazaza’s patronymic is not given in any of those records. His father Bušam may be identical with Pù-ša-am, sukkal, who served in a similar capacity at Drehem in Amar-Suen year 4⁷ or perhaps also with Bu-ša-am who served as maškim, or “authorizing official,” for transactions involving “foreigners” in Šu-Suen year 1,⁸ a role often played by Ir-Nanna/Irmu.⁹

⁵ Walther Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” in *Mesopotamien. Akkade-Zeit und Ur III-Zeit* (ed. Pascal Attinger and Markus Wäfler; OBO 160/3; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1999) 191.

⁶ See, for example, Adam Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden* (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1956) nos. 40, 110, 114, 122–3, 126, and 143.

⁷ David I. Owen, “Syrians in Sumerian Sources from the Ur III Period,” in *New Horizons in the Study of Ancient Syria* (ed. Mark W. Chavalas; BiMes 25; Malibu, Calif.: Undena Publications, 1992) nos. 60 and 70.

⁸ W. W. Hallo, “A Sumerian Amphictyony,” *JCS* 14 (1960) 88–114.

⁹ Walther Sallaberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1993)

The record of a gir-official in a memorandum like 6 NT 559 that does not explicitly record a distribution is unusual, though not unparalleled.¹⁰ Bazaza's name may have been recorded as a "cross-reference" to a distribution made in connection with Tišatal's oath. For example, a Yale Drehem tablet records a distribution of fodder-fed sheep on the occasion when Ithipatal, the man (lú) of Hibilat, swore an oath in Ur.¹¹

6 NT 559 brings the total number of written references to Nineveh in the later 3rd millennium to four or five. In addition to the two texts recording Tišatal's "state visit" just discussed, these include the following.

1. Schneider, AnOr 7 79. The earliest reference to Nineveh dates to Šulgi 46 (Šulgi 46 xii 9) and records the distribution of a fodder-fed lamb for Ša(w)uška of Nineveh.¹²
2. Watson, Birmingham No. 68. A Drehem text dated a year later (Šulgi 47 vii 5) records a distribution in Ur of sheep and goats destined for the kitchens for the man of Šimanum and the man of Nineveh.
3. Watson, Birmingham No. 4. A text dating to Šu-Suen year 3 (Šu-Suen 3 iii 18) records the delivery of animals by a soldier (éren) from a place written ni-nú-a^{ki}. Whether the otherwise unique writing refers to Nineveh, as Owen suggested, or to some other place is uncertain.¹³

The dearth of late 3rd millennium references to Nineveh likely reflects the fact that it lay outside the area controlled directly by the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur, as well as the nature of our extant documentation: the internal administrative records of temple and state organizations and not diplomatic correspondence. The royal marriage alliance between Šulgi's son, Šu-Suen and Ti'amat-bāšti, linked with the Hurrian Ištar, Ša(w)uška, and tentatively identified as a daughter or sister of Tišatal,¹⁴ and Tišatal's "state visit" confirm that Nineveh continued to be of "some consequence" at the end of the 3rd millennium.¹⁵

17 n. 55; also Sallaberger, "Ur III-Zeit" 189.

¹⁰ For an oath protocol with a gir-official, Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden* No. 123.

¹¹ Marcel Sigrist, *Texts from the Yale Babylonian Collection* (Sumerian Archival Texts 2–3; Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 2000) no. 1075.

¹² Whiting, "Tiš-atal of Nineveh" 174. On Ša(w)uška, see now Gary Beckman, "Ištar of Nineveh Reconsidered," *JCS* 50 (1998) 1–10.

¹³ David I. Owen, "Random Notes on a Recent Ur III Volume," *JAOS* 108 (1998) 113.

¹⁴ Claus Wilcke, "A Note on Ti'amat-Bāšti and the Goddess Ša(w)ušk(a) of Nineveh," *Drevnii Vostok* 5 (1988) 225–7; Sallaberger, "Ur III-Zeit" 161.

¹⁵ David Stronach, "From Village to Metropolis: Nineveh and the Beginnings of Urbanism in Northern Mesopotamia," in *Nuove fondazioni nel Vicino Oriente antico: realtà e ideologia : atti del colloquio 4–6 dicembre 1991* (ed. Stefania Mazzoni; Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche

While Stronach could argue that Nineveh was a substantial settlement in the Ninevite 5 period, consisting of an upper town (Kuyunjik) covering ca. 40 ha and a perhaps sprawling lower town,¹⁶ the archaeological evidence sheds little light on the Nineveh in the succeeding Akkadian period, when, according to Šamši-Adad, Maništušu rebuilt the temple of Ištar,¹⁷ or in the post-Akkadian period, roughly equivalent to the Third Dynasty of Ur and early Isin-Larsa periods in southern Mesopotamia. In Mallowan's 1931–32 deep sounding, for example, Ninevite 5 occupation levels were heavily disturbed and late 3rd and early 2nd millennium levels largely removed by building activities in later Assyrian and Parthian periods.¹⁸ The University of California, Berkeley's "gulley cut" on the northeast edge of Kuyunjik (Area KG), on the other hand, uncovered remains that span the late 3rd and early 2nd millennium.¹⁹

Area KG's earliest levels (Levels XIII–XI) are Ninevite 5 in date, while the succeeding Levels X–VIII fall in the late Ninevite 5 to early Akkadian time range. Level VII consists of a terrace wall built against the sloping side of the earlier mound and a substantial (1.7 m wide) city wall located west of it. A series of constructions abutted the inside of the city wall. McMahon dated the initial construction of the wall to the late Akkadian period at the earliest, while noting that pottery from inside the city wall and in the debris that had accumulated between the terrace wall and city wall could be dated to the late Akkadian and Ur III periods (or the northern periods equivalent to those southern Mesopotamian referents). A sherd from a distinctive jar with multiple horizontal ridges on the shoulder is more common in the Ur III than Akkadian periods in the south and may suggest that the Level VI occupation continued into the late 3rd millennium.²⁰

The succeeding Level VI consisted of debris that accumulated against the outer faces of the terrace and city walls. In an earlier Level VIB, debris accumulated against the terrace wall, leaving only the city wall visible. At an intermediate elevation in Level VIB a horizontal drain was constructed

del Mondo Antico, Sezione di Egittologia e Scienze Storiche del Vicino Oriente, Università degli Studi di Pisa; Pisa: Giardini, 1994) 94.

¹⁶ Stronach, "From Village to Metropolis" 92–3.

¹⁷ A. Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the 3rd and Second Millennia BC (to 1115 BC)* (RIME 1; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987) 51–5, no. 2.

¹⁸ R. Campbell Thompson and M.E.L. Mallowan, "The British Museum Excavations at Nineveh, 1931–32," *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 20 (1933) 129, 133, and pl. 73.

¹⁹ Augusta McMahon, "The Kuyunjik Gully Sounding: Nineveh, 1989–1990 Seasons," *Al-Rafidan* 19 (1998) 1–32.

²⁰ McMahon, "The Kuyunjik Gully Sounding" 11. McGuire Gibson and Augusta McMahon, "Investigation of the Early Dynastic-Akkadian Transition: Report of the 18th and 19th Seasons of Excavations in Area WF, Nippur," *Iraq* 57 (1995) 8; "The Early Dynastic-Akkadian Transition, Part 2. The Authors' Response," *Iraq* 59 (1997) 12.

2.5 m east of the terrace wall. In Level VIA, debris covered the terrace wall and reached the preserved top of the city wall. The terrace and city walls had probably gone out of use by the end of Level VI at the latest. The pottery from both earlier and later phases of accumulation included a mix of Ninevite V through late Akkadian/Ur III types. The pottery from Level VIA included “band-rim bowls,” carinated bowls with a groove below the rim that are characteristic of the 3rd Dynasty or Ur, Isin-Larsa, and Old Babylonian periods in the south. The bowl had significant variations over time,²¹ with the published examples likely dating to the early part of the time range in question.²² Similar band-rim bowls are characteristic of the post-Akkadian levels at Tell Brak as well.²³

Level V consisted of fallen mud brick and soil that covered the whole of the excavation area. No architectural remains occurred in the Gully Sounding, but stone foundations of roughly comparable date were uncovered in an area just to the south of it. McMahon does not suggest any break in the sequence between Level VI and Level V that she attributed to the early 2nd millennium based on the presence of Khabur ware.

Though the Area KG Gully Sounding provides little information on the topography of the settlement, the remains uncovered there at least demonstrate that Nineveh was not abandoned at the end of the 3rd millennium.²⁴ Careful sifting of the extant documentation for the Third Dynasty of Ur, both published and unpublished, may reveal further references to Nineveh and re-analysis of previous excavations on Kuyunjik additional evidence for occupation in the later 3rd millennium. It seems unlikely, however, given the scale of ancient and modern disturbances, that excavations in the center of the mound will yield late 3rd millennium occupation levels. If and when excavations take place again in the future, strategically planned excavations at the edges of the mound such as Berkeley’s “gully cut” may be our best hope for uncovering remains of the early historical periods in one of northern Mesopotamia’s most important urban centers.

²¹ Gibson and McMahon, “Investigation of the Early Dynastic-Akkadian Transition” 16.

²² See especially McMahon, “The Kuyunjik Gully Sounding” fig. 7:27.

²³ David Oates, Joan Oates and Helen MacDonald. *Excavations at Tell Brak, Vol. 2: Nagar in the Third Millennium BC*. (Cambridge and London: Macdonald Institute for Archaeological Research and British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 2001) 174.

²⁴ Contra Harvey Weiss, M.-A. Courty, W. Wetterstrom, F. Guichard, L. Senior, R. Meadow and A. Curnow, “The Genesis and Collapse of Third Millennium North Mesopotamian Civilization,” *Science* 261 (1993) 999; also Harvey Weiss, “Beyond the Younger Dryas: Collapse as Adaptation to Abrupt Climate Change in Ancient Western Asia and the Eastern Mediterranean,” in *Environmental Disaster and the Archaeology of Human Response* (ed. Garth Bawden and Richard Martin Reyecraft; Albuquerque: Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, 2000) 87.

Appendix 1. Drehem Texts Recording the Activities of Bazaza, the Envoy, as “Conveyor” (gīr)

1. Sigrist, YBC 1 1075 Amar-Suen 8 vii 7
Distribution of fodder-fed sheep on the occasion when Ithipatal, the man of Hibilat, swore an oath.
2. AUCT 1 54 Amar-Suen 8 xii 7
Distribution of fodder-fed sheep and a fodder-fed lamb for Sizigin, the diviner (maš-šu-gíd-gíd).
3. Jones and Snyder, SET 66 Amar-Suen 9 ii 26
Distribution of fodder-fed sheep for Diribulla, the man of Simurum.
4. Hirose Collection 297 Amar-Suen 9 ix 16
Distribution of fodder-fed sheep for Migir-^dNinliltum, daughter-in-law (é-gi₄-a) of Nanipatal.²⁵
5. Gomi-Sato, British Museum 271 Šu-Suen 1 x 20
Distribution of a fodder-fed sheep in Ur for Migir-^dNinliltum, daughter-in-law of Nanipatal.
6. Nesbitt D²⁶ Šu-Suen 2 xi 14
Distribution of a fodder-fed sheep for Ilatir, the envoy of the Sazite, the man of Anšan.
7. de Genouillac, *Babyloniaca* 8 (1924) pl. vii, 30 Šu-Suen 2 xi 24
Distribution of a fodder-fed sheep for Šilatir, the envoy of the Sazite, the man of Anšan.

²⁵ In addition to Hirose Collection 297 and Gomi-Sato British Museum, Nanipatal or the “daughter-in-law” of Nanipatal occur in several other texts: BIN 3 466; TCL 2 5500, PDT 1 554, and CT 32, BM 103450 (references courtesy of David I. Owen). CT 32, BM 103450, dated Amar-Suen year 7, links Nanipatal to Urbilum. Col. i 16–8 record a distribution of five sheep for the daughter-in-law of Nanipatal (on the occasion of her going) to Urbilum, see I. J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians* (SAOC 22; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944) 114. The meager evidence that exists then suggests that Migir-^dNinliltum was a royal princess married into the household of the ruler of Urbilum.

²⁶ David I. Owen, “Ur III Geographical and Prosopographical Notes,” in *Studies Astour* 375–6.

8. Sigrist, Ontario 149 Šu-Suen 3 iv 12
Distribution of a fodder-fed sheep animals for Ba [...] and Babduša, the
envoys of Iabrat, the man of Šimaški.
9. Sigrist, Princeton 75 Šu-Suen 5 i 24
Distribution of a fodder-fed sheep for Iridaḥ, the Amorite.
10. AUCT 3 480 Ibbi-Suen (?) ii 19
Distribution of fodder-fed sheep for 'PN', the man of Mari.

Author's note: for additional insights on Nineveh in the late 3rd millenium, see Renate Gut, Julian Reade, and Rainer Michael Boehmer, "Nineve—Das späte 3. Jarhtausend v. Chr.," in *Beiträge zur vorderasiatischen Archäologie Winfried Orthmann gewidmet* (ed. Jan-Waalke Meyer, Mirko Novák, and Alexander Pruss; Frankfurt am Main: Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Archäologisches Institut, Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte des Vorderen Orient, 2001) 74–192. The author was not aware of this important synthesis when he wrote his contribution to Erle Leichty's Festschrift.



Figure 1. 6 NT 559 (A 31210). Obverse.



Figure 2. 6 NT 559 (A 31210). Reverse.



Figure 3. 6 NT 559 (A 31210). Upper edge.



Figure 4. 6 NT 559 (A 31210). Flat cast.²⁷

²⁷ George F. Dales developed the technique of making flat casts to facilitate photographing tablets. He coated baked tablets with latex, and when the latex had hardened he removed it by cutting a single seam. He laid the latex impression of the tablet out flat and then poured plaster over it. It was then possible to record the plaster cast with a single photograph instead of the multiple photographs needed to document most tablets.

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